GVIDO S.R.E. CARDINALIS
BENTIVOLVS *Anno ætatis suæ 54.*

T. Orsi Se.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARRS OF FLANDERS:

WRITTEN in ITALIAN

BY THAT

LEARNED and FAMOUS

Cardinall *BENTIVOGLIO*;

ENGLISHED

By the Right Honorable

HENRY

Earl of *MONMOUTH*;

THE

WHOLE WORK

ILLUSTRATED

With a Map of the 17 Provinces, and above 20 *Figures* of the chief Perſonages mentioned in this HISTORY.

LONDON, Printed for *Humphrey Moſeley* at the Sign of the Prince's-Arms in St *Pauls* Church-yard, 1654.

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THE WARS OF ITALY

BY THAT

CELEBRATED AND FAMOUS

HISTORIAN

By the Right Honorable

HENRY

EARL of MONMOUTH,

THE

ILLUSTRATED

With a Map of the Provinces, and above 20 Figures of the chief Persons mentioned in this HISTORY.

Printed for Jonas Bragg, at the Sign of the Angel in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1705.

To the *Reader of Cardinal* Bentivoglio's Guerra di Fiandra, *Translated by the Right honorable the Earl of* Monmouth.

THere are, who *Languages* a *Myſterie*
Would make, that yet does undiſcover'd lie;
Boaſting the *Spaniard* lofty, *Toſcan* ſweet,
And *aery-French* to pace with gracefull feet:
Whoſe *well-tun'd Layes*, in Times, then *Ours*, leſs rude,
By ſome, whoſe haſty *Vanity* t'intrude
Into the *Preſs*, having been rendred hoarſe,
Senſe, and Words, maſſacred without remorſe:
They, by *Fantaſtick prejudice*, condemn,
Young *Travellers* infection, root and ſtem
Of all *Tranſlations*; as implicitly,
As ſome damn all who on a *Scaffold* dy.
But 'tis not now as when *Squire-Jeffrey* liv'd,
The tongue's not cramp'd ere it can be repriev'd:
Words, here, are facil, apt, ſignificant;
Such, as not make the *Senſe* too wide, nor ſcant.
His *Pen* not racks the *Reader*, as ſome do,
But gives us *eaſe*, *pleaſure*, and *profit* too.
He is our Underſtanding's *Optick*; Wee,
By ſuch a *Perſpective*, much clearer ſee.
The *Mapp* of *Italy*'s choice Language, here,
To *Britiſh* eyes, in *Landskip* does appeare:
Though, *that* the *Garden* of the World we do
Eſteem; *This* is that *Garden's Garden* too:
Where flowers, tranſplanted thus, become more fair,
Fragrant, and rarifi'd, by *ſuch* pure air.
Nor is't an eaſie work; ſince two, we ſee,
Joyn'd, with ſucceſs, i'th' *Gallick-Hiſtorie*.
But *He*, our *Atlas*, bears *this* weight *alone*;
And now, by th' *Monarch* of *Tranſlators* known.
If *Bentivoglio*, then, the *Peace* not break,
When *Spaniard*, *French*, and *Dutch*, His language ſpeak;
No more can *He* their *dialects* tranſgreſs,
Who gives them, both our *ornament* and *dreſs*.
Good, is not ſo *myſteriouſly* good,
To become *leſs* for being *underſtood*.
What-ere *He* did, was ſomething *more* then *well*;
But, *here*, *He* may be ſaid, *Himſelf* t'excel;
Since th' *Authors ſoul*, her ſuperſtition fled,
Is ſo transfus'd in *Him*; ſhould, from the dead,
Pythagoras now riſe agen, by this
Alone, Hee'd prove his *Metempſychoſis*.
But I preſume no *praiſe*; that fits *Him* beſt,
Who can contain *Himſelf*, and ſuch a *Gueſt*:
Only in honour to *Nobilitie*,
That with ſome *Trein* it ſtill attended be;
Though made, by Moſt, our *Countrey's ſin*, and *ſhame*;
To help ſupport *His ſtate*, not raiſe *His fame*;
In this *Corteggio*, I a Servant, loe!
Crowd, when *His vertues* in *Proceſsion* goe.

R. BAKER.

To the Right Honourable the Earle of *MONMOUTH*;

Upon his Translation of BENTIVOGLIO.

MY LORD,

AS their great *Letter* of *Exchange*, by you
The learn'd of Foraign Nations, make a true
Payment to us, of what they wisely thought
Fit to *Instruct*, or for example *Taught*.
You are the *Bank*, where they address their Store;
You give it all to us, yet make it more:
For, see how much in knowledge we do thrive
By reading them in You; they doe derive
From You so much of *Honor* and *Renown*,
Which makes this Nation love them as their own.
Now what shall we return, my *Lord*, who are
Improv'd by You, without our *Cost* or *Care*;
We can but wish Your *Fact'ry* to *Increase*,
Your *Credit* and *Employment* ne'r to cease;
Learn'd Correspondents, to advance Your gains
In honor, the Reward of Learned pains.
That oblig'd *Rome* may to your Name present
But as much Fame, as to her Son y'have lent;
And *Belgia* when shee on her *Reckoning* looks,
Confess her self a *Debtor* in your *Books*.

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

PH. FROWDE.

THE STATIONER TO THE READER.

IF I ſay this Book hath been often call'd for, you may believe me. For, none who are not un-read or un-travail'd, but know what value is paid to *BENTIVOGLIO*; not only in *Italy*, whoſe Language it weare's, and in *Flanders* which gave it Subject; but in *France* and *Spain*, who by worthy *Tranſlations* have made it their own. 'Tis therefore no wonder it hath been ſo oft Re-printed in *French*, but that it came no ſooner into *Engliſh*. And the rather becauſe (to ſpeak the *Author's* words) *Whoſoever ſhall conſider the ſucceſſes of this Warr, ſhall find ſo many and ſo illuſtrious Scenes of various accidents, as he ſhall be compell'd to confeſs, that never any afforded more matter of humane inſtruction.* For marvelous it is, that a few Fiſher-men ſhould fight ſo long with a Monarch, ſo vaſt and puiſſant, that the Sun both riſes and ſets in his Dominions, when the opening of a Sluice, or cutting of a Damm would

drown them and their Countrey. How this was done, the *Riſe* and *Growth*; the *Deſigne*, as well as the *Action* are skilfully and clearly told you in this Book. If you ask why 'tis call'd The *WARRS OF FLANDERS*, which ſtrictly taken is but One Province of *Seventeen*, (and this Book ſpeaks equally the Warrs of all the reſt) our *Author* himſelf Anſwer's it, *Page* 2. And if you read but the very firſt Leaf, 'twill furniſh you ſufficiently (without farther Preface) to the whole WORK. It likely may diſpleaſe you to ſee him ſtile the Enemy *Heretick* and *Schiſmatick*; but conſider 'tis the uſuall Language of that Church whereof he was a Member; and Writers who are of the contrary Perſwaſion, do beſtow as ſharp Epithets on Him and his Friends But, which more becomes my Duty to acquaint you, take notice how the *Printer* (according to his Cuſtome) hath miſtaken a few Figures on the head of ſome Pages; *viz.* In the *firſt Part*, pag. 50, for 55. and pag. 129, for 139. In the *ſecond Part*, pag. 193. *Book* II. for *Book* I. And in the *third Part*, pag. 413. *Book* VI. for VII. Now I hope none will miſtake this Hiſtory for that other Book of his which I lately publiſh'd; call'd (*HISTORICALL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES*) which poſſibly ſome may do, becauſe both have the ſame *Author*, and the ſame *Honourable* Tranſlator, and *FLANDERS* is the ſubject Matter of both: But the former treats properly of the *Scituation* of the *Countrey*, the *Nature* of the *Inhabitants*, Form of their *Government* in particular Provinces, and in their generall *Union*, their *Intereſt* and *Religion*, the *Title* and *Right* of *Dominion* over them; with the *Religion* and *Intereſt* of all their *Friends* and *Enemies*: Which Book was ſo wiſely and uſefully Written, that it hath been Tranſlated and often Printed in moſt Languages of *Europe*. This I now offer, is an accurate Hiſtory of the *WARRS OF FLANDERS*, and is a diſtinct entire Work of it ſelf. The *Author* wrote this after the former; and how he hath perform'd it, there needs no Evidence but the word of Learned GROTIUS, who (in a Letter to Monſieur *Du Maurier* the French Ambaſſador at the *Hague*) ſay's,

say's; "*I confess my Expectation was much deceiv'd* "*in Cardinall* BENTIVOGLIO; *I could not hope from* "*the hand of an Enemy to receive so impartiall a History* "*of our Warrs: I doubted not his Ability, for I had* "*formerly seen some Discourses of his; but this shews he* "*knew what to write, and wrote what he knew: His* "*Education abroad, and long Residence in* Flanders *ena-* "*bled him for both; My Countrey will by this be a Gai-* "*ner and a Loser: Our* Courage *and* Diligence *was equall* "*to theirs, our* Swords *as sharp; but now* BENTI- "VOGLIO *hath Conquer'd us with his* Pen, *and will* "*wound us to Posterity.*

Ad

Ad Comitem Monumethenſem de BENTIVOGLIO ſuo.

Floribus Angligenis *non hanc tibi necto Corollam,*
Cum ſatis indigenis te probet ipſe Liber;
Per me Roma *ſciet tibi ſe debere, quòd* Anglo
Romanus *didicit cultiùs ore loqui;*
Ultima quæ tellus Aquilas duce Cæſare *vidit,*
Candida Romulidûm *te duce ſcripta videt:*
Conſilio ut quondam Patriam nil juveris, eſto,
Sed ſtudio cives ingenioque juvas;
Namque dolis Liber hic inſtructus & arte Batavâ,
A Belgâ *nobis ut caveamus, ait;*
Horremus per te civilis dira furoris
Vulnera, diſcordes Flandria *quaſſa monet;*
Hìe diſcat Miles pugnare, orare Senator,
Qui regnant, leni ſceptra tenere manu:
Macte (Comes) *virtute novâ veſtri ordinis ingens*
Ornamentum, ævi dæliciæque tui;
Dum ſtertunt alii ſomno, vinoque ſepulti,
Nobilis antiquo ſtemmate digna facis.

ED. WALLER.

To the Earl of *MONMOUTH*:

On his Tranſlation of BENTIVOGLIO.

THoſe who could rule the ancient World with eaſe,
Could ſtrictly govern all, yet none diſpleaſe,
Were thoſe who cheriſh'd Learning; not becauſe
It wrapt in rev'renc'd Myſterie the Lawes,
Nor that it did the Nobles civilize,
But rather that it made the People wiſe;
Who found by reading Story (where we ſee
What the moſt knowing were, or we ſhould bee)
That only *Peace breeds bliſs*, and only they
Breed Peace, who (*wiſely fooliſh*) Pow'r obey.
Of ſuch importance for the Publick good
Is Learning, when by th' People underſtood;
But thoſe who dreſs it in a *forreign Tongue*,
Serve *Meat* in cover'd *Plate* to make them long;
Whilſt thoſe who forreign Learning well *tranſlate*,
Feed weak Minds full, and at the cheapeſt rate.
This you have done, *my Lord*! which only ſhowes
How free your Mind in publick Chanels flowes:
But if that good to which ſome Men are born,
Doe leſs then good-acquir'd our Names adorn,
The ceaſleſs nature of your Kindneſs then,
Still ready to inform un-languag'd Men,
Deſerves leſs Praiſe, if rightly underſtood,
Than does your Judgment how to doe Men good;
Which none can value at too high a rate,
Judging the *choice* of *Authors* you *tranſlate*.

WILL. D'AVENANT.

AMSTERDAM
ANTWERPEN
GHENDT
Gentlman
Brabander
Hollander
PICARDIA
PART OF
THE BRITAINE OCEAN
BOULONNOIS
A. Catalogue of the Cities et Villages in everie Province:
Brabant 26 700
Gelder et Zutphen 22 300
Limburg 5 123
Lutzeburg 23 1109
Flanders 35 1178
Artesia 12 754
Hannonia 24 950
Holland 33 400
Zeeland 10 101
Namure 4 185
Marchion S. Imp. 1 —
Alechlinia 1 9
Vtrecht 5 70
Freesland 11 345
Overissell 11 101
Groning 1 145
Cities. Villag.
The Explication of the Notes
Cities
Villages
Casiles
Monasteries
Fortes or Bulwarke
Ausey
Cayen
S. Valery
Abbeville
Picquigny
Conty
Amiens
Dourlens
Demvig
Morlaeul
Corbie
Cappy
Nelle
Peronne
Han
Goucoucourt
Beaucamp
Beauvoir
Denville
Fonsomme
Croix
Bouhan
Ghuise
Lesquiel
Proisy
Sygny
Cappelle
Avoire
Sal
Symay
Gourich
Couvenes
Les Quieles
Tourne
Masier
Cambray
Bouchain
Landrechies
Condet
Leuze
Cisoing
Walcourt
Marieburg
Santoer
Philippeville
Florene
Chastelet
Gebiau
Orbais
Meesene
Ryssel
Armentiers
Merville
Lens
Arras
Bapaume
Bray
Corbie
Dourlens
Picquigny
Abbeville
Rue
Estaples
Fiennes
Guines
Ardres
Calais
Gravelines
Bergues
Dunkerque
Furnes
Nieuport
Ostende
Bruges
Ypres
Courtray
Lille
Tournay
Valenciennes
Bavay
Maubeuge
Avesnes
Landrecies
Guise
Vervins
Rocroy
Mezieres
Sedan
Stenay
Montmedy
Thionville
Metz
Verdun
Clermont
Beauvais
Compiegne
Noyon
Roye
Montdidier
Peronne
Bapaume
Arras
Douay
Orchies
Lisle
Menin
Warneton
Comines
Werwick
Armentiers
Bethune
Aire
St. Omer
Gravelines
Calais
Boulogne
Montreuil
Hesdin
Doullens
Amiens
Abbeville
Gamaches
Dieppe
Neufchastel
Aumale
Gournay
Beauvais
Clermont
Senlis
Crespy
Meaux
Paris
Pontoise
Mantes
Vernon
Gisors
Andely
Les Andelys
Pont de l'Arche
Elbeuf
Rouen
Caudebec
Harfleur
Honfleur
Lisieux
Bayeux
Caen
Falaise
Argentan
Alençon
Mortagne
Verneuil
Dreux
Chartres
Nogent le Rotrou
Chasteau du Loire
Vendosme
Blois
Amboise
Tours
Orleans
Montargis
Gien
Sancerre
Bourges
Issoudun
Chasteauroux
Le Blanc
Argenton
Poitiers
Chastellerault
Loudun
Thouars
Niort
Fontenay
Rochelle
Rochefort
Brouage
Marennes
Oleron
Blaye
Bourg
Libourne
Bordeaux
Cadillac
La Reole
Bazas
Langon
Agen
Tonneins
Marmande
Clairac
Villeneuve
Montauban
Moissac
Castelsarrasin
Tolose
Grenade
Auch
Condom
Lectoure
Fleurance
Lombez
Muret
Carcassonne
Narbonne
Beziers
Agde
Montpellier
Frontignan
Cette
Aigues Mortes
Nismes
Arles
Tarascon
Avignon
Carpentras
Orange
Pont St. Esprit
Uzes
Alais
Le Vigan
Milhaud
Millau
Rhodez
Villefranche
Figeac
Cahors
Montauban
Moissac
Castelsarrasin
Tolose
Grenade
Auch
Condom
Lectoure
Fleurance
Lombez
Muret
Carcassonne
Narbonne
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Montpellier
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Aigues Mortes
Nismes
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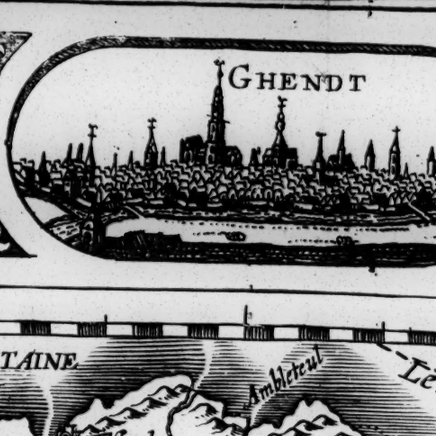
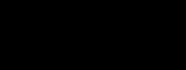
Avignon
Carpentras
Orange
Pont St. Esprit
Uzes
Alais
Le Vigan
Milhaud
Millau
Rhodez
Villefranche
Figeac
Cahors

MIDDELBVRG
GROENINGEN
51
52
Dover
Le Pas de Calais
Calais
Gravelingen
Nieuport
Ostende
Trix
Sandel
Steen plaet
Walcheren
ZEELAN
DIA.
Vlissingen
Brouwershaven
West OCCIDENS
West et by North
West North West
North West et by West
North-West
North West et by North
North North West
North et by West
North SEPTENTRIO
North et by East
North North East
North East et by North
North-East
North East et by East
East North East
East et by North
East ORIENS
East et by South
East South East
South East et by East
South-East
South East et by South
South South East
South et by East
South MERIDIES
South et by West
South South West
South West et by South
South-West
South West et by West
West South West
West et by South
PART OF ENGLAND
PAROTHEG



Gentlman

Brabander


Hollander

50

24

25

26

PICARDIA

PART OF

FR

THE BRITAINE OCEAN

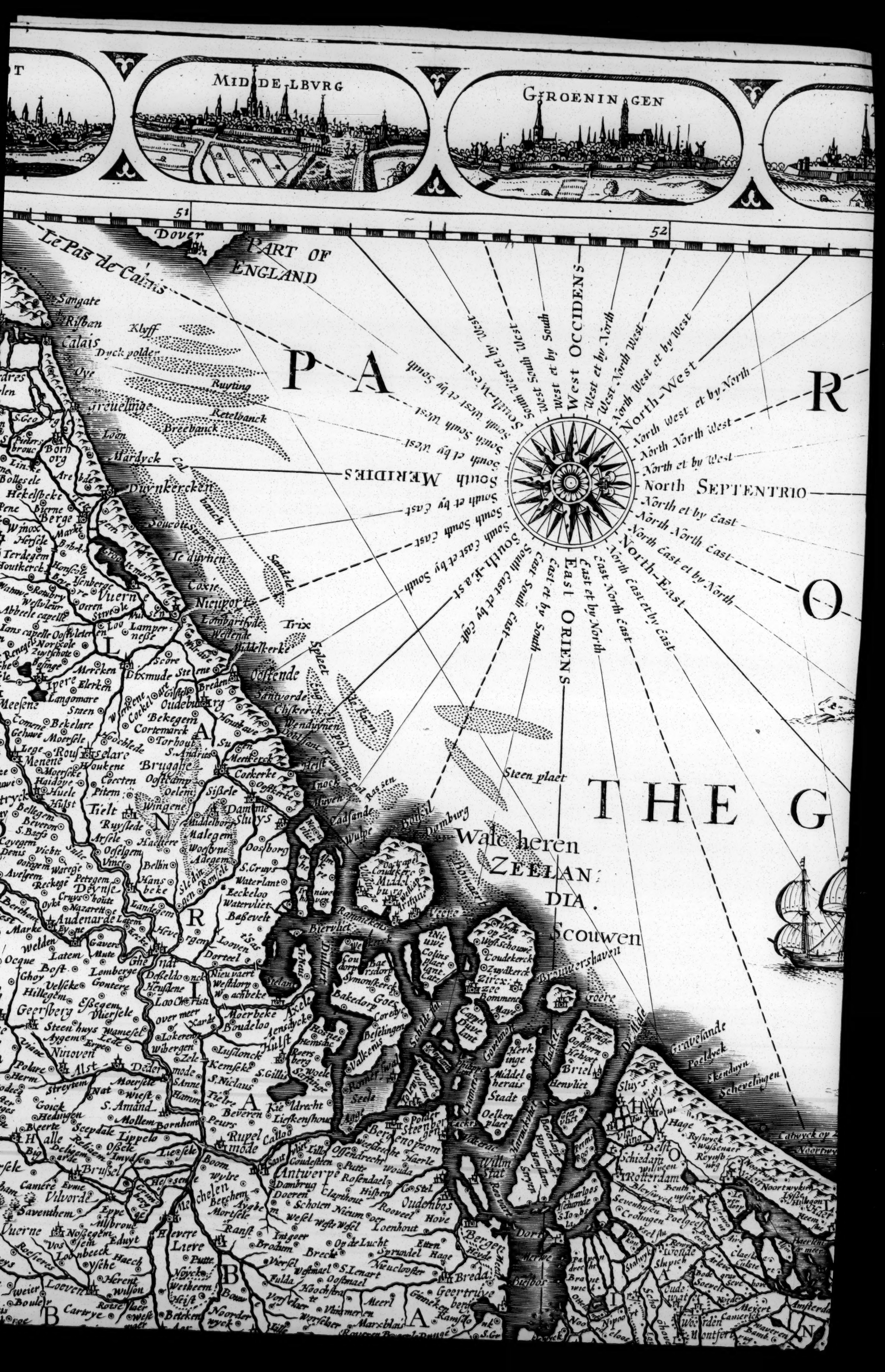
BOULONNOIS

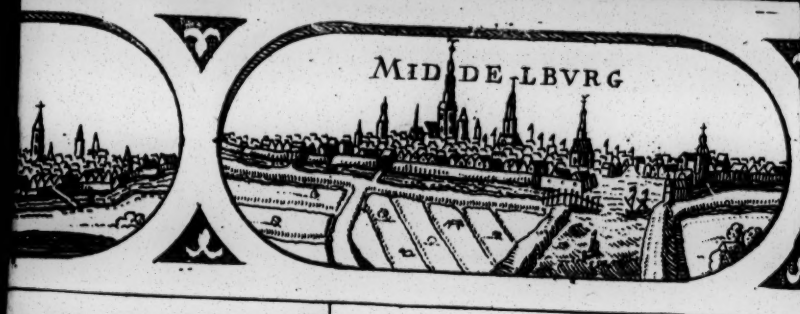
ARTOIS

CAMBRESY

HAINAULT

Ausey
Cayen
S. Valery
Somme fluv.
Abbeville
Picquigny
Conty
Amiens
Dourlens
Demvig
Morloeul
Cappy
Bray
Nelle
Peronne
Han
Beaucamp
Chastelat
Beauvoir
Denville
Fonsomme
Croix
Bouhan
Ghiise
Lesquiel
Proisy
Sygny
Cappelle
Flaumont
Glagoen
Avoire
Les Quieles
Tourne
Masier
Hebbes
Reving
Arel
Auby fluv.
Cayeux
Cro: toy
Porte as selane
Rue
Molinelle
Fames
Retel
Iurgy
Auxy
S. Requier
Terremmi
Oriville
Baillon
Satou
Contay de walroy
Corbie
Authie
Bus
Mineraulx mont
Encre
Courcel
Ervillers
Coveq
Vaux
Eroage abb.
Itre
Sort
Gouzaucourt
Goathien
Chastelet
Denville
Boteul
Fernacq
Ruz
Fontaine avecq olly
Chastau en Cambresis
S. Martin
Landrechi
Barly
Proisy
Barlamont
Cappelle
Flaumont
Glagoen
Wallers
Avoire
Beaurier
Sal
Mothiart
Symay
Gourien
Couvenes
Morin
Molte
Hebbes
Arel
Merricken
Demville
Reving
Tourne
Les Quieles
Masier
Auby fluv.
Crecy
Estaples
Fiennes
Guines
Ecotte
Iacques
Ardres
Watines
Wisnes
Zuave
Monstreul
Nibille
Marenla
Selle
Leyssen
Embry
Fasq
Rentty
Waudrec
Osterbe
Capel
Clery
Arques
Crego
Ring
Ayr
Reuty
Auses
Pernes
Lilers
Resly
Boesegem
Caesel
Harsbrouck
Haesterck
Eeke
Houtkerck
Terdegem
Wallo
Borre
Merville
Abbeele
Meres
Belle
Gor
Lorren
Sturwerk
Nouberke
Renescl
Dikebosche
Vermesele
Armentiers
Meesene
Comene
Gehave
Byecke
Ryssel
Bon du
Melantois
Torguey
Recke
Lan
Lauwt
Lannoy
Lauwe
Cortryck
Belleg
Orchie
Wambay
Aneby
Arneg
Remmeg
Nammees
Chasteau de Loire
S. Amand
S. Adrien
Dornick
Avelgem
Morlaigne
Niel
Arque
Obije
Piernes
Mande
Amers
Marke
Condet
Leuze
Grames
Houtan
Ocque
Eign
Aleth
Cieven
Lesine
Engnien
Soigny
Reux
Blanche
Carmar
Chastean
Rosgni
Abenteren
Berfele
Nivelle
Petit Ruel
Foa: lane
Planenoot
Lanne
Vuerne
Chastelet
Melior
Gebleu
Camone
Orbais
S. Paul
Hebbes
Arel
Merricken
Demville
Reving
Tourne
Les Quieles
Masier


MIDDELBURG
GROENINGEN
51
52
Dover
PART OF ENGLAND
Le Pas de Calais
Sangate
Ryban
Calais
Kluff
Dyck polder
Oye
Ruyting
Greveling
Retelbanck
Breebanck
Loon
Mardyck
Duynkercken
banck
Souvotesgron
Te duynen
Coxie
Nieuport
Lombartsyde
Trix
Spleet
Middelkerke
Ostende
Santvorde
Chsckerck
Wenduynen
Pol
Blankenberge
Steen plaet
Cadsande
Wulpe
Dumburg
Walcheren
ZEELAN
DIA.
Scouwen
Brouwershaven
Goere
Graveslande
Poeldyck
Keendtyn
Scheveling
Vlissingen
Middelburg
Arnemuyden
Veere
Vlissingen
Ramekens
Biervliet
Duiveland
Goes
Bakendorp
Zierickzee
Zierickzee
Briel
Henvliet
Delfshaven
Rotterdam
Schiedam
Delft
Hage
Ryswyck
Wassenaer
Reynswyk
Noortwyck
Leyden
Hillegom
Haerlem
Amsterdam
Vlaerdingen
Willemstat
Strijen
Dordrecht
Dort
Merwe
Geertruydenberg
Breda
Bergen op Zoom
Antwerpe
Lillo
Liefkenshoek
Oudenbos
Hove
Loenhout
Eten
Hage
Sprundel
Nieucloster
Ostmael
Meerl
Ramsdonck
Gheertruydenberg
Boisbos
Oudewat
Woerden
Montfort
Utrecht
Americk
Vianen
Gorcum
Schoonhoven
Oudewater
Leerdam
Arkel
Gouda
Rotterdam
Schoonderwoerd
Culenborch
Tiel
Bommel
Crevecoeur
Heusden
Geertsberg
Hillegem
Esschen
Vlaemsel
Steenhuys
Aygem
Nieuven
Alst
Moerbeke
Boudeloo
Aenschycke
Hulst
Axele
Hontenisse
Sluys
Damme
Middelburg
Oostkamp
Brugghe
Oudenburg
Houtkarke
Cortemarck
Torhout
Bekegem
Oudebourg
Ipere
Elerken
Meesen
Comene
Bekelare
Gheluwe
Moersele
Menene
Houkene
Haidoye
Huele
Hulst
Beveren
Bellegem
Vichte
Waregie
Avelgem
Reckegie
Petegem
Deynse
Cruys houte
Oyke
Nazareth
Audenarde
Eyne
Welden
Latem
Ocque
Boest
Ghoy
Velseke
Lemberge
Gontere
Deselde
Heusdene
Loo
Chevi
Isti
Westdorp
Achbeke
Lokeren
Wibergen
Zele
Mode
Alst
Moerseke
Nat
Wiest
S. Amand
Hamme
Goick
Hedingen
Beerte
Scepdale
Lippelo
Halle
Big
Bruxsel
Camere
Evere
Vilvorde
Saventhem
Vuerne
Nosegem
Eduyt
Loenbeeck
Haech
Herent
Wilson
Roosieres
Loovere
Boulers
Cartrye
Wesemael
Vos
Isem
Ossele
Deftigem
Impde
Boom
Wytre
Schelen
Bergchem
Aygbe
Mortsele
Ranst
Lierre
Putte
Nyyck
Wetheem
Hoffst
Bouw
Noorderwyck
Beirken
Wesemael
Vlimmeren
Marchlais
Rouveen
Rouveen
Rouveen



51

52

Dover

PART OF ENGLAND

Le Pas de Calais

Sangate

Risban

Calais

Klyff

Dyck polder

Oye

Ruyting

Ardeuling

Retelbanck

Breebanck

Loon

Mardyck

Cat

Duynkercken

banck

Soucoteswrong

Te duynhen

Sandel

Coxie

Nieuport

Lombartsyde

Trix

Spleet

Oostende

Middelkerke

Steen plaet

Dumburg

Walcheren

ZEELAN-

DIA.

Scouwen

Braunwershaven

Graevesande

Poeldyck

Ekendyn

Scheveldingen

Catwyck op Zee

Noortwyck op Zee

Delft

Schiedam

Rotterdam

Briel

Henvliet

Sluys

Hage

Ryswyck

Wassenaer

Reynsburg

Vlaerding

Maerle

Woerden

Amsterda

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53

A NEW MAPE OF THE XVII PROVINCES OF LOW GERMANIE,

mended a new in manie places.

Anno 1626.

24

25

26

T

F

ERMAN OCEAN.

THE NORTH SEA.

Texel I.

Beverwyck Egmont

Alkmaer

Vlielandt.

A Gentlewoman

A Brabanders wiffe

A Hollanders wiffe

AMSTERDAM

Gentlman

Brabander

A Hollander

ANTWERPEN

GHENDT

50

24

25

26

THE BRITAINE OCEAN

PICARDIA

PART OF FRANCE

BOULONNOIS

ARTOIS

CAMBRESY

HAINAULT

FLANDERS

Auscy
Cayen
S. Valery
Somme fluv.
Crotoy
Pont as Selarne
Rue
Molinelle
Abbeville
Fames
Picquigny
Conty
S. Requier
Amiens
Dourlens
Terremmi
Baillon
Oriville
Saton
Contay
Demvig
Morlaeul
Corbie
Cappy
Bray
Nelle
Peronne
Han
Goucoucourt
Goulien
Beaucamp
Chaſtelat
Beauvoir
Denville
Fonſomme
Croix
Bouhan
Ghiuſe
Leſquiel
Proiſy
Sygny
Cappelle
Flaumont
Glagoen
Wallers
Avoyre
Sal
Symay
Gourien
Couuenes
Les Quieles
Tourne
Maſier
Pre
Brris
Rumeli
Glage
Rovecourt
Eſedain
Mouſon
Aſtenay
Auby fluv.
Tregort
Eſby
Eſtaples
Monſtreul
Maren
Bonri
Dompien
Rapſy
Raycy
Retel
Iurgy
Auxy
Fuſſes
Boubert
Manty
Roi
Terremmi
Oriville
Serina
Pas
Tiene
Authie
Sovaſtre
Bus
Baiecort
Rebuterz
Courſel
Ervillers
Croiſilles
Vaus
Honcourt
Cappy
Bos
Itre
Saras
Sore
Hauricourt
Dromcurt
Arleux
Camillo
Cambray
Twyvt
Nave
Wallincourt
Fernacq
Rieux
Noyelle
Sailfroy
Monſtreul
Fontaine avecq
Chaſteau en Cambreſis
S. Martin
Molſay
Caſtilon
Porx
Landrechi
Voy
Royſin
Vaaſt
Oue
Snoy
Seburg
Pre
Obys
Bavay
Barlamont
Hargny
Longevil
Engy
Oneſnes
Maubeugt
Flherſes
Semerys
Rocq
Coyes
Ebbe
Hecq
Beſily
Beaumont
Lugny
Duelle
Thuyn
Derpion
Runſse
Fouberzy
Mierte
Iardine ab
Walcourt
Marieburg
Santoer
Philippeville
Francimo
Maſee
Carmont
Maſen
Roſoy
Stove
Roulx
Foſſe
Romen
Bouigne
River
Hebbes
Ardenna
Silva
Orchmont
Iesbourſe
Foeſnes
Severy
Dinam
Mouren
Ablin
Maulinpaye
Beouring
Houre
Longra
Boyen
Chinay
Ligne
Noyen
Aden
Grone
Nobaul
Bullon
Dampuille
Reuing
Warridon
Molthe
Fanny
Areé
Elmon
Verſyl
Bouham
Vrin
Folen
Sore
Morſcau
Illy
Tay
Elle
Dansi
Chier
Vres
Onſart
Offais
Buſſ
Greve
Eloy
Achy
Gayne
Contize
Faloys
Svictor
Thourne
Hannuye
Namur
Ramely
Pontis
Harlen
Meroble
Bes
Porsey
Ville
Acoce
Siselles cast
Iaſeke
Cra
Avencon
Ramillies
Orbais
Aigy
Perwes
Bommia
Hedy
Lincy
Nodi
Averne
Meſen
Comp
Gehan
Ceveger
Dornick
Pots
Avely
Morlaigne
Niel
Arque
Obije
Hovino
Bongny
Piernes
Mande
Amers
Condet
Leuze
Grames
Houtan
Blaton
Tumicnd
Catoile
Harshus
Ville
Buille
Cieven
Aſeth
Swaukt
Baduc
Celi
Lens
Cambron
Roey
Sille
Monthegny
Chaſteau
Engnien
Sogny
Brayne
Reulx
La Felly
Verſchau
Binche
Carmar
Roſgui
Abenteren
Nivelle
Petit Ruek
Foa: lane
Planenoot
Fanne
Thimeon
Fafy
Viler
Carnoy
Telon
Meſk
Chaſtelet
Florene
Sedan
Ore
Iuſne
Iouere
Ianuaigne
Marian
Woden
Meliori
Senbref
Fanno
Gebion
Camone
Orbais
Froy
Perwes
Bommia
Ramely

MIDDELBVRG

GROENINGEN

51

52

Dover

PART OF ENGLAND

Le Pas de Calais

Sangate

Risban

Calais

Klyff

Dyck polder

Oye

Ruyting

Greueling

Retelbanck

Breebanck

Loon

Mardyck

Duynkercken

Soucoteswegen

Te duynen

Coxie

Nieuport

Trix

Oostende

Spleet

Sandelet

Steen plaet

THE G

Walcheren

ZEELAN

DIA.

Scouwen

Goere

Gravesande

Poeldyck

Skendyn

Scheveningen

Delfshaven

Schiedam

Rotterdam

Dort

Bergen

Breda

Geertruyt

Amsterdam

Utricht

Soest

Amersfoort

Deventer

Zutphen

Arnhem

Nimmegen

Tiel

Bommel

Gorcum

Leerdam

Culenborg

Woerden

Montfoort

Oudewater

Gouda

Schoonhoven

Vianen

Ysselstein

Hoculum

Wijck te Duerstede

Utrecht

Amersfoort

Baerne

Soest

Birkt

Bunschate

Amersfoort

Hoorn

Enkhuysen

Medemblick

Stavoren

Harlingen

Franeker

Leeuwarden

Dockum

Sneek

Workum

Hindeloopen

Staveren

Molkwerum

Bolsward

Sloten

Ilst

Joure

Wolvega

Oldeboorn

Gaasterland

Lemmer

Urck

Elburg

Harderwijck

Hattem

Zwolle

Campen

Kampen

Oldenzeel

MIDDELBVRG

GROENINGEN

ZVTP

51

52

Dover

PART OF ENGLAND

Le Pas de Calais

Sangate

Risban

Kluff

Calais

Dyck polder

Oye

Ruyting

Greueling

Retelbanck

Breebanck

Loon

Mardyck

Duynkercken

banck

Soucoetsbrouck

Te duynen

Sandelel

Coxie

Nieuport

Lombartsyde

Wettende

Middelkerke

Trix

Spleet

Oostende

Santvorde

Chistkerck

Wendunmen

Pol

Steen plaet

Walcheren

ZEELAN-

DIA.

Scouwen

Brouwershaven

Graveslande

Poeldyck

Ekenduyn

Schevelingen

Catwyck op Zee

Noortwyck op

Delft

Rotterdam

Schiedam

Dort

Bergen

Bredam

Amsterdam

Utricht

Leerdam

Woerden

Montfort

Ysselsteyn

Oudenbos

Hove

Antwerpe

Rupelmode

Boom

Vilvorde

Bruxel

Mechelen

Vuerne

Ypre

Brugghe

Oudenaerde

Audenarde

Tielt

Ruyslede

Malegem

Deynse

Petegem

Landegem

Nazareth

Lembeke

Gontrode

Velseke

Hillegem

Geersbergen

Steenhuys

Nieuvaert

Westdorp

Dorteel

Waterlant

Eeckeloo

Watervliet

Baßevelt

Sluys

Oostburg

Middelburg

Aardenburg

Biervliet

Ramskens

Coudorp

Goes

Bakedorp

Symonskerck

Valkenis

Beselingen

Hulst

Axele

Moerbeke

Brudeloo

Lokeren

Wibergen

Lusdonck

Kemseke

Zele

Dendermode

Alst

Nieuvenen

Polare

Herm

Moerselle

Nat

Wiest

Goick

Hedsingen

Scepdale

Lippelo

Halle

Berselle

Camere

Vilvorde

Saventhem

Loenbeek

Haech

Herent

Weirde

Loeven

Boulers

Cartrye

Fidoigne

Lancelet

Ast

Tienen

Linche

Noduwroe

Meer

Leuwe

Landen

Tirlemont

Diest

Tessenderloo

Beringen

Sichene

Veerle

Kastel

Zoonael

Hauwart

Molenbeke

Ghoel

Rynhout

Out Thornhout

Arendonck

Ruerssel

Bakell

Rhety

Deschel

Molle

Postel

Diessem

Eesch

Thornhout

Rem

Eell

Ryle

Perkebek

Poppe

Hoesden

Herp

Engelen

Sherpenzeel

Bosch

Heel

Culemborg

Vianen

Vreeswyck

Nieuwkoop

Woerden

Montfort

Ysselsteyn

Leerdam

Vianen

Culemborg

Vreeswyck

Utricht

Zeyst

Soest

Baerne

Huyzen

Amersfort

Hilversum

Naarden

Muyden

Weesp

Amsterdam

Edam

Monnikendam

Purmerende

Broeck

Alkmaer

Enchuysen

Medemblick

Hoorn

Stavoren

Workum

Hindeloopen

Molkwerum

Sloten

Joure

Sneek

Bolsward

Harlingen

Franeker

Leeuwarden

Dockum

Sneek

Workum

Hindeloopen

Molkwerum

Sloten

Joure

Bolsward

Harlingen

Franeker

Leeuwarden

Dockum

Groningen

Delfzyl

Dam

Embden

Norden

Aurick

Esens

Wittmundt

Jever

Varel

Oldenburg

Elsfleth

Brake

Bremen

Verden

Stade

Cuxhaven

Ritzebuttel

Hamburg

Lubeck

Wismar

Rostock

Stralsund

Greifswald

Anclam

Stettin

Usedom

Wollin

Damm

Gartz

Schwedt

Angermunde

Prenzlow

Templin

Zehdenick

Oranienburg

Spandau

Berlin

Potsdam

Brandenburg

Rathenow

Havelberg

Perleberg

Wittenberge

Lenzen

Dannenberg

Lüneburg

Celle

Hannover

Minden

Nienburg

Hoya

Diepholt

Vechta

Cloppenburg

Meppen

Lingen

Bentheim

Steinfurt

Rheine

Ibbenbüren

Osnabrück

Quakenbrück

Bramsche

Melle

Wiedenbrück

Rheda

Gütersloh

Bielefeld

Herford

Enger

Vlotho

Rinteln

Hameln

Springe

Gronau

Alfeld

Elze

Sarstedt

Peine

Hildesheim

Braunschweig

Wolfenbüttel

Helmstedt

Schöningen

Königslutter

Jerxheim

Gandersheim

Seesen

Goslar

Clausthal

Zellerfeld

Osterode

Herzberg

Northeim

Einbeck

Uslar

Münden

Hann. Münden

Witzenhausen

Eschwege

Allendorf

Sontra

Rotenburg

Hersfeld

Fulda

Hünfeld

Geisa

Vacha

Salzungen

Meiningen

Hildburghausen

Coburg

Lichtenfels

Kronach

Kulmbach

Bayreuth

Hof

Wunsiedel

Selb

Asch

Eger

Tirschenreuth

Waldsassen

Mitterteich

Weiden

Neustadt

Amberg

Sulzbach

Hirschau

Nabburg

Schwandorf

Cham

Furth

Regen

Zwiesel

Grafenau

Deggendorf

Straubing

Bogen

Mallersdorf

Landshut

Dingolfing

Vilsbiburg

Mühldorf

Altötting

Burghausen

Tittmoning

Laufen

Reichenhall

Berchtesgaden

Traunstein

Rosenheim

Wasserburg

Ebersberg

Erding

Freising

Moosburg

Landau

Pfarrkirchen

Eggenfelden

Griesbach

Vilshofen

Passau

Schärding

Braunau

Ried

Schärding

Wels

Gmunden

Ischl

Hallstatt

Aussee

Ischl

Salzburg

Hallein

Golling

Werfen

Radstadt

St. Johann

Zell am See

Mittersill

Kitzbühel

Kufstein

Rattenberg

Schwaz

Hall

Innsbruck

Zirl

Telfs

Imst

Landeck

Nauders

Glurns

Meran

Bozen

Brixen

Sterzing

Lienz

Sillian

Toblach

Cortina

Belluno

Feltre

Conegliano

Treviso

Venedig

Chioggia

Adria

Rovigo

Ferrara

Comacchio

Ravenna

Cervia

Rimini

Pesaro

Fano

Sinigaglia

Ancona

Loreto

Recanati

Macerata

Tolentino

Camerino

Fabriano

Jesi

Osimo

Sassoferrato

Gubbio

Urbino

Cagli

Fossombrone

Cattolica

Rimini

Cesena

Forli

Faenza

Imola

Bologna

Modena

Reggio

Parma

Piacenza

Cremona

Lodi

Crema

Pizzighettone

Soncino

Pandino

Treviglio

Bergamo

Brescia

Salò

Riva

Trento

Rovereto

Arco

Ala

Roveredo

Chiavenna

Bormio

Tirano

Sondrio

Morbegno

Como

Lecco

Milano

Monza

Gorgonzola

Vaprio

Trezzo

Cassano

Pavia

Voghera

Tortona

Alessandria

Novi

Serravalle

Gavi

Ovada

Acqui

Asti

Nizza

Alba

Bra

Cherasco

Fossano

Saluzzo

Carmagnola

Chieri

Turin

Rivoli

Susa

Pinerolo

Savigliano

Cuneo

Mondovi

Ceva

Oneglia

Porto Maurizio

Albenga

Finale

Savona

Vado

Genua

Rapallo

Chiavari

Sestri

Levanto

Spezia

Carrara

Massa

Pietrasanta

Lucca

Pescia

Pistoia

Prato

Florenz

Empoli

Pisa

Livorno

Volterra

Siena

Montepulciano

Chiusi

Arezzo

Cortona

Castiglione

Perugia

Assisi

Foligno

Spoleto

Terni

Narni

Amelia

Rieti

Aquila

Sulmona

Solmona

Aquino

Sora

Arpino

Frosinone

Anagni

Palestrina

Tivoli

Rom

Ostia

Velletri

Albano

Marino

Frascati

Civita Vecchia

Corneto

Viterbo

Orvieto

Montefiascone

Bolsena

Acquapendente

Radicofani

Chiusi

Montalcino

Grosseto

Orbitello

Piombino

Elba

Capraja

Gorgona

Meloria

Porto Ferraio

Porto Longone

Porto Hercole

Talamone

Monte Argentario

Giglio

Ponza

Ventotene

Gaeta

Terracina

Fondi

Mola

Formia

Minturno

Sessa

Teano

Capua

Aversa

Neapel

Pozzuoli

Baiae

Cumae

Procida

Ischia

Castellamare

Sorrento

Amalfi

Salerno

Vietri

Cava

Nocera

Scafati

Torre Annunziata

Portici

Resina

Torre del Greco

Vesuv

Nola

Avellino

Benevento

Ariano

Troja

Foggia

Manfredonia

Siponto

Vieste

Lesina

Viesti

Trani

Barletta

Bisceglie

Molfetta

Giovenazzo

Bari

Monopoli

Polignano

Mola

Conversano

Rutigliano

Gioia

Altamura

Cassano

Acquaviva

Andria

Canosa

Ruvo

Corato

Minervino

Spinazzola

Venosa

Melfi

Rapolla

Lavello

Ascoli

Cerignola

Orta

Barletta

Trani

Bisceglie

Molfetta

Giovenazzo

Bari

Monopoli

Polignano

Mola

Conversano

Rutigliano

Gioia

Altamura

Cassano

Acquaviva

Andria

Canosa

Ruvo

Corato

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Spinazzola

Venosa

Melfi

Rapolla

Lavello

Ascoli

Cerignola

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Trani

Bisceglie

Molfetta

Giovenazzo

Bari

Monopoli

Polignano

Mola

Conversano

Rutigliano

Gioia

Altamura

Cassano

Acquaviva

Andria

Canosa

Ruvo

Corato

Minervino

Spinazzola

Venosa

Melfi

Rapolla

Lavello

Ascoli

Cerignola

Orta

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South-West et by South

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South West et by West

South-West et by South

South West et by West

South-West et by South

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South-

A NEW MAPE OF YE XVII PROVINCES OF LOW GERMANIE,

mended a new in manie places.

Anno 1626.

A Gentlewoman

A Brabanders wiffe

A Hollanders wiffe

E R M A N O C E A N.

T

F

THE NORTH SEA.

Texel I.

Vlielandt.

Der Schelling.

THE

Beverwyck Egmont Alckmaer Akersloot Purmerent Edam Monnickendam Naarden Muyden Oudewerck Zuyder gat Oude Zuyd gat Hoghe boom Schoric Stavoren Huysduynen Petten T'Suyder gat Dbbegat Spangiaerts gat Camp Egmont op zee Wyck op zee Sandvoort Huysduynen Coege West cynd Hoorn Hogenberg Oostcvnde Everlandt West vlielander diep Kolbesant Stortemelck Boomkes gat Pieters sant Noorder gat Oosterlant Schiering shals Brielsant Schute sant Sinquebat setting Grunt Middelgronde Vlielander gat Borurif Hollum Ameland Makumer Accelum Pingum Seyp Werum

53 24 25 26

A Fisher Man

A Contreyman

ANCE
BVI
LLON
L
V
T
Z
E
NB
V
R
G
Eyfel
STIFT
Namur
Dinant
Huy
Durbuy
Marche
Rosefort
Bullon
Mouson
Astenay
Ville France
Rovecourt
Esedain
Glage
Thionville
Remich
Trier
Vendentz
Traerbach
Berncastel
Bettingen
Tontorp
Munster
Eyfel
Lethmich
Sleiden
Monfou
Prumme
Schoneck
Bellendorf
Nueburg
Viandem
Malmedy
Stavelen
Gemund
Heynbach
Kall
Stenfele
Zulg
Wildenburg
Lyssendorf
Dudelendorf
Cherhartstein
Pillich
Veltz
Tetzen
Wellon
Greven
Wisdorf
Himea
Aun
Kenings Machen
Shengen
Beng
Kettenhoven
Rode Machere
Thionville
Basbourg
Longwy
Villers
Andrec
Adon
Soulevure
Londre
Arremy
Margoni
Con
Rounc roy
Sorbey
Dam villers
Dung
Malandri
Ville France
Astenay
Mouson
Esedain
Rovecourt
Glage
Bonham
Vrin
Folen
Sore
Vres
Orchmont
Ardenna
Silva
Han
Bouillon
Romen
Namur
Dinant
Huy
Durbuy
Marche
Rosefort
Bullon
Chiny
Virton
Arlon
Neufchastelle
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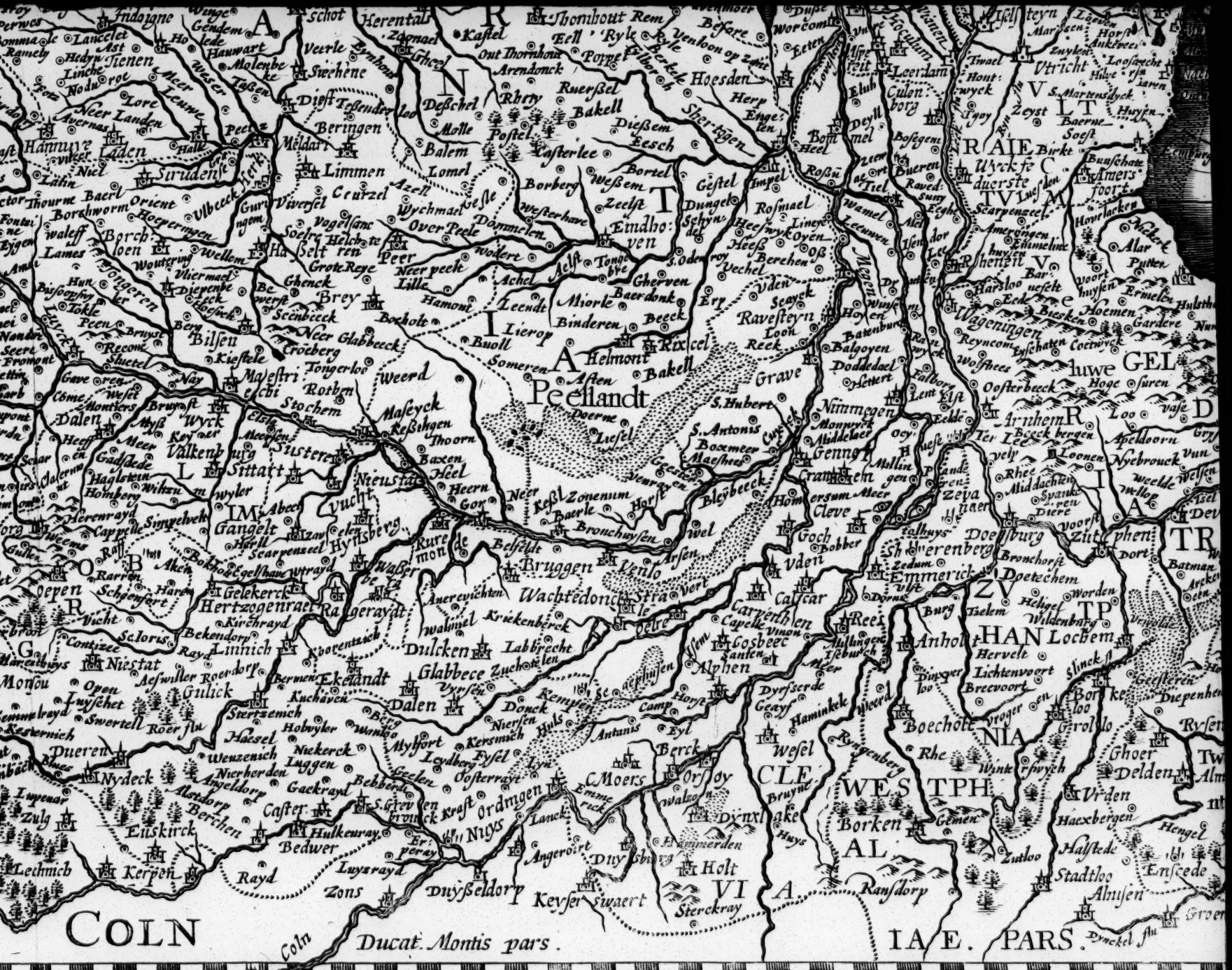
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Helmont
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Nimmegen
Arnhem
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Doesburg
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Haminkele
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Lichtenvoort
Breevoort
Hervelt
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Deventer
Zutphen
Doetechem
Worden
Wildenburg
Vtricht
Leerdam
Culenborg
Schoonhoven
Gouda
Woerden
Amersfoort
Harderwyck
Elburch
Hoesden
Arendonck
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Sweehene
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Limmen
Ceurzel
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Borchloen
Hoepermen
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Grave
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S. Hubert
S. Antonis
Boxmeer
Maesheyck
Gennep
Cranenburg
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Nyebrouck
Deventer
Arnhem
Wageningen
Reynoorn
Wolfhees
Oosterbeeck
Hoge Suren
Vase
Heelsum
Ede
Barneveld

Der Schelling.

Amelandt.

THE SOVTH SEA

ISVLAN Drent

PART OF EAST FREESLAND

Reyder landt.

De Louwers

De Schille

A Fishers Wiffe

A Contreywoman

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK I.

The Contents.

An Introduction to the Hiſtory. The ſcituation and Government of the Provinces of Flanders. *The firſt occaſions of the War deſcribed. In what condition* Flanders *was, when the Catholick King,* Philip *the ſecond, reſolved to leave thoſe Countrys, and to return for* Spain. *The general States, upon his departure, are aſſembled together at* Gaunt. *His Speech to the Dutcheſs of* Parma, *(whom he leaves Regent of thoſe Provinces.) Concerning the manner of Governing them. He departs, and goes his journey by Sea. Divers difficulties which the Dutcheſs meets withall at the beginning of her Government, and eſpecially in matters of Religion. The Nobility begin to ſtirr, and cannot tollerate the too great authority of Cardinal* Granville; *but chiefly the Prince of* Orange, *the Counts of* Egamont *and* Horne. *Their grievances or complaints, they write all three joyntly to the King, declaring openly againſt* Granville, *and deſire that he may be removed from* Flanders. *The King will not give way thereunto. They are ſcandalized at the refuſal, and together with the reſt of the Nobles, are ſo much the more incenſed againſt* Granville, *they come to open contempt of him. And finally, force the King to remove him from thence.*

THE Provinces of *Flanders* in former ages, were divided one from another, almoſt every one of them had its particular Prince; but rather Titular, then eſſential. Afterward, at ſeveral times they by degrees joyned one with another. The male Line failed in many of them, and Women came to ſucceed; by whoſe Marriages the States in thoſe Parts began chiefly to increaſe; and together with the ſtrength of the States, the prerogative of Princes. By this means the houſe of *Burgundy* did at laſt unite thoſe Provinces into one body, and govern'd them with ſuch greatneſs. And afterwards the Houſe of *Auſtria* came to poſſeſs and govern them in greater glo-

ry. The firſt of this Family on whom the Inheritance fell, was *Philip* the firſt, Son and Succeſſor to *Mary*, the laſt Princeſs, and Heir of the *Burgundian* bloud. From *Philip* who dyed in the flowre of his age, came *Charls*, and from *Charls*, *Philip* the ſecond. *Charls* poſſeſt *Flanders* in great quiet; but in the firſt year of *Philips* ſucceſſion, thoſe Provinces grew into ſuch alteration, through divers home-bred, and foreign occaſions, as the miſchief creeping in from the very beginning by degrees, now in one ſort, now in another, it at laſt broke forth into open tumults; and from tumults into one of the longeſt, and moſt bitter Wars that hath at any time happened. The events of this war is that which I undertake to deſcribe; which doubtleſly are the greateſt and moſt famous which can be expos'd to the Worlds Theatre. Forty years of continual troubles have paſt over ſince the firſt tumults, to the beginning of the Truce for twelve years. In which time, as alſo in the times following, wherein the Truce being ended, Arms were reaſſumed: he who ſhall conſider the ſucceſſes of this war, ſhall find ſo many, and ſo illuſtrious Scenes of various accidents, as he ſhall be compell'd to confeſs, that never any afforded more copious matter of Humane Inſtructions; or that any war more memorable then this, was ever written of, either in Antient or Modern Hiſtories. You ſhall ſee Countries of a ſmall circuit, conteſting with a mighty Monarchy; but you ſhall ſee them ſo favour'd by the Arms of Nature, by the Sea, and Rivers, and by Forces from abroad with all poſſible aſſiſtance, as it is not to be wondred if they have made ſo long oppoſition, and if they continue ſtill to make it more vigorouſly then ever. You, in their unvanquiſh'd Rebellion, ſhall ſee the rage of Hereſie againſt the Church, joyned to the like of Subjects againſt their Prince: And *Flanders* divided within her ſelf, miſerably to conſume by wars, cauſed no leſs by Religion, then by State-Intereſt; and ſet on fire no leſs by internal, then by external Forces. You ſhall ſee bloudy battels, unheard of ſieges, dreadfull ſackings, firings, and ruins: Succeſſes at Sea, which will not yield for cruelty, to thoſe by Land; and wars carryed with no leſs Atrocety from the neighbouring Seas of *Europe*, into the moſt remoted Seas of the *Indies*. Buſineſs will ſometimes appear amidſt Arms: and amidſt the raging noyſe of war, the natural deſire of peace. Yet ruine, death, and deſtruction, ſhall be ſeen to prevail on all ſides; And it ſhall appear, that on the fatal fields of *Flanders*, as on the Liſts of a publick Combat, almoſt all the Nations of *Europe* have ſtrove, and as it were vied to vent forth their anger and malice, and with their ſword in hand, to buckle themſelves ſtill more obſtinately one againſt the other.

But before I enter upon my intended Narration of the mentioned Affairs, it will be requiſite that I take their beginnings from a little further off; ſhewing firſt what the condition of the Provinces of *Flanders* was, and how the Neighboring Countreys were diſpoſed, when the mentioned Commotions began; to the end that their more inward cauſes being known, the future ſucceſſes may be the better underſtood. 'Tis then known to all men that the Provinces of *Flanders* paſt from the Line of *Burgundy*, into the houſe of *Auſtria*, in manner as hath been already ſaid. The aboveſaid Provinces are ſcituated upon the utmoſt confines of that Northern Continent of *Europe*, which neighbours moſt upon *Germany* and *France*. Some of them therefore go under the name of *Galla Belgica*; but all of them in common under the name of the Low-Countries of *Germany*; and more commonly by the name of *Flanders*. In time paſt, when they were all joyned together in one body, they made up the number of 17 Provinces, and were divided into the Dukedomes of *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Lucemburg*, and *Gelderland*: into the Counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Holland*, *Hennault*, *Zealand*, *Namures* and *Zutfen*: into the Marqueſate of the Holy Empire; and into the Lordſhips of *Frieſland*, *Mulines*, *Utricht*, *Overiſell* and *Groningham*. To which Countries was added, (but not as of the ſame body) the City of *Cambray*, together with the Territory of *Cambreſis*; and likewiſe the County of *Burgundy*, which is divided from all the reſt by the Interpoſition of *Lorain*. Theſe Provinces were very conformable one to another, in the inſtitution of Laws and Government. The Catholick Religion flouriſht equally in all of them, and the States repreſenting each of them, were generally formed of three ſorts of Perſons: Eccleſiaſticks, the

The Emperour Charles the 5.th
Prince of ye Low=Countreys.

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Ro: Vaughan sculp:

Nobility, and the more common sort of people. The Ecclesiasticks were for the most part Monasticall Abbots, who lived in their Monasteries, which were usually seated in the Country. The Nobles, were of the best qualified families, who likewise resided commonly in the Country, in their Lordships, and Castles; and the meaner sort of people were Tradesmen, and Artificers living in Cities; Civill and criminall causes were within the Cognisance of the Counsels of each Province, or of the Magistracy of every City; according to the quality of the affaire, and the Institutions of the Place: and Appeals were generally made to a supream Tribunall, which was placed in *Malines*, as the place most commodious for the whole Country. Three most remarkable Councels handled the affaires of Government at Court; The Councell of State, the privy Councell, and the Councell of the Exchequer, or Treasurie. The first was composed of some of the chiefest Lords of the Provinces, and of some Churchmen likewise and Gownmen, and things of greatest consequence were therein treated of: in the second, which consisted wholly of Lawyers, such matters of Justice were resolved on, for which it was necessary to have recourse to the Supream Authority of the Prince. And in the third, the Prince his Patrimoniall revenues were managed, as also all contribution monies, according to the need of the Provinces, which past through the hands of two or three of better account, and of other inferior Officers: and sometimes the States Generall of the whole Country were assembled: but this was onely in the most weighty affairs; and wherein necessity more then good will brought the Prince to see his people united together in one body: lest they upon such occasions might be so bold as rather to impose laws then receive them. This was the former form of the Government of the Provinces of *Flanders* in Generall. The People there have alwayes injoyed many Prerogatives and priviledges in the form of their government: and therefore have yielded unto their Princes an obedience mixt with libertie. No place can more abound in all things requisit for humane life, then *Flanders* doth, set wine and some other things aside. The winters there are not too excessive cold, the colds being rather long, then sharp, and transgressing much more in moisture then in hard weather. The Country is full of navigable rivers; and which for the most part, by the flowing of the sea, bring the sea it self, and the commerce thereof very far into the continent: but it is no lesser full of great towns, Cities, and inhabitants, who for the most part are tall of stature, of a candid aspect, and almost of as candid nature, much given to Traffick, and of a pleasant, and tractable nature, when they are not angred; but altogether as contumcious, implacable, and revengefull, when offended.

The possession of these parts, falling (as hath been said) upon *Philip* of *Austria*, he begot his eldest son *Charles*, in *Gaunt*, which is the chiefest City of the peculiar Province of *Flanders*: who likewise inherited the Kingdom of *Spaine*; and not long after was made Emperour of *Germany*. This *Charles* being born in *Flanders*, past his first childhood there, and was afterwards oftner seen there, then in any other part of his so many Kingdoms and Provinces, in the so frequent voyages which he continually made for the administration of their severall governments: together with the inclination which nature had given him towards the Dutch by his being born and bred up amongst them, he alwayes shewed a particular affection to them, by making use of them in his weightiest, and most important affairs, Signeur *De Ceures* had the charge and government of him in very Ample manner in his youth; Cardinall *Adrian*, who was afterwards Pope *Adrian* the sixth, together with *Ceures*, govern'd *Spain* in his absence; *Charles De Lanoia* governed the Kingdom of *Naples*, as also all the affairs of *Italy*, for a long time, with almost an absolute Authoritie. And in the wars of *Germany*, especially in those which burst forth often in his time towards the Frontiers of *France*. Of all other his Dominions, he made most use of the *Flanders* forces; upon all which occasions, the Flemish Nobility was alwayes greatly honoured, and favoured by him, and very great was the demonstration of love which he shewed towards those Countryes: the people whereof forgat not *Charles* his great affability to them in his tender years, and how graciously he alwayes heard and received them: and that of a Prince becomming a private man, he would oft times lay aside his publike Majestie, to make his particular affection

towards them appear the more; which cauſed them alwayes to ſhew all requiſit obedience, and conſtant devotion toward him, unleſs it were in that little Commotion in *Gaunt*, which was quieted as ſoon as begun. *Flanders* after this injoyed full and perfect felicity as long as he lived; for except it were in the Frontiers toward *France*, which ſometimes ſuffered by taking up of Arms, all the reſt of the Provinces injoyed a flouriſhing Peace, and perpetuall tranquilitie, in ſuch ſort, as it cannot be expreſt how much the inhabitants plenty, the frequencie of traffick, the beautie of Cities, and abundancy of all things requiſit therein, were augmented. Particularly you would have thought that *Europe* had choſen *Antwerp* for the Univerſal ſtaple town of her traffick; in ſo great numbers, and with ſuch varieties of Merchandize, did all forrein Nations, even from the remoteſt regions flock thither: which was much occaſioned through the moderate and wiſe government of two Princeſſes, whoſe names will for ever be celebrated in *Flanders:* which were; the Lady *Margaret*, Aunt to the Emperour, and her ſiſter, the Lady *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*: the one or the other whereof governed all thoſe Provinces almoſt all the while that the Emperour lay in the field. *Charls* (as hath been ſaid) had no ſon but *Philip*, who was born and bred up in *Spaine*; and becauſe his Father foreſaw how much the keeping of *Flanders* well united to the reſt of the Monarchie of *Spaine* did conduce to his ſons greatneſs, he made *Philip* come thither when he was yet very young, that he might be ſworn his ſucceſſor, after his death by the Flemiſh, as he was: *Philip* ſtaid not long in *Flanders* the firſt time: he returned thither a ſecond time, when he was of more mature years, having been in *England* with his wife Queen *Mary*, and then he ſtaid ſome years in *Flanders*, after that his Father the Emperour had reſigned over unto him, all his Hereditary States and Dominions; till upon very urgent occaſions it behoved him to return again to *Spaine*: whilſt *Philip* aboad amongſt the Flemings, they ſaw the difference of Natures, and inclinations between the Father, and the ſon; great was both their Pieties and Religion; great their Juſtice, and conſtancy of Minde. But *Philip* was as much given to Peace, as *Charles* was to War: the one was affable and gracious; the other extraordinarily grave, and compoſed: the latter acquainted with all languages, and accommodating himſelf to all Nations; whereas the other as well in his language as in all things elſe, ſeemed as if he knew not how to adapt himſelf to any thing, but the *Spaniſh* Garbe. It was therefore generally conceived in *Flanders*, that *Philip*, by reaſon of his Nature and cuſtomes, would ſhew himſelf to be wholly a Spanyard, would retire into *Spaine*, and put the government of *Flanders* wholly into the hands of Spanyards, which opinion was confirmed in them by the particular favour which he was alwayes ſeek to bear to Prince *Ruygomes Di Silva*, to the duke of *Alva*, and to the Conde *De Feria*; and that he communicated all his moſt weighty affairs, and even thoſe which did more properly concern the intereſt of *Flanders*, with them, and with Monſieur *De Granville*, a *Burgonian*, Biſhop *of Arras*. They threfore apprehended an alteration in their government; and ſo much the rather for that they knew that *Charles* had towards his end, begun to be ſomewhat jealous of them, and *Philip* much more afterwards: one of the chief reaſons whereof was the infection of Hereſie which from the neighboring parts began to break forth in *Flanders* whilſt *Charles* did yet live. The chief Hereſies which then raigned in *Germany*, *France*, and *England*, all of them neighboring upon *Flanders*, were three. In *Germany* Lutheriſme, in *France* Calviniſme, and in *England* a compound of both theſe, together with a reſervation of ſome outward ſhew of the Catholike Religion: nor was the number of Anabaptiſts few, which were mingled with the Lutherans in that part of *Flanders* which lies towards *Germany*. This ſo powerfull evill required no leſſe powerfull remedies; and therefore *Charles* in his time had publiſh'd many ſevere edicts againſt the infected, which were afterwards confirmed by *Philip*: which had occaſioned impriſonments, exiles, confiſcation of goods, and even death it ſelf to many of the inhabitants: and becauſe a particuler office was erected to purge the Country of Hereſie, which was in the hands of Church men, and which did much reſemble the inquiſition; the Flemiſh began even from the beginning to grumble at, and to ſhew open repugnancy to ſuch an office, to the which they gave hateſull names, fearing to finde

the

Philip the Second King of Spaine,
Prince of the Low-countreys.

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Ro: Vaughan sculp:

William of Nassau
Prince of Orange

the effects thereof daily more hatefull. Neither did the common people apprehend this more then did the great ones. Who seemed more moved thereat, for that either Authority which govern'd the Provinces was increased by protecting the Inhabitants. There were then many in *Flanders* of much eminency for birth, valour and and adherency: especially two who did much exceed the rest: which were, *William* Prince of *Orange*, *Lamoral* Count *Egmont*. *Orange* was born an Heretick in *Germany*; and coming whilst yet a youth into *Flanders* to inherit large possessions, both by the Father and Mothers side, became a Catholick, and was always very much favoured by the Emperour. And *Egmont* being come wholly of Flemish parentage, had always enjoyed the prime places of Honour and esteem in *Flanders*, especially in Military affairs; great part of the victory which the King got at the memorable battel of St. *Quintain* was attributed to his valour; and to him alone that of *Graveling*, where he commanded the Kings Army.

These two personages, though of almost clean contrary genius and nature, were in equal authority and favour with the *Flemish*. *Orange* was more for Civil, then Military affairs; wary, wise, a great Master of speech, and no less good at Councel; in his fashion and behaviour popular; and of whom it was questionable whether his ability was greater in comprehending businesses, or his wariness in managing them. Rare qualities all of them when they are level'd at right ends; but do strangely degenerate when they are made use of (as they were afterwards by *Orange*) to ambitious and corrupt designes. *Egmont* on the contrary was more given to studie war then peace: of a free nature, candid in his thoughts and words; popular likewise, but rather amongst soldiers in the fields, then with the vulgar within walls: and in all things else. Much apter to win preferment amongst Arms then at Court. The Government of the Provinces, and Military commands, were put into these two mens hands, and some others of the chiefest of the Country. And though till after the Kings departure thence, none of them had any ways opposed the aforesaid Edicts, yet it was well enough known, that many of them were not well pleased with them; and 'twas feared that those would make use thereof, who under palliated pretences, had a mind to disquiet the present Government, and introduce some novelties. *Orange* had till then given greatest suspitions thereof; for whilst he was in *France* with *Henry* the second for one of King *Philips* hostages, in performance of the peace which was concluded in *Cambrey* between those two Kings, the year 1559. he honesting the occasion thereby, slipt into *Flanders*, and revealed to his adherents a strong plot, which those two Kings had in secret, to exterp Heresie. And the Nobility of *Flanders* having spent very much in *Charls* his time, and many of the best of them being but in bad condition, therefore the King being to leave *Flanders*, they did in that behalf begin to murmure aloud, and very much to complain; as if by the Kings perpetual future absence, the *Dutch* were to be deprived of those advantages, which they had so largely enjoyed in the time of his Father the Emperour. Which might occasion fear that they would endeavour the preservation thereof by exciting of troubles, as having but little hopes to effect it by the way of peace. Nor were many of the Church-men much better satisfied then were the people, and the Nobility, by reason of the new erection of Bishopricks, which were instituted in the chiefest Cities of the Country: which being at first procured by *Charls*, for the better Church-government in *Flanders*, and especially to bridle Heresie, were after compleated, and constantly continued by *Philip*. Upon the reason of these new erections, it was necessary to suppress many Abbies and Priories. And the Bishops being to enjoy the first place in Ecclesiastical Orders, the Abbots held themselves thereby offended, who formerly made the greatest number of Ecclesiasticks, and held the chief place at publick meetings. To these several distastes in all the three Provincial Orders, another was added; with the introducing of forainers; as *Germans*, and *Spaniards* into the chief Forts, which were formerly Garison'd by people of their own Provinces: These, and many other passions, wherewith the minds of the *Flemish* were agitated, were not unknown to the neighbouring Princes, who watched all occasions which might cause commotions in *Flanders*, and were desirous to propagate them. And though they

they were not all of a mind in point of Religion, and divers other things, yet they all joyned in one end, which was to see the greatness of the house of *Austria* somewhat lessned, and especially the King of *Spains* power. And none of them were well pleased to see the Provinces of *Flanders* joyned to his Crown: which by reason of their situation, circuit, and opulency, were of such consideration, as when they were only in the hands of the house of *Burgundy*, had oft-times reduced *France* to great straits, and troubled *England*, and the near adjacent parts of *Germany*, more then once. In *France*, after the unfortunate mischance of *Henry* the second, who was wounded as he was running a Tilt, and died at the celebration of his daughters marriage with the King of *Spain*, and his sisters with the Duke of *Savoy*; *Francis* the second succeeded in the Crown whilst he was yet a child. The Government of the Kingdom was therefore wholly in the hands of his mother *Catherine* of *Medicis*: but so distracted, and so full of factions, as it could not be in greater disorder, nor more confused. Heresie which was first in secret, and fraudulently crept into *France*, shew'd it self now bare-faced. And her Fautorers, hiding their own ambitious ends under the deceitfull visard of conscience, proceeded from their first Court-contentions, to the taking up of arms, to the great detriment of the whole Kingdom. Those hereticks were called *Hugonots*: (nor is it well known from whence that word proceeded) and *Lodovick* of *Burbone*, Prince of *Conde*, made himself the chief head thereof: he was brother to *Anthony*, King of *Navar*, first Prince of the bloud-royal; and his chief rather guider then follower, was *Jasper di Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, who proved afterwards the plague of that Kingdom; and at last his own ruine. But the chief heads who maintained the Catholick cause, were not less suspected, and especially those of the house of *Guise*; out of a received opinion, that under the specious zeal to religion, they hatched divers designes of bringing themselves to greater power. *France*, whilst thus afflicted within her self, could not contribute much to the afflictions of others. Yet it was evidently discerned, that what fomentation from thence could be expected to the troubles of *Flanders*, would never be wanting, especially by the instigation of the *Hugonots*.

In *England*, the succession of that Kingdom, and of *Ireland*, was fallen to *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Henry* the eight; Queen *Mary*, who was wife to *Philip* King of *Spain*, dying without issue. *Mary* was not more resolute in restoring the Catholick faith in *England*, then *Elizabeth* was in resuppaessing it, incited thereunto by the example of her mother *Anne* of *Bullen*; and for fear lest by the Laws of the Church, her succession might prove illegitemate; from which fear she thought her self secure under the *Dogmata* of heresie. *Elizabeth* making Religion thus subservient to State Interest, would have heresie to be received throughout all *England* and *Ireland*. And detesting the Pope, and King of *Spain*, by which two she might be the most indamaged, she likewise endeavoured to prejudice them as much as she could. She therefore persecuted the Church infinitely in *England*, and was very intent upon all those sinister successes, which might befall the King of *Spain*, especially in *Flanders*, where his power was neareſt unto her, and from whence she did most suspect it.

From those parts of *Germany* which lie neareſt to *Flanders*, all those heretick Princes who were there Masters of any States or Dominions, shewed the same disposition against the Church and the King of *Spain*. But the most considerable amongst them, and of whom the greatest fear was had, for that he was more amidst the *Austrian* Forces of *Germany* and *Flanders*, was the Prince Elector *Palatine* of *Rhine*. 'Twas therefore much to be feared that from these external parts, all the inward commotions of *Flanders*, were upon all occasions to be fomented. This was the condition of Affairs, and the disposition of minds in *Flanders*, when the King was there, and upon his departure for *Spain*.

I will take my rise in the History which I undertake to write from hence; after having with as much brevity as I could, acquainted you with what hath already been said. The King was resolved to go for *Spain*; to the which he was moved not only out of his particular natural addiction to those Kingdoms, as out of mature wisdome and advised choice. He saw his vast Empire hardly well setled and consolidated, after the so many voyages and great pains of his Father; and finding

finding it composed of so many members, and so far divided one from another, he thought it expedient, that he should share out and disperce the vigor and spirit of government from out the principall part thereof, as doth the heart in humane bodies, and certainly *Spain* was to be reputed not onely the most important but the fittest place for this purpose; there wanted not moreover many other urgent necessities, which required the Kings presence, and particularly those which were occasioned partly by the danger of Heresie which was already begun there, and partly by jealousies of the *Moors* wherewith *Spaine* was greatly infected, and with whom it was greatly feared that upon any intestine commotion, the neighbouring *Moors* of *Africa* would joyn themselves.

The chiefest business which before the Kings departure was taken into consultation, was to whom he should leave the government of *Flanders* in his absence. Two Ladyes neerly allyde unto the King by blood were taken into consideration; the one was *Christierna* Dutches of *Loraine*; who was daughter to a sister of the Emperour *Charls* the fifth, and the other *Margaret* Dutches of *Parma*, naturall daughter to the same Emperour, great was the contestation, before it was resolved which of the two was to be preferred. *Christierna* was the elder: very well known in *Flanders* by reason of the neighbor-hood of *Loraine*: praised for her great wisdom, in having worthily discharged the Government of that State, remaining still a Widdow: and the afore mentioned Peace of *Cambray*, which by her means, (she being there present in person) was managed and concluded, had very much increased her reputation. By which successe, *Flanders* being freed from the molestation of Arms, she won more upon the affection of the Flemings. *Orange* was chiefly for her, out of the hopes he had of marrying one of her Daughters, and therefore labored her Election as much as he could; hoping also by that marriage that the government of *Flanders* might be more sway'd by him then by *Christierna*. But the Kings inclination bore him at last to like best of *Margaret*; as she who had been born and bred up in *Flanders*; and who having her Husbands Estates of *Parma* and *Piacensa* in midst the forces of the Dukedom of *Millan* in *Italy*, and resolving to send her onely son *Alexander* to the Court of *Spain*, promised a more absolute dependency upon the King: where on the contrary the house of *Loraine*, by reason of the condition of the Country, and more in respect of interest was inforced to depend almost wholly upon the Crown of *France*, besides the great desire which the Flemish themselves shewed to have *Christierna* for their Regent, made the King & Spanish officers more averse thereunto: with whom the Bishop of *Arras* joyned in opinion who was one of the most imployed Ministers of the Court. Out of these reasons they also hindred *Orange* his afore mentioned Marriage; it appearing to them that it was not good to consent to such an Alliance, so neer to the King himself; and that it would make *Orange* yet greater in *Flanders*, by the neer leaning stock of *Loraine*, and would cause yet more ambitious desires in him, then those which had more then once been already discovered in him: when the King had chosen the Dutchesse of *Parma* to be Governes of *Flanders*, and caused her therefore to come from *Italy*, he thought it fitting before his departure to call a generall Assembly of all the Provinces, the which he held in *Gaunt*. Where the Deputies being assembled together, the King spoke first severally with every of them apart, concerning the affairs of chiefest importance; and at the first opening of the Assembly, he was present himself in person, together with the new Governes, where after a great silence, The Bishop of *Arras* began to speak by the Kings command to the Deputies; and inlarged himself into a long discourse, wherein he shewed the reasons which forced the King to go for *Spaine*, and afterwards apply'd himself to the particular affairs of *Flanders*. He said,

That his Father the Emperour had not for the space of many years seen Spaine, *and that at last he went thither out of no other end but to lay his bones there: that the present King had also absented himself from thence for many years, not to abandon* Flanders, *which was then exposed to the greatest dangers of War, which was very hot between him and the King of* France. *That at last the peace of* Cambray *was insured, his Marriage with the Daughter of* Henry *the second, and all good intelligence and concord between both the parties: that the affairs of* Flanders *being thus*

setled

ſerled, reaſon did require that he ſhould now turn himſelf to the affairs of Spaine, to provide in thoſe parts likewiſe for many things, which did neceſſarily require his preſence: that the King hoped either to return quickly himſelf to Flanders, or elſe to ſend his ſon thither: that he did acknowledge thoſe Provinces to be his principall Patrimony, and that from thence he had his riſe to the ſucceſſion of ſo many Kingdoms: and that therefore he would vie with his Father in his love to them, and endeavour to exceed him in his favouring of them: that certainly of all goods that could befall them, peace was to be preferred, which occaſioned commerce; commerce traffick; and traffick the plenty which the people of Flanders did now injoy: that in peace likewiſe the Church did moſt flouriſh in her Miniſtery, and the Nobility injoy their greateſt priviledges: that then this quiet was equally advantageous for all the three orders of the Country, and that the King was therein intereſted more then any others, by reaſon of the dangers whereinto the Princes Authority doth uſually fall through the peoples turbulencies: that the King knew nothing could more croſſe this his ſo wiſe and pious object, then Hereſie: the monſter of impiety and Sedition: and that when people did once arm themſelves againſt their God, they did at the ſame time arm themſelves againſt their Princes; of which the neighbouring Countries did afford too horrid and dreadfull examples: that therefore the King, as a Father no leſſe then as a Prince, did exhort the Provinces to preſerve the purity of the ancient Faith; to wit, that faith which their Forefathers had for ſo many Ages profeſſed with ſuch lively zeal, and cauſed to flouriſh with ſuch conſtant Pietie. That therefore they ſhould cauſe the Edicts to be obſerved, which were firſt publiſhed by his Father, and afterwards confirmed by him, in this point: that they ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by falſe words, taking licentiouſneſs for liberty: that they ſhould take example from the evils of others not to fall into the like themſelves: that they ſhould give all due obedience and reſpect to their new Governeſs: and that they ſhould aſſure themſelves, that as the King went from them full of Gratitude for the good ſervice which they had done him and his Father, ſo he would alwayes continue his Fathers and his own affection towards thoſe Provinces: to witneſs which he would preſently cauſe all forrein Garriſons to be drawn forth their fortreſſes, and take away all unuſuall contributions from the Country.

Theſe were the chief things which the Biſhop of *Arras* uttered in the Kings name. The anſwer which the Provinces did at the preſent give was full of Humility and obſequiouſneſs, and ſeemed to breath forth fidelity: but thoſe States ended afterward with very little of ſatisfaction to the King: For touching the things ſpoken of before, wherein the Country ſeemed to be diſtaſted, he ſaw the ill diſpoſed minds of the Provinces, in the faces of their Deputies, and might judge that affairs would not continue long in the condition he left them. The Flemings were then chiefly vexed through fear of having the inquiſition introduced amongſt them; and there wanted not ſome who ſpoke their mindes therein publikely in the States.

That Flanders *was not accuſtomed to ſuch Rigors: that it was terrified at the very name of the inquiſition: which would be the cauſe of deſerting traffick, and Merchandizing, throughout the whole Country. How much better would thoſe evils be remedied by fair means, then by fire and ſword? That every Humane body had its particular Habit: and ſo every Nation its proper and natural conſtitution of temper. That what did become Spain and Italy, might not be fit for* Flanders; *nor for the other more Northern people of* Europe. *Who were more naturally inclined to liberty then thoſe of the Southern parts.*

By theſe and ſuch like words wherewith they pierced the ears of the King, they would either have had him, have annul'd the publiſhed Edicts before his departure, or at leaſt have moderated them. But he would never aſſent thereunto. But gave this remarkable anſwer to one of his Officers, who repreſented unto him the danger which he thereby might run into of loſing either all, or many of thoſe Provinces, and that therefore he might do better ſomewhat to connive, alledging the neighbouring Countreyes for his example. *That he would rather be without Kingdoms then injoy them with Hereſie.*

Moreover the King with no leſſe maturity of judgement, then zeal of Religion, foreſaw the pernitious conſequences which might from thence ariſe in his other Dominions;

Margaret Dutchesse of Parma and Piacenza
Daughter to Charles the 5th
Governesse of the Lowcountreys 9

Dominions; for ſuch an example would have encouraged the reſt to have made the like deſires: and would be very dangerous to be admitted of; and no leſſe dangerous to be refuſed. He therefore remained reſolute to have the ſaid Edicts put in execution; as alſo fully to eſtabliſh the new Erection of Biſhopricks. The King in the yeare 1555 had renewed the Edict which his Father the Emperour had made in the year 1550, wherein by Authority of the Apoſtolick See, the form was ordained which the inquiſitors were to obſerve in the expunging of Hereſie. The ſubſtance whereof was; That they ſhould proceed with all rigor in ſeeking out thoſe who were infected with Hereſie, and in puniſhing them according to the penalties appointed, the execution whereof was committed to the Magiſtrates of Cities, and to the Provincial Councels, with proviſion to be had that no particular Tribunals ſhould be introduced for the inquiſition as it was formed: and as for the new Erection of Biſhopricks, it was carried as hath been ſaid in the relation.

The King having ordered matters of Religion thus, declared that for all things elſe the former ancient Government ſhould be continued: wherein next unto the Regent, the Councel of State ſhould have the firſt place; of which were many of the chief Lords of *Flanders*; and becauſe it was impoſſible to confide in them all, therefore the King gave private inſtructions, that the Regent in matters of greateſt jealouſies and weight, ſhould abridge the number to a few, and intruſt the chief managing thereof in the hands of the Biſhop of *Arras*; whom to this purpoſe he left with her. Before the King went from *Gaunt*, he would make a new creation of Knights of the golden Fleece in the places of many that were dead. And amongſt others, he honoured ſome Lords of that Country with that Order, whoſe Anceſtors had formerly been thereof. Finally the King preparing for his journey, and being deſirous firſt to give ſuch inſtructions to the Dutcheſſe of *Parma* as were moſt convenient for the adminiſtration of Government; he took her one day aſide, and as it is reported, ſaid thus unto her.

'I could not give you a greater teſtimony (my beloved Siſter) of my confidence 'in you, then that which I have now depoſited into your hands, in aſſigning 'over unto you the Government of theſe Provinces of *Flanders*. You ſee their 'ſituation; by how much they are the more remote from my other Kingdoms, ſo 'much the neerer are they to be endangered by the States which do inviron them. 'Tis true, *France* is now at peace with me, but 'tis not ſo within it ſelf; being 'full of Factions, and in the hands of a childe, who inſtead of giving Lawes, will 'be enforc'd to receive them; to boote, that the emulation which hath alwayes 'been, and ever will be between *France* and *Spain* is too much known. The 'Queen of *England* who Oppugnes the Religion which I defend, will alwayes be 'plotting to the prejudice of my forces, particularly thoſe of *Flanders*; the ſame 'ſuſpitions almoſt out of the ſame reaſons, may be had of the Heretick Princes 'of the neighbouring parts of *Germany*. As alſo for the ſpite they bear to ſee the 'Empire continue ſo long in my blood. Theſe neighbours will ſtill be practiſing 'ſome innovations here. And the moſt dangerous buſineſs which can be appre-'hended from them, will be their infecting the People with Hereſie, and the 'making the Nobility, upon ſuch occaſions, aſpire to Novelties. They will then 'endeavour to incite the vulgar people to madneſs by the poiſon of falſe opinions, 'and to withdraw them by degrees from liberty to licenciouſneſs; from licenci-'ouſneſs to tumults; and from tumults to Rebellion. And without doubt the 'introducing of Hereſie being permitted, theſe other evils will conſequently fol-'low. True piety, and falſe cannot cohabit together. And when people begin 'once to differ in their beliefe, the great ones break forth preſently into Novelties, 'and by a thouſand falſe pretentions turn Religion into Faction. Miſerable effects 'are ſeen hereof in *Germany*, and no leſſe miſerable are already begun in *France*. 'Therefore to preſerve *Flanders* from ſo dangerous evils, care muſt be had above 'all things to keep her free from Hereſie, and that only the Catholike Religion 'be practiſed there; Which is the true and ancient Religion; and which alone is 'profeſt in my other Kingdoms: From hence doth my Family acknowledge her 'chiefeſt greatneſs; and by the means thereof, as Subjects are more united within

'themſelves in the worſhip of the Altars and Temples, ſo are they by her means 'alſo the cloſer tyed together in obedience to their Princes and Magiſtrates. So as 'I by defending and ſuſtaining of her, am by her defended and ſuſtained. And 'rendring hereby the greateſt ſervice that I can to God, I do conſequently the grea-'teſt advantage I can to my Crown. I go from hence therefore reſolved that the 'Edicts publiſhed againſt the Hereticks in theſe Provinces, be inviolably execu-'ted; wherein I ſhall deſire you to uſe your greateſt vigilancy, and to be ſure 'that your ſence be the ſame that mine is: which is not notwithſtanding that a 'ſetled Inquiſition be introduced here. I ſee the differences between theſe Pro-'vinces, and thoſe which have received it. But on the other ſide, the greateſt e-'vils require the ſtrongeſt remedies. To boot that this doth not oppoſe the pri-'viledges of the Provinces, nor the form of that Government which I have pro-'miſed and ſworn unto: Nay to tollerate the introducing of hereſie, would be 'the greateſt violation thereof I could commit. Since hitherto it hath wholly 'been grounded upon the Catholick Religion; and all things would be diſtur-'bed, and quite overthrown, if I ſhould give any allowance to the bringing in 'of hereſie. When this danger ſhall be provided for, it will make the remedy 'the eaſier for the other which may ariſe from ſome peccant humour of ambition 'in ſome of the great ones. Ambition uſually ſeeks out pretences, ſo as courſe 'muſt be taken that no ſuch be found. Of all other pretenſions, that of conſci-'ence is the moſt ſpecious; and they who plot moſt againſt the common good, 'ſeem by this way to be moſt zealous in procuring it. Let this ſo plauſible occa-'ſion be taken away, the other which may move the people to commotions will 'the more eaſily ceaſe. You (my ſiſter) very well know the humours of the peo-'ple of *Flanders*, and how they ought to be govern'd: They are born almoſt 'as much to liberty, as to ſubjection. He that commands muſt entreat; and 'oft-times muſt yield inſtead of obtaining. To ſuch natures 'tis fit to adjuſt a 'proportionate Government. You muſt therefore uſe all poſſible diligence in 'maintaining the accuſtomed Priviledges and Immunities of the Country, and 'endeavour to ſatisfie the people in them, they being almoſt wholly conſtituted in 'their power. The common people live peaceably when at eaſe and quiet; and '*'tis* little to be feared, that the ambitious can either diſcompoſe them by hidden 'fraud, or grow more bold by open conſpiracy to move them to commotion: and 'yet you muſt by all means endeavour to keep the Nobility devout to my ſer-'vice, by particularly giving them their due imployments, their due reſpects, 'and by aſſuring them that they ſhall always ſee my father ſupervive in me, in fa-'vouring and protecting them. Thus it may be hoped that affairs may here ſuc-'ceed happily, and that none of the great ones inſtead of expecting honours and 'favours from me, will provoke me to rigour and ſeverity. But howſoever, it is 'in you that I place my chiefeſt hopes of being well ſerved in theſe Countrys: 'n you who are ſo near unto me; and who in all reſpects, as well your own, as 'of the Family of *Ferneſe*, ought to aſſiſt to all my greatneſs, and eſteem my for-'tune as yours: For what remains, if the preſent calamities of *Europe* ſhall 'prove ſuch, as it ſhall be impoſſible for humane wiſdom to preſerve *Flanders* 'rrom ſharing therein, we muſt leave the event to God. But I truſt he will 'never abandon his Religion, which is mine; nor thoſe intereſts which out of juſt 'ends, ſhall be alwayes by me conſtantly imbraced, and with equall conſtancy 'defended.

The Dutcheſs her Anſwer unto the King was,

That ſhe received thoſe his councels as ſo many oracles of piety and wiſdom; and that ſhe would imploy all her ſtudy in ſeeing them executed; and that for all things elſe his Majeſty might be confident, that both her ſelf, her husband, her ſon, and the whole family of the Ferneſes, *would always place all their fortune in abſolute dependency upon that of the Royal Houſe of* Spain.

The King going afterwards from *Gaunt* to *Fluſhing*, which is the neareſt haven of *Zealand*; he took ſhip, and made for *Spain*; where he proſperouſly arrived about the latter end of *September*, the year 1559. though he was not well landded when a horrible tempeſt aroſe, which rent and ſunk many of his ſhips, almoſt in his own ſight. The King being gone, the Dutcheſs came to *Bruſſels*; and preſently

Anthony Perenott Cardinall Granvel
Counsellour of Estate to Margaret of Parma

ſently applyd her ſelf wholly to the affairs of Religion, to prevent the enſuing of ſuch novelties, as by reaſon thereof was to be feared in *Flanders*. A buſineſs which was notwithſtanding very difficult; for as nothing could more move the minds of men to novelties, then the introducing of hereſie into the Country; ſo was there no more odious remedy to be found, then that of the Inquiſition, in what manner ſoever it ſhould be handled. The Dutcheſs began quickly to find divers difficulties, in thoſe erections of Biſhopricks which were not yet wholly eſtabliſhed. The Abbots never gave over their former complaints; but endeavouring to add publick murmurings to their own particular grievances, they exagerated, 'That theſe Erections were made contrary to the priviledges of the 'Provinces, whoſe conſents ſhould have been given thereunto. That formerly 'the Abbots were choſen in the Country, who did above all things lay to heart 'the intereſts thereof: whereas henceforward Biſhops will be choſen by the 'Pope, at the King of *Spains* nomination, and will have their chief dependency 'upon the Court of *Rome*, and that of *Spain*. Theſe reaſons prevailed with ſome of the Provinces; and eſpecially with *Brabant*, which is the chief for dignity, and hath moſt priviledges; in ſo much, as divers of her Deputies came to *Bruſſels*, deſiring the Regent that ſhe would conſider better upon this buſineſs. They preſt in particular that no new Biſhoprick might be erected in *Antwerp*; which is a City united to *Brabant*, and which as it was feared, might by this occaſion ſuffer much prejudice in the freedom of her Traffick. In this behalf the Regent thought that for the preſent, ſatisfaction might be given to that Province: in the reſt ſhe would have all things done as was decreed, not without the great indignation of many; who being either too much wedded to their own opinions, or too much inclin'd to novelty, called Biſhops, Spaniſh Inquiſitors, and much vilified the new erection of Biſhopricks. The Regent treated but little of this affair in the Counſel of State; for as a buſineſs already reſolved on by the King, ſhe rather thought to ſee it executed, then to hear new opinions concerning it. And if ſhe did at any time treat thereof, it was with the Biſhop of *Arras*, or ſome other confident, and not in full Counſel; as ſhe did likewiſe in other matters of greateſt jealouſie. And this was in nature of a ſecret or Cabinet Counſel; and ſo did the reſt of the Counſellers term it with a great deal of bitterneſs, who were not admitted thereinto. Next to the Regent, the Biſhop of *Arras* had the chief ſtroke in Government, as hath been ſaid: and to him two of the graveſt Counſellers of State did openly adhere; *Vighlio*, a Lawyer of great eſteem, and Preſident of the Privy Counſel; and Monſieur *de Barlemonte*, one of the chief of the Treaſury; who being both of them abſolutely reſolv'd to follow the Kings ſenſe, would acknowledg no other interpreter thereof then *Granville*, in whoſe breſt they knew that the King had chiefly depoſited them. Jealouſies began therefore ſuddenly to ariſe amongſt the Counſel, and from jealouſies they ſoon paſt to factions, to the great prejudice of Government, and of the Kings affairs. In the new erection of Biſhopricks, the King had made *Granville* Archbiſhop of *Malines*; as well that he might be heightned in preferment, as alſo that he might not be forced to abſent himſelf from the Regent, whoſe reſidency was uſually to be at *Bruſſels*, a Town within the Dioceſs of *Malines*. He likewiſe the next year 1560. did by the Kings favour obtain the dignity of Cardinalſhip; ſo as with this his increaſe of honour, his Authority in the Government was much increaſed. *Antonio Cardinal di Granvilla* (for ſo he ſtiled himſelf) was ſon to *Nicholas Perenot*, a *Burgundian*, Lord of *Granville*, who had a long time, and with great credit, been Secretary to the Emperour *Charls* the fift; whom his ſon ſucceeded, as well in his Office, as in his fathers favour, being made Biſhop of *Arras*. In this his fathers Shool, and among the *Arcana* of this Prince, *Antonio* had much better learnt the art of abſolute, then of limited command. And paſſing from *Charls* his ſervice to the like of *Philip*, in equal imployment and power; and being afterwards left in *Flanders* with the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, as Arbitrer and Moderator of her Government, he could hardly be brought to temper that Authority which the Kings paſſionate affection gave him in *Flanders* in ſo high a degree; but being haughty and cholerick by nature, and of a mind which taſted more of the Laick, then of the Eccleſiaſtick; he loved to boaſt how great his

power was with the King, rather then to keep it conceal'd. He loved in conteſtation and envy to be above all others, in rather an imperious then moderate manner: in all things elſe he was an able Miniſter of State without all queſtion; through his knowledge of many tongues, and many ſorts of learning, and by the experience of ſo many things, ſeen and managed by him, in the ſervice of ſo memorable Princes. On the other ſide it was hard for the chief and prime Lords of *Flanders* to tollerate the Cardinals imperious power. *Orange* and *Egmont* were principally moved hereat, as alſo Count *Horne*, who was Admiral at ſea: a man of a fierce and raſh nature: he enjoyed the place of Admiralty in *Flanders*; *Orange* the government of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utricht*, together with that of *Burgundy*: and *Egmont* was Governor of the particular Province of *Flanders*, and of *Artois*. Theſe were all three of the Councel of State; and being ſcandalized to ſee the continuance of the Cabinet Councel, wherein many things of weighty conſequences were reſolved on without their acquaintance: they murmured publickly againſt it in all places.

Was this the reward of their paſt ſervices and merits? That the King, *under the name of the Dutcheſs of* Parma, *ſhould make their Country be governed, and domineered over by the Cardinal* Granville? *that the King did only confide in him, and made him only acquainted with his true intentions. That they were allow'd votes in the Councel, and places in the Provinces, only as* inſignificant *cyphers, that the weighteſt affairs were treated of in ſecret, unknown to the Councel; and that ſuch Laws were given to* Flanders *as beſt liked a ſtranger, an imperious* Burgundian; *and one of ſo mean a beginning, as thoſe of his Family would not diſdain to ſerve them. That the Inquiſition was chiefly the of-ſpring of his advice: That he would thus bring in the Government of* Spain *and* Italy *into* Flanders, *and rule over their conſciences as well as their perſons. That the eſtates, the honours, nay even the lives of the moſt innocent amongſt them, was expos'd to the rigour of the Inquiſition, upon any appearance, any report, how falſe, how ſlight ſoever it was. Let* Spain *and* Italy *groan under ſuch a burthen; the one ſo infected with the* Moors, *and the other ſo often overrun by* Barbarians. *That* Flanders *enjoyed the purity of its antient bloud, and the moderation of its peculiar Laws. That it had been Catholick thus long of its own will, and would of its own will be ſo ſtill.*

Orange and the other two ſpread abroad theſe complaints, not only amongſt the Nobility, but amongſt the common people; and 'tis not to be believed what a commotion they begot: For nothing more plauſible could be touched upon, then what had reſpect to the preſervation of their publick priviledges, nor more odious then the Inquiſition, by which they expected to be every day more and more prejudiced. They forbare not to ſhew their ſences herein to the Regent her ſelf; who ſet upon on the one ſide by the abſolute decrees of *Spain*, and on the other by the apprehenſion of ſo bitter complaints, could do no otherwiſe but give good anſwers, and hopes of timely remedy. That which ſhe was moſt troubled at, was to hear that *Orange* in particular had propounded a Convocation of the States General, as the moſt efficatious remedy which could be apply'd to the evils in matter of Religion, which at that time threatned *Flanders*. He ſeemed to propound this out of his zeal to the love of Religion, and of the King: ſaying, that thus, by the opinion of all the Provinces, the Inquiſition might either be moderated, or wholly ſuppreſt, by the applying of ſome more moderate remedy in the lieu thereof, and which uſed with the ſatisfaction of the Country, might be altogether as efficatious.

This advice could not be well received from *Orange*, who was eſteemed mighty ambitious, and very crafty. It was rather thought he endeavoured thus anteciparely to work upon the peoples inclination, to the end that he might afterwards rule this publick Aſſembly when it ſhould be called, according to his own will, and his own ends. The Cardinal did not let ſlip theſe occaſions to raiſe the greater jealouſies in the King, of *Orange* and the reſt, who ſeemed to contrary him, and detracted from his actions. He ſhew'd,

'How much ſuch a Convocation would redound to the Kings prejudice; and how that the meeting of this Aſſembly was to be ſhun'd at all times as much as might be: which coming the better to the knowledge of its power by its union,

'endeavoured

'endeavoured alwayes to leſſen the Princes Authority and Prerogative, and to 'advance their own. But of how much greater danger would this be at ſuch a 'conjuncture of time, wherein ſuch a preparation of peccant humors were ſeen 'to be in all the degrees of the Country. So as it was to be held for certain that the 'Abbots would appear diſcontented; the meaner ſort of Gentry would be wrought 'upon by the greater; and the common People, of themſelves alwayes greedy 'of Noveltie, would much more willingly obey their Deputies, and the reſt 'of eſteem amongſt them of their own degree, then the King, the Regent, or 'any other of the Kings Officers. That therefore the King was not by any means 'to admit of ſuch an Aſſembly; but that it was better to temporize a while be-'tween rigor and mildneſs, till this inclination to Innovation ſhould paſſe over; 'it being to be hoped for that *Ornage* and the reſt would never endeavor it, when 'they ſhould ſee no hopes of bringing it to paſſe.

The King would have been averſe enough of himſelf from the calling together of the States General, for theſe very reaſons which he himſelf very weſl knew: but the Letters which *Granville* writ to him to this purpoſe, and which were fully confirmed by the Regent, made him be much more ſo: inſomuch as the King perſiſting ſtill more and more in the execution of the Edicts againſt the Hereticks, renued his orders therein often to the Regent; and by her the Commiſſions were reitterated in the Provinces: where the Magiſtrates meeting every day with greater difficulties in making them be executed, ſaw their Authority often times ſcorned and derided. Hereſie had by this time got too deep rooting; and ſtill corrupting the peoples minds more and more by the alluring liberty of her Tenets, had begun to beget in them an open alienation from their due obedience to the Lawes and Magiſtrates: contrary to publike orders, papers were every day given abroad by the Hereticks, firſt in writing, and then in Print; firſt in matters onely which concern'd conſcience; and then in ſuch things as might make the people the more fear to ſee the form of Government altered to their prejudice. On the part of *France*, theſe pernitious practiſes were managed in the *Wallon* Provinces; under which name are comprehended thoſe Provinces of *Flanders*, which are ſituated towards *France*; and wherein there is great commerce of wine, and other Merchandize, with that Kingdom; and eſpecially in the two Cities of *Tourney*, and *Valenciennes*. On the ſide of *Germany*, the Hereticks ſought in like manner to infect *Frieſland*, and all that neighbouring part of the low Countryes within land. But the infection was greater, which was brought both by Sea and Land, into *Holland* and *Zealand* by meanes of the commerce which the Cities in the *Baltick* Sea had in *Amſterdam*, and in *Midleburg*; both of them places of great Traffick; as alſo in many other towns of great Traffick both in *Holland* and *Zealand*. Great was the commerce of Traffickers likewiſe into both thoſe Provinces from *England*. And Hereticall Miniſters entring on all ſides, under the profeſſion of Merchants, they accompanied their ſeditious writings, with words of mouth yet more ſeditious; reproving the Flemiſh in particular of their too much remiſneſs, and patience, in bearing the yoke, which as they ſaid, was laid upon their conſciences.

That Germany *had thrown it off long ago, as they might ſee; even againſt the forces of* Charls *the fifth: that* England *had now happily done the like: and that the reformed Religion made daily great advancements in* France: *that they might then know their own power, and how to make uſe of it; that the Regent was a woman, wholly in their power: Granville a forreiner, and hated by the Country: that the King was far off, and but little hopes of his ever returning thither in perſon: and to what end did the diſarmed Authority of the Princes ſerve, but to make them be the more ſcorned and leſſe feared.*

The Heretical Miniſters, and other Sectaries fill'd the ears, and mindes of the Flemiſh in all parts with theſe conceits, which infuſed impiety and ſedition. And in concourſe of time it was diſcovered, that *Orange* held intelligence particularly with the Admirall of *France*: which was contracted upon the occaſion he had of entertaining himſelf in *France* with *Henry* the ſecond, as one of the hoſtages of *Philip* the ſecond, in performance of the Peace of *Cambray*; as hath been ſaid: and time produced at laſt, that *Orange* took for his fourth and laſt wife a daugh-

ter

ter of the ſame Admirals (though the Admirall was then dead) as ſhall be ſaid in its due place. This correſpondency in endeavours between them was eaſily contracted by the ſimilitude of their natures. For both of them were very Ambitious and Fraudulent: and did equally endeavour to advance their own private Fortunes by the publike ruine. In fine, in the opinion of all men the one was born to be the cauſe of *France's* misfortunes, the other of the calamities of *Flanders*. And both of them by their Tragical ends, ſhewed what puniſhment is reſerved for thoſe, who loſing all reſpects either of Lawes or God, do erect their Altars here below to Ambition, and impiety; and to the Idols of other immoderate and blinde Humane paſſions. The Kingdom of *France* was at this time involved in great troubles. *Francis* the ſecond was dead: whom *Charls* the ninth, ſucceeded at the age of ten years. *Catherine* of *Medicis*, mother to them both, retained the chief place in Government in *Charls* his time as well as ſhe had done in his Brothers, who not able to ſuſtain it but by intreaty, or prayer, was forced to devide it ſometimes with the Catholikes, ſometime with the *Hugonots*. But ſtill in danger of the Ambitious deſignes, which was diſcovered in both the parties. *France* was never agitated with greater Tempeſts then theſe. And the *Hugonot* faction prevailing then continually more in the Kingdom, 'tis no wonder if the Hereticks took the boldneſs to foment the evils from that part, which were a hatching in *Flanders*, expecting that by the conjuncture of times and actions, they might come from ſecret fomenting, to open conſpiracy. Amidſt ſo many forreine Plots, and home difficulties, the Regent was every day more ſtraitened in matter of Religion. On the one ſide *Granville* encouraged her to have the Edicts executed; one the others ſide, the Governours of the Provinces deſired to be excuſed; ſhewing that the number of the Hereticks was already too great; and that in many places the Magiſtrates themſelves were infected with Hereſie. It was known notwithſtanding that they did not what they might have done; were it either that they deſired ſome diſhonour and ſhame might redound to *Granville* from ſuch diſorders, who had the chief ſtroke in Government; or that the King ſhould be the more inforced to ſeek for remedy therein by their means. They continued their former complaints againſt *Granville*; and diſcovered an apparent hatred and ſcorn of him: as was particularly ſeen upon a certain occaſion, which was thus. At a certain Feaſt there hapned to be, Count *Egmont*, the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, (who was likewiſe one of the chief Lords of the Country, and Governour of *Henault*) and Min Here *Montigni*, Brother to Count *Horne*, and divers other of their Friends: where a diſcourſe hapned (were it caſuall, or premeditated) upon the Liveries which the Pages and foot-men of the Lords and other chiefeſt of the Court wore: here one of them riſing up, ſaid, Why doe we not all make one and the ſame Livery, which by the ſimilitude of our colours, may denote the conformity of our mindes? the propoſition was inſtantly entertained, and lots being drawn, who ſhould chuſe the Livery, it fell to *Egmont*; and he choſe one with a certain Odde Coule, or Hood, which in *Flanders* are Buffonelike, and are wont to be put on the heads of Fools or Jeſters. Many others of the Court preſently took up this livery; and for divers dayes there was no other work done in *Bruſſels*. The *Dutcheſſe* was hereat offended; for none doubted but that this habit had relation to the Cardinals habit; and that this was done in deriſion of him. Beſides, it might be feared, that this might be the beginning of a league, and union within the Court, which might ſoon ſpread abroad throughout the whole Country to the great prejudice of the King. The Dutcheſs laid this particularly to *Egmonts* charge; who excuſed it, as a thing which had hapned caſually, and without any intention of offending the Cardinal, and much leſſe, of proving prejudicial to the Kings ſervice. They then left off their Coule and took for their common impreſſa, a bundell of Arrowes tide up together; which was an impreſſa often uſed in the Kings coyn. They would have it beleeved that this ſignified their joynt union in the Kings ſervice; but it was generally thought, that this union had for its end, the defence of publike Priviledges, and their conformable ſenſe to conſpire unanimouſly againſt *Granville*: nor was it long ere this conſpiracie broke forth: for people growing ſtill more haughty, not being able to diſcend to diſſimulation, as neither was the Cardinal on

his

his behalf, nor yet to any ſort of going leſſe, eſpecially when he ſaw himſelf ſo bitterly provoked; *Orange*, *Egmont*, and *Horn*, together with divers others, combined joyntly together againſt him; and theſe three in particular, reſolved to write a letter to the King; which was to this purpoſe.

How great our devotions have alwayes been to your Majeſties ſervice in theſe parts, we beleeve may be ſufficiently known, both by our ſo faithfull ſervice to your Majeſtie, and by thoſe favours which in lein thereof you have upon all occaſions ſo graciouſly confer'd upon each of us. The ſame zeal makes us now perhaps tranſgreſſe the rules of reverence, that we may not prove faulty in thoſe of Loyalty. Your Majeſty, at your departure left the Government of theſe Provinces in the Dutcheſs of Parma; *ſo vertuous a Princeſs as ſhe hath fully anſwered the applauſe of ſo worthy a choice. It was beleeved that the Biſhop of* Arras, *now Cardinal, was left with her to Councell and adviſe her, and not to be Arbitrer in the Government: but he arrogating unto himſelf the abſolute diſpoſall of all things, and leaving nothing of Regent to the Dutcheſs but the bare name, diſpoſes of theſe Provinces, as he would do of his own private houſe. He orders all things as he pleaſes; he handles and reſolves the weightieſt affairs without the knowledge of the Councell of State: and doth this ſo imperiouſly, and with ſuch contempt of all the Nobility, as the manner is more odious then the thing it ſelf. If the evils which inſue from hence did terminate in our own private offences, we might at laſt reſolve to bear with them; but experience doth ſhew daily more and more, that this maladie is already become Publike; and that not ſtopping in the Court, it paſſes, and breakes out into the Provinces, with great danger that the effects will ſtill prove worſe. As long as Cardinal* Granville *ſhall tarry in* Flanders, *ſo long will theſe inconviencies and diſorders increaſe; and becauſe they may perchance in time arrive at ſuch a height, that it will be too late to remove him from hence; we therefore have thought it ſuited with the obligation which the Candor of our fidelitie, and the condition of our ſeverall imployments impoſeth upon us to acquaint your Maieſty with what hath been ſaid, to the end that you may apply ſuch remedy as is neceſſary: which certainly conſiſts in taking the Cardinal from* Flanders, *as ſoon as may be. Thoſe who are here of the beſt ſort, and generally all the reſt of the Provinces are of our opinion; in which let not the Cardinal boaſt himſelf that he deſires the integrity of the Catholike Religion more then we; for we may rather juſtly glory, that had it not been for us the Worſhip thereof would have been much more damnified, and diminiſhed in them.*

This was written in *March* 1563. thoſe who writ it, knew very well, that the Cardinal did nothing but by expreſs command from the King; and therefore to blame him, was thorough him to blame the King; the King forbore from anſwering them ſome months; and at laſt, with ſuch brevity and ſtate as became a King, he anſwered thus.

'I am glad that I can attribute all that which you all three have written touch-'ing Cardinal *Granville*, to the particular reſpect of my ſervice. I commend 'your zeal, and am well pleaſed with your carriage. But on the other ſide, I do 'not uſe for any complaint made by others, to bereave any Officer of mine of 'his imployment, without hearing him ſpeak for himſelf. Moreover, it is fitting 'in buſineſs of this nature, to come from generalities to particular offences; to 'the end that if the accuſed cannot juſtifie himſelf, his puniſhment may be the 'greater. But becauſe theſe are things which peradventure may better be diſcuſt 'by word of mouth then by Letters, I think it beſt that ſome one of you to that 'purpoſe, come over to me in perſon; with aſſurance of being here by me, both 'willingly heard, and honourably received.

Orange and the reſt were much confuſed at this Letter: they were not therewithall ſatisfied; but being the more incenſed, they writ again unto the King, a longer Letter, complaining that after ſo long a delay, the King ſeemed ſo much to ſlight their endeavours. They ſaid in that Letter,

That they had not ſubſcribed themſelves in their former Letter, as the Cardinals accuſers, but as his Majeſties Councellers; and therefore bound to acquaint him with that which they conceiv'd made moſt for his ſervice; that they did not deſire the Cardinal ſhould be any ways damnified by their means; but did rather wiſh him all encreaſe of honour and employment, ſo as it were out of Flanders; *that his being in* Flanders

did

did too much harm, for the reasons they had formerly alleadged, which were so known, as they needed no further proof. For what remained, they did not put so great a value upon the Cardinal, as that any of them should come into Spain *upon his score. And since the King did so little believe them, they desired he would be pleased that from hence-forward they might forbear coming to the Councel; where they could no longer either serve the King, or do themselves any honour.*

This in short was the contents of the second Letter. To which the King after a while did also answer, to this effect.

'That he would consider of what was best to be done concerning the Cardinals 'person; that in the mean time they should continue to do him that service which 'he expected at their hands, as well in the Councel, as in their other employ-'ments, for which they were to expect from him by way of recompence, all grate-'full acknowledgement.

There past little less then a whole year in the intercourse of these Letters; but *Orange*, *Egmont*, and the rest, continuing still their boldness, and knowing that there was little good to be hoped for from *Spain*, touching *Granvilles* removal from *Flanders*, they resolved to put such scorn upon him, and so to despise him, as he himself should desire to be gone from thence. They treated little with him: they seldom appeared in Councel; they termed such as adhered therein to him, Cardinalists: in their meetings, at their feasts, and almost at all times and in all places, they mockt and laught at him: and there wanted not some of them who affirmed that the speediest way of ridding *Flanders* of him, was to rid him of his life. So as the Cardinal being reduced to those terms, as that he could not serve the King to any purpose in those parts, nor stay there with safety to his own life; he himself at last craved leave of the King to be gone. Who agitated awhile between the necessity of granting his request, and his own dignity in denying it, resolved at last to give way thereunto, since he could now put on no more vigorous resolutions. But this injury remained notwithstanding, deeply imprinted in his mind: which he resented upon other occasions, as we shall hereafter see. The Cardinal *Granville* went then from *Flanders* in *March* 1564. and going first into *Burgundy* about his Domestical affairs, he was afterwards sent for by the King with much honour into *Spain*; and was there made one of the Councel of State, and employed in the most weighty affairs of that Crown. Many were of opinion that the Dutchess was not much troubled to see *Granville* gone; as one who was upheld by the King in too great Authority with her. Yet the truer opinion was, that she was very much grieved to be deprived of such a man, and one so well experienced in the affairs of *Flanders*. To boot that upon any sinister events, (whereof many, and of very great moment did ensue after his departure) he might have justified her behaviour therein unto the King, and have easily freed her from those accusations, which were afterwards, often laid unto her charge in the Councel in *Spain*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO*.

BOOK II.

The Contents.

The Nobility are glad at Granvilles *departure. Factions in the Councel of State. The Regent makes the Councel of* Trent *be received;* Orange *oppoſeth it, and ſhews an unquiet diſpoſition. Hereſie begins to appear bare-faced in* Flanders. *The Inquiſition ſtill more deteſted* Egmont *goes into* Spain. *The King perſiſts in his former reſolutions.* Egmont *returns, and the Country is diſtaſted. The Nobility do in particular conſpire, and form an Inſtrument in writing, by the name of Compromiſe or Covenant. Some of the chiefeſt meet together at* Breda, *a Town belonging to the Prince of* Orange. *The Dutcheſs grows very apprehenſive of theſe proceedings. She underſtands that a great many of the Nobility meet together, to preſent her with a Petition; ſhe endeavours, but in vain to hinder the delivery of it.* Brederodes *Oration to his other Companions. They preſent the Petition. They take upon them the name of Beggers. And why they do ſo. The Marquis of* Berghen *and Monſieur* Montigni *are ſent into* Spain; *and are not admitted of by the King. The practiſe and profeſſion of hereſie is publickly introduced in* Flanders. *The Nobilities audacionſneſs in defending it. Their aſſembling together at* Getrinberg. *The Regent endeavours to ſatisfie them. And is at laſt inforced to take away all manner of Inquiſition. The hereticks and unquiet people are hereby encouraged. From whence they come to open violencies againſt the Churches.*

WHen Cardinal *Granville* was gone from *Flanders*, occaſion of complaining did rather ceaſe in *Orange* and the reſt, then a will to complain. And therefore ſeeming very well ſatisfied with this the Kings reſolution, they made publick demonſtrations of joy in all places.

That now the Country was freed of him who ſought to oppreſs it; The Councel left in its former dignity; and the Regent her ſelf in the reputation which was due to her in the Government. That Flanders *had not a ſorer enemy then the Cardinal; nor the Nobility a more malitious interpreter of their actions to the King. Let him in Gods name, carry that pride and arrogancy which he ſo much joy'd in, ſomewhere elſe; and*

let him exalt himself, where either the obscurity of his birth was not known, or where the splendor of others was less esteemed of.

They accompanied the Cardinals departure with these words, full of bitterness, not yet satisfied with the hatred, which whilst present, they had in so many sorts shewed towards him. On the other side they shewed all due observancy to the Regent; they never intermitted coming to Councel; neither did they let slip any other occasion by which they might reconcile her unto them, and make her their protector unto the King. We told you before, that the President *Vighlio*, and *Barlemont* did side with the Cardinal in all things in Councel; he had made the King have a great good opinion of their fidelity and wisdom, as also the Councel of *Spain*; so as when the Cardinal was gone, 'twas soon seen that the Regent confided more in these two in many resolutions, then in all the rest: and 'twas easily to be judged that she had Orders from the King so to do; and that though the Cardinal was gone, yet his Councels remained still in *Flanders*. *Vighlio* was an upright man, and no less pious in matters of Religion, then faithfull in what concern'd the King. And where it was needfull, he opposed the ambition and arrogancy of great ones, more then became his condition. Succeeding then in *Granvilles* fence, and encouraged thereunto by the esteem which was put upon his Councels in *Spain*, he forbore not to put the Regent in mind,

'How little cause she had to confide in those great ones; who having no other 'end then to make themselves every day greater, could not receive any addition 'to their Authority, which tended not to the diminution of the Regal power. 'That their eyes were now upon *France*; and by the example of those Contrivers 'of Innovations, they would introduce the same troubles and Faction into *Flan-* 'ders, that they might afterwards fall out within themselves, who should have the 'greatest share of their Country, when they had made a prey of her. Was there 'any doubt but that all those pretences were false which they had made use of to 'remove *Granville* from *Flanders*? How had he offended them? unless they 'would esteem themselves injured by the service which he had done the King, 'and which with such loyalty and constancie of mind he had alwayes endea- 'voured to sustain, not regarding their complaint nor threats? That she would 'be soon enough aware of this: For one pretence failing, they would raise up 'others; and after having warred against the Kings Ministers of State, they 'would bare-faced make war against the King himself. This speech of *Vighlio's*. proved a prophesie; so fully was it confirmed by the event. Nor was it long ere (just as he had foretold) *Orange* and the rest took up new occasion of Complaints, in a business which fell out in Religion; and 'twas this. The Councel of *Trent* was already published; and the controversies which arose between the Catholicks and Hereticks in matter of religion, were truly determined by that divine Oracle of the Church: neither had her sacred Decrees brought forth less fruit, in the reformation of Ecclesiastical discipline. Of all the Princes of Christendom, the King of *Spain* had made it his particular care to see that Councel take good effect. He was alwayes fixed and unalterable, not to admit of any Religion in his Kingdoms and States but the Catholike profession: For his Territories being so far divided one from another, he thought that they might be the easilier united in their obedience under him, by the bond of an uniform zeal which might equally fasten them in their devotion to the Church. The Councel then being ended, the King was resolved for what concerned his Temporal authority, that the Decrees made thereby should be observed in all his Dominions; and therefore had given such orders as were needfull, to the Dutchess of *Parma*, to make them be received and observed in *Flanders*. She propounded this to the Councel of State; and there wanted not some who presently opposed the proposition. They said,

That the Councel was in many things contrary to the priviledges of the Provinces; that the Ecclesiastical government would be too much advantaged thereby; that the strictness thereof did too much oppose the liberty of the Country; and finally that the Catholike Princes of Germany *had refused to receive it, and that the same contrarieties appeared to be in* France.

Orange in particular moved these oppositions: Though it was not true that any evil

evil could redound to the Country by the Councel, as experience did afterwards ſhew. But he did this, that he might not let ſlip any occaſion in ſhewing himſelf zealous in whatſoever might appeare ſerviceable for the common good of the *Flemiſh*: To boot, that it was already begun to be feared that theſe might proceed from ſome corruption in him in point of religion. He had already two years ago married for his ſecond wife, *Anne*, daughter to *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, a woman who was an Heretick: whereat the King was diſpleaſed, neither was the Regent nor Cardinal *Granville* well pleaſed thereat. Bringing her afterwards to *Bruſſels*, he gave way that not only ſhe, but many others under colour of belonging to her family, had the exerciſe of the Lutheran religion uſed amongſt them: So as the ceremonies thereof were obſerved in his houſe; and his wife had with her ſome of her ſiſters of the ſame ſect. *Orange* excuſed himſelf herein, by reaſon of the Liberty of Conſcience which was enjoyed in *Germany*, and by his being obliged ſo to doe in his conditions of marriage. But whatſoever his opinion was then in point of Religion, it was thought that he had willingly allied himſelf to a Prince ſo conſiderable in *Germany*, to the end that he might get new adherences in thoſe parts, and thereby advantage or aggrandiſe himſelf upon any occaſion that might ariſe. He therefore under the aboveſaid pretences did oppoſe the introducing of the Councel more then any other: And being egg'd on by Ambition, and by thoſe ends which till then he had ſecretly hatched in his mind; not ſtopping at thoſe difficulties which aroſe of Religion, he propounded many other things by way of Reformation of Government: under pretence of doing the King ſervice, and of the good which would thereby redound unto the Country. 'He propoſed 'how that it would be much better, to have all things diſcuſt in the Councell of 'State, which were now ſeverally agitated in the Cabinet Councell, and Councel 'of the Treaſurie. He ſaid that many times the reſults of one Councel did thwart 'thoſe of another; and that by reaſon of the affairs being thus divided, they 'were uſually ſpun out into much length, and great difficulties were occaſioned. 'That the Councel of State being eſteemed the chiefeſt, it was as the eye of the 'Prince, which watched over the common good of his people: that therefore the 'Government thereof ſhould be anſwerable to its dignitie. That notwithſtanding, 'not to ingroſſe the whole body of buſineſs into the Counſel of State, a deputa-'tion might be made to ſome inferior officers who might diſcuſs the more com-'mon affairs of the two other Councels; and that theſe of greateſt importance 'being thus united, and choice being made of the ableſt Councellors to manage 'them, the expedition would doubtleſly be much greater, and the profit much 'more. But all the reſt of the Councel did not agree in this; *Egmont*, though he was oft times drawn to be of *Orange* his opinion, through the advantage which the ſubtile craft of the one had over the others more open nature, ſeemed not to approve of theſe innovations touching the Councels; and in the buſineſs of the Councel of *Trent*, he ſaid; that it was a buſineſs to be maturelty conſidered upon; to the end that the Kings orders therein might be effected, ſo as might give beſt ſatisfaction to the Provinces. But *Veghlio* was for the preſent putting of the Councel in Execution. He ſaid;

That the Church in all ages had endeavoured by the way of Councels to preſerve the Purity of her decrees, and the order of her Diſcipline. And how ſalutiferous would ſuch a remedy be in particular to thoſe evils wherewith Flanders *did at the preſent labour, and which did ſtill threaten her more and more? that if the Councel could any wiſe prejudice the priviledges of the Provinces, ſome accomodation might be thought upon therein. For what remain'd, that the King ought to boaſt and glory himſelf that he had not either the ſame neceſſity or the ſame ſence as other Princes had; and that his was ſo conformable to that of the Church, and grounded upon ſuch reaſons which did ſo well unite Wiſdom and Piety together.* Neither did he leſſe oppoſe *Orange* his propoſition touching the reducing the three above ſaid Councels into one. Shewing,

'That, that would be, not to order, but to confound buſineſſes; which be-'ing ſo many and of ſuch weight and labor, might be ſufficiently digeſted 'in each of them apart, that the introducing of thoſe Councels did not 'then begin; but that the uſe of them was ſo Ancient, as ſhewed the good

‘ uſe which was made of them, and that therefore they ought not by any means ‘ to be altered.

And afterward inciting the Regent in ſecret againſt *Orange* his Ambition; he ſhewed how dangerous ſuch propoſitions were to the Kingly Authority, and that of herher ſelf. For that the Councel of State would by this means not only be ſuperiour to her Regencie, but to the power of the very King. *Berlemont* agreed in opinion with the Preſident *Vigilio*; and theſe two, together with ſome others which they had drawn over to ſide with them, were by *Orange* and the reſt who had ſhewed themſelves enemies to *Granville*, called by the name of *Cardinaliſts*. Complaining ſtill that his ſence remained in *Flanders*, though not his perſon: the complaints, and contrarieties of opinions in the Councel did therefore daily increaſe more and more; and from theſe diſorders the like in the Provinces, where the Edicts met with ſuch difficulties as ſome of the meaner ſort of Hereticks had lately had the boldnes in *Antwerp* to hinder the publike execution of juſtice which was to have been done upon one of them by burning him in the place appointed thereunto. The like had not long before happened in *Valenciennes*, and the like was feared in *Tourney*: to this was added, that in theſe and others Cities the Hereticks were heard to ſing their vulgar Pſalms by night publikely in the ſtreets. And did by day exerciſe their ſects in more then one place; and did almoſt threaten that they would have the free uſe thereof by force, ſince they could not have it by Toleration. The Dutcheſs wavered between the inconveniencies and dangers which might inſue as well by putting the Edicts rigorouſly into execution, as by giving any the leaſt connivencie to the exerciſe of Hereſie; ſhe therefore thought good that Count *Egmont* ſhould go to *Spain*, to inform the King fully by word of mouth, of all the occurrences of *Flanders*, and in particular of thoſe which had reſpect to Religion: and to ſolicit ſuch remedies as ſhould be thought moſt fit. The Councel approved of his going, and becauſe in the informations which were given unto the Count of thoſe things which he was to ſay in *Spain*, *Orange* thought that the diſorders which were already riſen, and which yet were to be feared in matter of Hereſie, were not repreſented in ſuch manner as they ought to be: he ſpake, as much concern'd, or very feelingly therein; reflecting particularly upon *Vighlio* who was to draw up the inſtructions.

This (ſaid he) *is either to deceive our ſelves, or the King, in going about to leſſen thoſe evils, which are ſo much greater then the Relation which is now to be ſent, makes them appear to be. Let the King know the bottom of our evils, to the end that he may the better know them, and know how the more eaſily to cure them. Let us not conceal how great the number of hereticks are here almoſt in all our Provinces; how little they do already value his Edicts: how ſmall reſpect they bear to the Magiſtrates: and let it be concluded that* Flanders *is not capable of the Inquiſition. And that to continue it, would be a greater evil then the malady it ſelf. I am* (ſaid he) *a good Catholick, and a faithfull ſervant of the Kings; but the deplorable examples of* Germany *and* France, *do ſufficiently prove, that conſcience will be perſwaded, not enforced; and that hereſie ought not to be ſuddenly allay'd by violence, ſince it may ſooner be quenched by fair means.*

He put them in mind again of the difficulties of the Councel of *Trent*, and what he had propounded touching the reforming of the Councels; upon which things he did much expatiate himſelf with great fervency. But the Dutcheſs taking Count *Egmont* aſide, and giving him ſuch inſtructions as ſhe thought fitteſt; diſpatched him away for *Spain*, loading him with all thoſe hopes which might more encourage him to the journey, and wiſhing him for his own ſake to carry the buſineſs ſo as might ſtand beſt with the Kings liking. The King was well pleaſed that *Egmont* ſhould come to *Spain*, for he was thought to be of a good and eaſie nature, when left to himſelf; and therefore the King hoped to draw him the eaſilier over to his ſenſe, by favours which he would confer upon him. And that having won him, who was ſo much beloved in *Flanders*, the others would either forbear novelties, or being divided amongſt themſelves, they ſhould not at leaſt ſo eaſily put them in execution. *Egmont* began his journey in the beginning of the year 1565. and when he came to *Madrid*, he was honourably received by the King and the whole Court. But as for the buſineſs, he prevailed

no

no more then the former endeavours, and complaints about the Inquisition and Edicts against the hereticks had done. The King was firmly setled in his first resolution, of not giving any the least toleration at all therein: and he, as also the whole Councel of *Spain*, was as firmly perswaded, that the mischiefs of *Flanders* in matter of *Religion*, were chiefly occasioned by the weakness and connivency of those who were trusted with seeing the Edicts executed. The King was displeased with the Proposition touching the alteration of the Councels, as arguments of ambitious and unquiet thoughts, which still appeared more in *Orange*: Nor would have any thing spoken thereof, nor listen to any opposition that was made to the Councel of *Trent*. He notwithstanding dispatcht *Egmont* away in a very benigne manner, and full of hopes that he himself would follow speedily after him, to *Flanders* in person, to see the better to the affairs of those Provinces. He did him many favours, and in particular presented him 50000 *Dutch* Guelders, and promised he would help to see his daughters (of which *Egmont* had good store) well married, and would take him, and all the interests of his Family, in to his particular protection. He therefore returned very well satisfied from the Court of *Spain*, magnifying the Kings goodness: his inclination to the *Flemish*, the favours which he would in particular conferr upon the Nobility; and his firm resolution of coming quickly into *Flanders*. But *Orange* seeming little to believe what *Egmont* said, and not trusting to the hope which he so amplified, told him upon a time in the presence of many, by way of sharp derision,

'That he little understood the *Spaniards* cunning: and that suffering himself 'to be deluded by his own privat advantages, he had not well minded the Countrys 'publick welfare, whilst he was in *Spain*.

At the same time that *Egmont* returned from *Spain*, *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, and son to the Regent, came likewise from thence to *Flanders*, by reason of the marriage which was concluded between him and the Princess *Mary*, of the bloud Royal of *Portugal*. This *Alexander* is he who afterward governed the Low-Countreys so gallantly for the space of 15 years, and who by his so many illustrious actions will enrich this our History, if God permit me life to finish it, and a suitable vigour to my pen. His marriage was to be celebrated in *Flanders*; and not long after *Peter Ernestus*, Count *Mansfield*, Governor of *Luxemberg*, went by sea, together with his wife, and a noble and numerous attendance, to conduct his Bride from those parts. And after a dangerous voyage, having at last brought her safely to *Brussels*, the marriage was there solemnized; to the which *Octavius Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, came from *Italy* to honour his son, and see the Regent his wife. But to return to the affairs treated of by *Egmont* in *Spain*. The Regent thought it fit, that he himself should make relation thereof in the Councel of State. The Councels opinion was, that a conference should be had in *Brussels* of some Bishops, some Divines, and some Lawyers, who might consider how the Kings Orders in the aforesaid matters of Religion, and wherein was so much difficulty, might best be effected. To this end the Regent sent for the Bishops of *Arras*, of *Ipri*, and *Namures*, who had intervened at the Councel of *Trent*: For *Ravenstan*, and *Jansene*, two of the most esteemed Divines which were then in those parts; for two Presidents of the Provincial Councels of *Flanders* and *Utricht*, together with two Councellers, the one of *Malines*, the other of *Brabant*. The result of this conference was

That all possible care should be taken to preserve the true Catholick Doctrine throughout the whole Country: That to this purpose Seminaries should be instituted in Cities, and Schools in other places: That it should be endeavoured to reduce all Ecclesiastical persons to convenient reformation. And lastly, it was judged, that touching the punishment of Hereticks, the necessity of the times were such, as for the present, moderation was rather to be therein used then rigor: since it was seen that the severity of punishment made them still more mad and pertenacious.

The Dutchess acquainted the King at large with all that was treated of in this Conference, by her Letters of *July* the same year 1565. to the which the King answered, by a new and express Declaration,

'That he would not forgoe what he had already so maturely resolved on con-'cerning his Edicts, the Inquisition, the Councel of *Trent*, and other things

'which

'which concerned Religion. He ſeemed much incenſt, that diſpute ſhould be ſtill 'had about ſuch buſineſſes: and complain'd that the diſorder of the Heretick was 'occaſioned and increaſed through the too great connivencie of his Officers: that 'if any of them were wanting either in courage, or in zeal, the Regent ſhould 'change them and ſhould conſider that the dangers were not ſo great which might 'be feared from obſerving the Edicts, and from ſo moderate a uſe of the inquiſiti-'on, but that thoſe were much greater, which would inſue by leaving Hereſie, 'and the wilde boldneſs of her Sectaries, without ſuch a curb. He concluded, 'that the Regent could do him no ſuch acceptable ſervice, as to endeavour by all 'poſſible means, the maintaining of *Flanders* united in the Catholike Religion to 'his other Kingdoms: ſince by rendering this obedience to the Church, the obe-'dience which was due to his Crown was the better eſtabliſhed; and that when 'theſe two obediences ſhould be given, he would in all things elſe, not onely 'make *Flanders* enjoy her Priviledges, but confer greater immunities upon her.

Theſe ſo ſtrict commands being come to the Regent from *Spain*, ſhe ſuddenly publiſhed a new Edict againſt the Hereticks in confirmarion of the former; ſhe writ herein apart to the Councels, and Governours of the Provinces. And deputed certain perſons in each of them, who were to give her an account every three moneths of the State of Religion, and particularly what obſervance was given to the Councel of *Trent*.

It was generally hoped for in *Flanders*, upon *Egmonts* going into *Spain*, that the King would have moderated the Edicts, and wholly have ſuppreſſed the inquiſition. So as when the contrary appear'd, and that the rigor of the Edicts was rather augmented, & that the inquiſition, ſo much ahhor'd by them, was eſtabliſht, it cannot be ſaid how much the People were hereat inraged: and what preparations were ſuddenly made for the enſuing troubles. The fear of the inquiſition being by this new Edict every where diffuſed, and the terror thereof being by many artificiouſly encreaſed, ſome grew ſo bold as to give a beginning to a confederacy, whereby they ſtraitly bound themſelves to keep united together, and to oppoſe the inquiſition as much as they might. *Philip Marniſſius*, Lord of Saint *Aldigonde*, was reputed the Author hereof; who was a bold man, and who already began to think ill of the Catholike Religion, and was alwayes afterwards one of the moſt obſtinate of the Heretick Faction. A particular writing was then drawn up in teſtimony of the aforeſaid confederacy, and was ſuddenly ſubſcribed by many. And in reſpect of the reciprocal promiſes therein contained, it was called a Compremiſe, or Covenant; the Tenor whereof was,

That the King being abuſed by ſome few under the pretence of Religion, who were more ſway'd by Ambition, Avarice, and infidelity, then by honeſty, Juſtice, or the love of their Country, would by all means eſtabliſh the Spaniſh inquiſition in Spain; *the uſe whereof, and the calamities which would thereupon inſue, were ſet down in the moſt fearfull terms that could be deviſed: 'twas added, that the care of remedying ſuch evils belonged chiefly to the Nobilitie; and that the beſt remedy was, to joyn all in one ſenſe, not to admit of the inquiſition in any manner whatſoever: 'twas ſhew'd how that the ſame intention would be had throughout the whole Country, ſuch a novelty being too pernitious to all men, and did too much repugne the publike Priviledges: and in fine, the confederates engaged themſelves each to other by oath, never to ſeperate, or ever to admit of the uſe of the inquiſition, under whatſoever name either of viſitation, commiſſion, or Edict. They cal'd God to be a witneſs of their good intentions, and invoked the Holy Ghoſt to bring their endeavours to a happy end.* This is the Compremiſe, Arbitrement, or Covenant which is ſo much written of by all thoſe who relate the affairs of *Flanders*. And this proved the firſt ſparkle of that fire, which did afterwards involve, and doth to this day keep all the Provinces in ſo long, and ſo bitter a War. The above ſaid writing was ſuddenly diſperſt abroad throughout the whole Country: for the firſt confederates dividing themſelves into the chiefeſt Cities, and all poſſible diligence and cunning to make it be ſubſcribed by as many as they could. They gave out, that all this was done by the Agreement of the perſons of beſt quality in all the Provinces; and that *Orange*, *Egmont*, the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, and divers others of the prime nobilitie, were the Authors thereof, though they would not yet diſcover them-

themſelves; to the end they might do it hereafter to better purpoſe. Thus Catholicks and Hereticks, the Nobles and Citizens, Merchants and Plebeians; and many others of all conditions and profeſſions, ſtrive who ſhall run faſteſt to ſubſcribe. The confederacy is praiſed, and received with great applauſe: In their cups, and at their meat, great is the ardor which is ſeen in every one to embrace it. Down goes the Inquiſition; the miſchief ſuddenly grows greater; the venome whereof doth not now creep in, but like a Torrent, overflowes and enlargeth it ſelf every where. Of ſuch force is inraged fear with mobrals; and ſo much more doth apprehended evill ſometimes prevail, then the evil would do were it effected. At the ſame time many ſeditious papers were ſcattered about in the Cities of greateſt commerce, whereby the apprehenſion of the Inquiſition was endeavoured to be augmented in the people. In particular it was given out, that *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, was ſhortly to come with ſome *Alman* Forces to aſſiſt the Inquiſitors. That to this purpoſe requiſite moneys were ſent from *Spain*; that the King ſent ſome Inquiſitors of the very *Spaniſh* Nation; and that already one *Alonzo del Canto* was in *Flanders* to this purpoſe. The Dutcheſs of *Parma* was exceedingly troubled to ſee this: and the more ſhe thought, the leſs ſhe knew what to do: ſhe ſaw how needfull rigor would be; but on the other ſide, ſhe could not exerciſe it without Forces.

What good was there to be expected from new Order, or new Edicts, unleſs it were to make her authority the leſs eſteemed, and the peoples boldneſs the greater in deſpiſing her.

The Regent being thus perplext, and not knowing yet for certain whether the chiefeſt Lords had joyned in ſubſcribing to this Compromiſe, or no; ſhe was advertiſed that many of them were at the preſent with *Orange* in *Breda*, a Town of his, together with divers other perſonages of quality. The appearing occaſion of their meeting was to viſit the Count of *Zwarſenburg*, who had married a ſiſter of the Prince of *Orange*, and who was then upon his departure for *Germany*. With *Orange*, was Count *Lodovick*, (a brother of his) a man of a turbulent and fierce Nature. And the reſt of that Aſſembly were the Counts of *Horn*, of *Hoſtrat*, and of *Mega*, together with ſome others of thoſe Noblemen who had ſubſcribed the compromiſe; and becauſe *Egmont* and the Marquis of *Berghen* could not be then at *Breda*, they were invited together with all the above-named, the next day to ſupper in *Hoſtrat*, by the Count thereof. The aforeſaid confederacy was much diſcuſt, firſt in *Breda*, and then in *Hoſtrat*.

At theſe meetings, *Orange*, after many complaints made againſt the Cardinaliſts, ſhewed how that it appertained to them, who were of the Councel of State, and of the Order of the Golden Fleece, to endeavour the remedy of thoſe evils which ſo important a commotion did threaten the Country withall. He ſaid that the number of the confederates was great in all parts; and eſpecially thoſe of the better ſort: and he ſpake as if he approv'd of the confederacie, and as if he endeavoured to draw the reſt of his Colleagues joyntly to embrace it. *Lodovick*, the Brother of *Orange*, agreed with him in all things; who was commonly thought to be an heretick, and was not diſpleaſed to be thought ſo; either for that he really was ſo, and valued not thoſe puniſhments which he did not fear; or for that *Orange* himſelf, for ſome hidden ends of his own, was well enough content to ſee his brother in favour and Authority with the Hereticks. *Egmont* and *Berghen*, did not ſeem to adhere to *Orange* his ſence, and the Count of *Mega* much leſs, who ſpake boldly againſt the raſhneſs of the confederates: *Horn* and *Hoſtrat*, ſuſpended their opinions, and thus the meetings ended, no particular reſolution being taken. The Regent was ſoon acquainted with all theſe proceedings, by *Egmont* and *Mega*; who together with *Barlemonte*, and *Vighlio*, encouraged her, and adviſed her to raiſe ſome ſoldiers; to which, neceſſity ſeemed likewiſe to perſwade her, for that it was every day heard how the number of confederates did every where encreaſe, as alſo the ſuſpition that they would attempt ſome novelty: nor did they any longer delay it. When a great number of them were gathered together, they drew near to *Bruſſels*, and deſired the Regent that ſhe would permit them to propound a buſineſs of importance unto her, and which, (as they ſaid) concerned the Kings ſervice, as well as their own good.

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The Councel differed in their opinions, what they ought to adviſe the Regent to do in this point; the manner of the requeſt being conſidered, ſome thought that it was abſolutely to be rejected; others, that only two or three might be permitted to preſent it; but that opinion which was judged moſt neceſſary, pleavailed at laſt, ſince without forces there was nothing elſe to be done: and it was, That all of them ſhould be ſuffered to enter *Bruſſels*, which was coloured over by ſuch of the Councel, as were not diſpleaſed at the action, by alleadging that it was not fitting to exaſperate ſo many of the Nobility, by rejecting their Petition before it was heard: and that they came but to make ſupplication, the moſt deſirable tribute of ſubmiſſion which Princes could receive from their people. Of all the confederates who had as yet ſubſcribed, *Henry* of *Brederode*, Lord of *Viana*, a Town in *Holland*, in which Province he was highly eſteemed for the nobility of his bloud, and for which he was likewiſe much reſpected throughout the whole Country, was acknowledged as the Head, or Chieftain: he was an heretick without diſſimulation, of a troubleſome ſpirit, and more troubleſome tongue, deſirous of novelties, and the more incited thereunto at this time, by his being choſen to be the head of ſo many Nobles. He therefore came into *Bruſſels*, accompanied with a numerous multitude in the beginning of *April* 1566; and was ſoon followed by Count *Lodovick*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, who was likewiſe wel accompanied: as alſo by the Counts of *Collemburg* and *Treſemberg*. Theſe four were then the chief men: their rendezvous at *Bruſſels* was in the Count *Colemburg*s houſe; and therefore that houſe was afterwards razed to the ground in Duke *Alva's* time, in memory of ſo execrable an exceſſe: their numbers are diverſly ſpoken of. Some will have them to be 200, others 300, others 500. The Dutcheſs had this mean while endeavoured by many expedients, and did ſtill endeavour to bring the confederates to ſome more wholeſome Councels. They therefore fearing leſt ſome of their aſſociates might be thereby wrought upon, *Brederode*, deſirous to appear in the firſt place, and to enjoy it rather by the boldneſs of his advice, then by the prerogative of perſons, ſpoke thus at one of their meetings.

'We have already overcome the worſt (generous Aſſociats) in being met toge-
'ther in ſo great a union from parts ſo far diſtant, and now in ſo great number
'here. The Regent cannot any ways deny our juſt deſires. But ſay ſhe ſhould
'do ſo, and ſtill perſiſt in the rigor of the Edicts, and the bitterneſs of the In-
'quiſition, according to the Orders received from *Spain*; which of us is it that
'in ſuch a caſe will not expoſe his eſtate, and life, to free himſelf, his wife, his chil-
'dren, and his Countrey, from ſuch ſore yokes? Let us firſt conſider the condit-
'on of our evils, and then we ſhall ſee the great juſtice of our deſires. And to
'ſay truth, what more unhappy condition can be imagined, then to have ſo ma-
'ny miſerable creatures under pretence of Hereſie, be continually hurried away
'into the Inquiſition, and there either to die by torments, or be ſtarved in pri-
'ſons; or being out of priſon, to be deprived of their Countrey, and Eſtates,
'and oft-times of life it ſelfe, by the horrrible puniſhment of Fire? What
'greater unhappineſs can there be, then to ſee innocency it ſelf ſo often ſuf-
'fer ſhipwrack in that ſea of Calumnies, for every Argument, for every accuſa-
'tion? Then to ſee ſecrecy baniſht from out houſes, friendſhip from out Ci-
'ties, and to have all Human rights, and rights of Nature violated amongſt ſuch
'as are neereſt ally'd in blood, and in belief? Theſe are the Fruits, theſe the pub-
'lick and privat advantages which the Inquiſition brings with it: And yet we muſt
'eſteem the preſent puniſhments but ſlight, and tolerable, in reſpect of thoſe
'which threaten us in the future. Which of you is unacquainted with the coming
'of *Don Alonzo del Canto*, that new Spaniſh Inquiſitor, into theſe parts? and who
'knows not what cruell and fearfull Orders he brings with him? New priſons
'are already begun to be built, new Irons to be made, and other new ingenious
'inventions of torments, by this Architects deſigning. Gaſtly looks, ſad com-
'plaints, and in fine, the height of calamity will reign in all places: And this ſort
'of ſlavery will then appear to us the harder, by how much we have been accu-
'ſtomed by the Laws of our former government, to the ſweets of Liberty.
'Kings themſelves (I know not whether you know ſo much or no) are liable to

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'the laws of the Inquiſition & oft-times to the great ſcorn of their Scepters, they 'muſt undergo the ſeverity of puniſhment, & the ſuperiority of Empire & cõmand: 'and wha more unworthy caſe can be heard of, then what befell our Emperour 'of ever happy memory? it affrights me to relate it. That vanquiſher of *Eu-* 'rope, that Monark of new worlds; and he who was more glorious in renouncing 'them, then in poſſeſſing them; He, even he was compeld by Orders from the 'Inquiſitors, to do publick penance at his return to *Spain*, for having onely trea- 'ted with the *Lutheran* Hereticks in the wars which he made in *Ge rmany*. Now if 'the dangers of the Inquiſition be ſo many, and if they be ſo hard to be evaded, 'by the very *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, who are by nature ſo wary and cautious, 'how ſhall we *Flemings* ever hope to eſcape the leaſt part thereof? We, I ſay, 'whoſe hearts are with ſuch candor ſeen in our words? who lead ſo free, and ſo 'converſable a life? and who hold it for a particular law of faithfull friendſhip, 'not to keep any thing concealed one from another, in our baals, feaſtings, cups, 'and invitations? ſhall it be imputed as a fault of misbeliefe, if ſome vain or idle 'word eſcape our mouths, amidſt thoſe our innocent delights? The Inquſition 'will quickly take from us theſe our contentments: we ſhall be turn'd Savages in 'our demeanours; and our Cities will at laſt be turned into Deſarts, and our Pro- 'vinces into ſolitary habitations: Commerce will be every where deſtroyed, 'which conſiſts almoſt wholly in contracting with ſuch foraigners as profeſs li- 'berty of conſcience, and who cannot tolerate ſo much as the very name of the 'Inquiſition. Thus *Flanders* will in a ſhort time fall into ruine and deſolation: 'And thus our formerly ſo fortunate Provinces, will for the future be an example 'of infinite miſery to all *Europe*: whereas formerly their felicity hath been en- 'vied by all other Countries. By the condition of the evils which I have laid be- 'fore you, the juſtice of the deſires which we ſhall make to eſcape them, will con- 'ſequently and clearly appear. The King hath ſworn to maintain our Countrey 'in her liberties: and what doth more deſtroy them then doth the Inquiſition? 'The King himſelf hath for a long time been vers'd here in our cuſtomes: and 'what is more averſe unto them then theſe his Edicts? The *Spaniards* will intro- 'duce the government of *Spain* into *Flanders*; and what greater repugnancy can 'there be, then what is ſeen between their Laws and ours? between Subjection' 'which is there adored, and by all men here ſo much deteſted? Kings cannot ex- 'tend their Laws beyond thoſe of Nature; nay, they are as liable to her Laws, as 'are their ſubjects. Let *Spain* and *Italy* then retain and enjoy their Inquiſition as 'they ſhall like beſt, which *Flanders* never received but by force, and from which 'force ſhe is now reſolved to free her ſelf. But ſince 'tis underſtood that thoſe a- 'mongſt our ſelves who partake of the Regents moſt ſecret reſolutions, and which 'are now more *Spaniſh* then *Flemiſh*, endevour to divide us, who is he amongſt us, 'that will be found faulty in his faith? Faulty in things ſo ſolemnly promis'd and 'ſworn unto? And finally, faulty to himſelfe, to his blood, to his honor, and to 'the ſo great danger of his Countrey? God forbid that any ſuch thing ſhould 'be dream'd of, much leſs ſeen. Let each of us conſider the ancient glory of our '*Belgicks*. and eſteem it a good fortune to be able upon this occaſion to imitate 'them. The worth of progenitors ought to paſſe together with their blood, into 'thoſe that deſcend from them. And the later ought not onely to approve them- 'ſelves heirs, but even competitors of the former in all glorious actions. I then '(moſt noble companions) will with all humility lay before the Regent the bit- 'terneſs of the evils which we undergo, and the neceſſity of our being relieved 'therein. But if all due reſpect, obſequy, and reaſon, ſhall prevail no more in 'theſe our preſent inſtances, then they have formerly done, what is to be done in 'ſuch a caſe, but to have recourſe to ſuch remedies as deſperation uſeth to ſuggeſt 'againſt violence. I ſhall for my part be as ready to hazard my life then, as I am 'willing now to uſe my tongue upõ this preſent occaſion. We ſhal find the greateſt 'in the Councel wil agree with our ſenſe. and we ſhall find their aſſent to what we 'ſhall ſay by their ſilence. And doubtleſly all the reſt of the Countrey wil cheer- 'fully take up ſuch reſolutions, as we ſhall do in ſuch a caſe which cannot be more 'juſt, ſince they cannot be more neceſſary.

Thus did *Brederode* inflame himſelf and the reſt againſt the inquiſition. But it was not true (as hath been often ſaid) that the King intended to introduce a

seted form of the use thereof in *Flanders*. Nor was it true that *Alanson Del Canto*, was come to *Brussels* for any thing concerning the inquisition: and what he affirmed touching the Emperour *Charls* the fifth, was a meer fable rashly invented and beleeved: who accompanying so many of his other excellent vertues with his innate piety, did never treat with the Hereticks in *Germany*, but when necessitated so to do, that he might rid them of their Frenzy, either by the usuall way of their Diets, or by force of Arms in Battel: and for what concerns the inquisition, though the Country were generally averse thereunto, yet there were many of try'd wisdom and zeal, who found in themselves & desired to inform others by the benefit which *Spain* and *Italy* had received thereby, how advantagious it would be to *Flanders* to have a moderate form thereof introduced in her Provinces. They said,

That some little seeming of severity being taken away from the inquisition, there were not in effect any Tribunals lesse severe then hers. Nor whereby more just and Candid wayes the preservation of the Honour and Purity of Faith was endeavoured. That the name and use thereof was to be esteemed most sacred. That if so many temporal Lawes were made in favour of Princes, to keep humane Majesty unharmed; spirituall Lawes were much more to be approved of in favour of the Church; by punishing those who were guilty of high treason against the Majesty of God. That by defending this right which doth so straitly binde the faithfull to God, and to Religion; the other which was due from the people to Princes and their States, was the better sustained. That if Calumny were to give way to truth, as of right it should, it must necessarily be confest that nothing maintained States in the sincerity of Faith more then the inquisition; whereas when Heresie once enters, Factions suddenly arise; from Factions, civil Wars: and from civil Wars, Forrein ones inevitably. So as Princes together with their People were suddenly seen to fall into deplorable miseries and calamitie: what unhappy proof may Flanders *fear herein through her own evils? and to how many fatall scenes may* Germany *and* France *serve for a Theatre by reason hereof? nor were the same revolutions and misfortunes lesse in other Countries, where Heresie hath been able to open the Schools of error, and display the Ensignes of Rebellion. That* Spain *and* Italy *this mean While did enjoy a perfect and happy peace; which was the supream good of mortals, and that which distinguisheth men from beasts, and Cities from wilderneses: nor was it to be doubted but that the one and the other of them did acknowledge so happy a condition much more from the Catholike unitie, and from the strong holds of the inquisition which defend that unitie, then from the immence wals of Mountains, and vast ditches of Seas, wherewith they are by nature invironed and united.*

Thus spoke they in favour of the inquisition who knew more then did the rest; and endeavoured thus to make it be better thought of. The Regent had made use of the same reasons, to the same end, and at the same time, as she had often done formerly, to moderate the violence and the heat of the Nobles who were gathered together in *Brussels*: but their hearts were too much hardned, and their ears deaf, to admit of any reason in this affair. *Brederodes* discourse was received with a favourable Hum. And in signe that they would persist more then ever in the resolutions which they had taken, they all cry'd aloud. He is a Traytor that proves faultie; hereupon they were admitted to Audience before the Regent; who would have the Councel of State, and those Knights of the golden Fleece who were then in *Brussels*, to be present. The confederates marcht two by two, from *Colembergs* house, as it were in Procession, to the Regents Palace; and the two last were Count *Lodovick* and *Brederode*. *Brederode* spoke in the name of them all; he first complained of the bad relations which he said were made of them to the King and the Regent: and then added; that the Publike necessity of the Country, and their own private urgencies, had inforced them to this kind of Action. He then presented a petition to the Regent in the name of them all; and desired it might be read. The contents were these.

'That infinitly praise worthy was the zeal which first moved the Emperor, and 'then the King to provide for the dangers which might befall the Catholike Re-'ligion in *Flanders*. That time, which is an uncorrupt Councellor, had made it 'clearly seen, that the remedies which were applied did agravate the evil; that the 'King continuing not withstanding in the same minde, and greater disorders daily 'accruing, The Nobility could no longer contain from representing the danger. 'That they were chiefly concern'd therein both by their prerogative of place,

'and

'and by their ſtrict bond of Allegiance: but that their intereſt did likewiſe 'particularly oblige them thereunto: ſince the Nobles living for the moſt part 'in the Country, and enjoying there their Eſtates, they ſhould be the firſt who 'ſhould be ſencible of the inconveniencies, and experience the injuries, when the 'alterations which were to be feared, ſhould happen: that therefore it was ne-'ceſſary to take away the occaſions, which would inevitable produce ſo bad ef-'fects. That the inquiſition, and Edicts had put the whole Country into com-'motion, and in all places had turn'd patience into deſperation. That therefore 'they did humbly beſeech her Highneſs, that ſhe would as ſoon as might be, 'advertiſe the King of the premiſes by expreſſe Meſſengers, and that in the mean 'time ſhe would ſuſpend the uſe of the former, and moderate the rigor of the 'others: that the neceſſity wherein Religion was concerned might better be 'ſeen into by the States General, and a remedy found out, by their uniform 'conſent That if in fine it ſhould appear that theſe their humble and devout in-'treaties ſhould no wayes avail, they cal'd God to witneſs, the King, her High-'neſs ſelf, and all the Gentlemen that were there preſent, that they had done 'what upon ſuch an occaſion belonged to good and faithfull ſubjects: and 'that the fault was not to be put upon their account, if peradventure any evil 'ſhould enſue.

The Regents anſwer was,

That ſhe would conſider better upon what they had propounded.

And ſhe afterwards anſwered them in writing thus,

That ſhe would ſend ſome perſonages of purpoſe into Spain, *according to their deſire. That States were grounded upon Laws: And that ſuch Laws were moſt neceſſary, as did moſt favour Religion. That notwithſtanding, for their better ſatisfaction, proceedings ſhould be had therein, with all poſſible moderation: That in the mean time, the Kings mind was to be known; to whom, as ſhe would do them all the good offices ſhe could, ſo ſhe promiſed unto her ſelf, that they would ſhun all manner of novelty in this behalf.*

The Confederates would gladly have received a more direct anſwer to their requeſt of having the Inquiſition ſuſpended, and the rigor of the Edicts moderated. And ſome there were who interpreted the words of the Regents anſwer to the worſt ſenſe. So as they ſeemed not only not to be ſatisfied therewith; but did in bitter terms complain thereof. They this mean while ſhewed their mad pranks in divers manners. One of which was, the aparelling of many of them in one and the ſame colour, near upon the ruſſet, of an ordinary cheap ſtuff, and the ſhewing of themſelves ſo together in company. Upon a certain occaſion, the Regent her ſelf ſaw them; and 'tis reported that *Barlemont*, who was then with her, ſhould ſay unto her,

'Madam, what fear can you have of theſe *Gueux*'. (A *French* word, which in *Engliſh* ſignifies Vagrants, or Beggers.) There are ſome Writers who ſay that *Barlemont* gave them this name when they went to preſent their Petition to the Regent in way of proceſſion; and that this being by them known, they took occaſion thereupon to aparel themſelves, and to appear in manner aforeſaid: and not contented with the bare colour and habit of beggers, they hung ſome upon their hats, ſome about their girdles certain vile and ſordid implements, ſuch as are uſed to be worn by beggers: they had nothing in their mouths but the word *Gueux*; they uſed it in all places, and upon all occaſions; but eſpecially in their cups, and in the freedom they take at meals. This fell out particularly one day when they a great many of them were at a ſolemn invitation, in Count *Colembergs* houſe: where beyond all other vanities, they ſtrove who ſhould moſt celebrate the name of *Gueux*, or beggers. The wine is ply'd, and great goblets goe round: the defie encreaſes, and they lay hands on veſſels of a very large ſiſe: they break their order of ſitting; one gets upon chairs, another upon tables, and their drink; the fury of drunkeneſs fits them with a thouſand mad vagaries, they crie as every glaſs goes down, *Long live the King Long live the Gueux*. And the whole houſe rung of nothing but this. They had an oath amongſt them likewiſe very ſutable to that place, and that action, in *French* dog-rime, to this purpoſe

By this bread, by this ſalt, and by this Budget,
The Guex will from their Tenets nere budg yet.

nor yet contented herewithall, they wore almoſt all of them as they walked the ſtreets of *Bruſſels*, a certain medal hanging at their girdle, wherein theſe words were written in *French*,

True to the King, even to the Budget.

Thus did they rejoyce, and as it were, triumph in this name of *Guex*; an unfortunate name to *Flanders*, which from that time began to loſe its quiet, and which hath ſince, ſo long, and by ſo many means beg'd it, and could never obtain it The Petitioners deſires to the Regent conſiſted chiefly in two things: the one, That ſome expreſs perſonages might be ſent into *Spain* to the purpoſe ſpoken of: The other, That in the mean while the Inquiſition, and the rigor of the Edicts, might be forborn in *Flanders*. The Dutcheſs then deſigned to ſend the Marquis of *Berghen*, and the Lord *Montigni*, brother to Count *Horn*, to the Court of *Spain*: both which were propounded by the Petitioners. And for what concernd the ſecond point, ſhe ſent to the Governours of the Provinces, to cauſe a new form of Edict to be propounded in each Province, by which the Inquiſition was ſomewhat moderated, but not ſuſpended; and the like was done in the Edicts; ſeditious papers were this mean while diſperſed about from divers parts, both within and without *Flanders*, by which the Petitioners were ſtill more incited to perſiſt in their demands. They were incouraged in theſe ſeditious papers, by the example of the liberty of the neighbouring Countries, and eſpecially by that of upper *Germany*, with which 'twas affirmed, that divers of the lower Provinces were incorporated; and it was particularly ſuggeſted, that as the former did enjoy the confeſſion of *Auſperg*, ſo ought *Flanders* without all queſtion, to enjoy it. The fire was no longer in burſting out: Whilſt the Edict of moderation was propoſed by the Regent througout the Provinces; whilſt it was doubtfull how they would interpret this, and much more how the King would be pleaſed with it, ſome of the more turbulent ſpirits amongſt the Petitioners, inſtigated by the ſutler ſort, gave out, that the Regent had granted all that was deſired, and in confirmation thereof, a counterfeit writing was given about: This report ran preſently over the whole Country like a Torrent, and did ſo provoke the common people, as that in divers places of the Provinces, the dores were thrown open to the heritick Preachers. They cunningly thought, that thus the King would be by neceſſity induced to grant all their demands. The firſt Sermons were made in the very Province of *Flanders*, and 'twas firſt begun to be done in ſome great Villages, for they feared, leſt if they ſhould do it in Cities, they might be hindred by the Magiſtrates. They forthwith did the like in other Villages in *Brabant*, near *Antwerp*, and ſuddenly the mallady encreaſed every where; ſo as it began to diſperſe it ſelf through the greateſt part of the Provinces.

In the Couutrys of *Lucemberg*, *Hennault*, *Artois*, and *Namures*, no novelty at all was made. The Hereticks appeared more licentious about *Torney*, and *Valentiennes*, then in other parts. And thoſe two Cities ſeemed moſt diſpoſed to receive and favour them. *Lutherans*, *Calviniſts*, and *Anabaptiſts*, began in troops to divulge their Heriſie: each of them exalted their own ſect: the common people flockt unto, and applauded novelty. Not the moſt learned, but the moſt hairbraind amongſt them, took upon them to preach; and through the blind and moſt monſtruous perſwaſion that every one was able to teach the word of God: the baſer ſort of women had the affrontedneſs to have their ſeveral meetings, if not at preachings, yet at conferences: they went armed where they preached, leſt the Magiſtrates might hinder their meetings. And diſobedience was already manifeſted almoſt every where: So as the Regent thought it not now fit to proceed in the intended Edict, touching the moderation of the others that were already gone out, and touching the Inquiſition; but publiſhed another upon very ſevere penalties, againſt the Preachers, and againſt ſuch as ſhould follow them,

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inhibiting all meetings which ſhould be made to this purpoſe. The Regents orders did as then ſome good, in containing the vulgar within Cities, in their duties; yet the ſame licentiouſneſs continued in the Country Villages. The Regent complained of the Governors of the Provinces; and they again of her, ſhewing that to ſide too much with the ſenſe of *Spain*, ſhe had ſuffered the Edicts, and Inquiſition to be ſo far proceeded in.

Had not they foreſeen the evil which was now burſt forth? how oft had they mentioned the remedy? but that more belief was adhibited to Granville, *and after him, to thoſe who in his abſence ſuſtained his faction, and who being looked upon as the moſt faithfull, had proved moſt perfidious to the ſervice of their King and Countrey.*

Such conteſtations as theſe fell out often in the Councel of State, even in the preſence of the Dutcheſs her ſelf: where *Orange*, *Egmont*, & the other Lords who interven'd therein, would with much freedom upbraid *Barlemont*, *Vighlio*, and *Aſſonville*, who was one much imployed by the Regent, and went hand in hand with the other two, with the above ſaid diſorders. the Hereticks did not as yet preach publikely in Cities; and becauſe this was feared dayly more and more, and eſpecially in *Antwerp*, where the danger was thought to be the greateſt, by reaſon of the frequency of people, and the liberty of Commerce which drew a great number of forreign Hereticks thither, the Regent therfore ſent the Count of *Mega* thither to endeavour with the Magiſtrate that he would permit a garriſon to be put in there. But it was impoſſible to effect it, it being alledged to the contrary that it was not expedient to mix ſouldiers with Merchants: this mean while the Marquiſs of *Berghen*, and Monſieur *De Montigni* were arrived in *Spain*, and after having ſtaid there a conſiderable while, could not get audience of the King. It was well known in the Court that they brought with them the ſenſe of the Petitioners, and that they were rather ſent by them, then diſpacht away by the Regent. Yet thinking it was his beſt courſe to diſſemble at the preſent, he writ to the Governours of the Province. 'Shewing how much he relied 'upon them, and exhorting them to provide by all poſſible means, remedies for 'the evils already begun. That his intention was to come himſelf in perſon into '*Flanders*, and that Divers neceſſities of his other Kingdoms had made him de-'lay, but not change his former thought therein. That he would by his own pre-'preſence, give full ſatisfaction to all the deſires which were made unto him: that 'the tumults in the mean while might be appeaſed; and that particular care might 'be taken that no innovation might be made in matter of Religion.

The Regent writ likewiſe to the chiefeſt of the Petitioners, who were already gone from *Bruſſels*, complaining of too long delay in the demands which they had made. She gave a touch upon the ſuſpition ſhe had of their introducing an Heretical Army; and acquainted them with what ſhe thought neceſſary for the remedying the Novelties which enſued. Yet they, nevertheleſs, little regarding the Regents endeavours, or little truſting what ſhe ſaid, did not onely not ſatisfie her juſt deſires, but with greater contumacy then before, reſolved to aſſemble together again at *Getrinberg*, a town in the Biſhoprick of *Liege*. To this end having had many preceding practices both by people and by letters in divers places; a great many of them met there in the moneth of *Auguſt*, where the moſt ſeditious were moſt liſtned unto. They appeared to be of divers opinions; ſome would have them to break forth into publick tumults, and get that by force, which they had not as yet got by intreaties. Others, that the States General ſhould meet together of their own Authority, and that by that means the Edicts, and the Inquiſition might be thrown down. Others, that to the end they might lead on their deſignes the more advantagiouſly, they might firſt adviſe with their neighbours, & be aſſiſted by them; yet ſome were more moderate in their opinions, who propounded that they ſhould better conſider ere they reſolved on any thing; and that they ſhould firſt ſee what effect the Marquis of *Berghens* and *Montigni's* journey to *Spain* would produce, and what the mean time the Regent would do in *Flanders*.

But the moſt ſeditious prevailing, it was reſolved, that by all means, as well within *Flanders*, as elſewhere, that liberty which they pretended to in Religion, might

might be endeavoured. The Dutchess was very much troubled at the news of this meeting at *Getrinberg*, and presently used all her industry to break it off. To this purpose she sent *Orange*, (some Writers say it was the Duke of *Aresçot*) and *Egmont* to *Duffle*, a town in *Brabant* neer *Antwerp*, and not very far from *Getrinberg*, willing them by all possible means to appease the Confederates, and to assure them again, that they should receive full satisfaction both from her, and from the King.

The effect of this was, That they clean contrary, sent some of their Deputies thither: *Orange* and *Egmont* propounded divers things in satisfaction of the confederates; they said that the Dutchess would undoubtedly procure leave from the King for the convocating of the States General; that in the mean time all lenity should be observed in matter of Religion; and that the Dutchess would quite forget the former disorder which had insued thereupon: and they gave hopes likewise that a liberty of preaching might be allowed, provided it might not be with any armed concourse. In answer whereunto the Deputies used rather complaints then reasons; and it was clearly seen, that though they desired satisfaction, they would not accept of it: so as full of contumacy they returned to *Getrinberg* more resolute then ever to have liberty in matter of Religion, without attending any answer from *Spain*, or relying any longer upon the sense of the Provinces. To which they were incited by those who gave out that nothing was to be expected from *Spain* but artificiall delayes, nor from the Regent, but ambiguous resolves: yet divers negotiations were kept on foot; and some mutuall expedients were endeavoured to be found out, by which the confederates should not be proceeded against for any novelties that had happened, and whereby they might receive some satisfaction touching the liberty of Preaching: and whereby the Regent on the other side might be sure that they should for the future desist from fomenting the begun disorders. But in fine all proved but lost labour; the wound which was first exulcerated, threw forth immediatly great store of putrified matter. From preaching, which the Hereticks at first introduced in the open Fields, they proceeded to use violence upon the Churches in the neighbouring villages, breaking thereinto by force, spoyling their sacred utensils, and using all manner of greater impieties. This was first done in some parts of the province of *Flanders*, wherein *Egmont* the Governour thereof was; and where either his diligence was not such as was requisite, or else the violences surpassed his authority. He excused himselfe in divers wayes, as did others in other parts where the like plague presently burst forth, which at last dilated it selfe into Cities, and of them, with a horrible scene of impietie and sacriledge, into *Antwerp*. Upon the holy day celebrated every year for the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, a solemn procession is used to be made in the City wherein a carved image with much devotion is born about: that procession proceeds from the Cathedral Church, and after a large perambulation returns thither again: the Hereticks were heard to belch forth that day much blasphemy against the image as it was carried about, and many injurious speeches against the Church men who were imployed in that procession; and 'twas feared that the rabble rout of the Hereticks would that day break forth into yet more greater madnesses; but through much diligence that was used they were kept from doing so at that time: on the twentieth day of the same moneth, set on by new furies of themselves, or instigated by others, they went to the Cathedral Church; one of the most famous structures, and most sumptuously adorn'd that is in all *Europe*; being got in, they shut all the doors; they then began wickedly to mock at the image, and at the like of many other Saints; which were there venerated; their meriment being at last turn'd into rage, and their insolencies into Frenzies, they flew upon all the images, and broke them all to pieces. Neither did they contain themselves here; but turning their fury principally against a Crucifix which was gallantly cut, and placed on high, they by the force of ropes, pul'd it to the ground, and in a most execrable manner tore it to pieces and trode upon it. At the same time they overthrew the Altars; dealt worse with the painted images, then with those that were carved, and did profane that so famous Church throughout, in a thousand other manners. Nothing more of villanie remaining

to

Peter Ernest Count Mansfeldt
Governour of Lucemburg
Campe=master at ỹ Battaile of Gemblac
Generall of the French Expedition .31

to be committed there, they ran to do the like in the other Churches of that Citie. From Churches they fly to force Monasteries; and from Monasteries of men, run more greedily to those of women. The sacred virgins are sorely affrighted and run to their parents houses. The heretick rabble grow more perverse, and every where leave signes of avarice, impiety, and barbarism: At last, rather weary, then satisfied with so much wickedness, which endured from noon till the next night was almost over, they dispersed themselves here and there, and returned to their own houses.

The tumult was of great consideration in it self, but much more in the example thereof: it was undertaken by a few, desired by many, and at last consented unto by all. The meaner sort of people in that City, which was then very numerous because the Trading of *Europe* was got thither then in any other place, were generally infected with heresie. And the people of better quality, even those who were the most zealous Catholicks, did so abhor the Inquisition, and the rigor of the Edicts, and thought the effect thereof so pernitious to the liberty of Merchandizing, as that they were not sorry to see the King necessitated to grant that, which could not till then be obtained, and wherein his consent was almost despaired of: By the tumult of *Antwerp*, as by displaid Ensignes, all the other chief Cities of almost all the other Provinces, were forthwith invited to do the like: only the *Walloon* Provinces, upon the Frontiers of *France*, kept free from these novelties. The Dutchess perceiving so great and so universal a commotion, and suspecting lest the Governours of the Provinces might seem to tollerate it, and in secret to authorize it, she began to fear she might not be safe in *Brussels*, where heresie had likewise got good footing. She inclined to leave that Town, and to go to *Mons*, the chief City in *Hennault*; but divers of the chief Lords that were about her, did joyntly oppose themselves thereunto, and in particular, *Orange* and *Egmont*; they said that the troubles which were risen in other places would be appeased, and they assured her there should no disorder happen in *Brussels*: which though her own presence alone was sufficient to prevent, yet if need should require, they would hazard their lives in hindring it. But the greatest consideration herein was concerning themselves, since they should be too much blamed, if the Dutches, they being present, should retire, or rather run away in such a manner.

How would this relish in Spain? how would the King be thereat scandalized? and how much should they suffer in their honours? for no justification would be able to free them from being thought to be the true Authors of such violences done by the common people.

The Regent therefore resolved to stay at *Brussels*; but for her greater safety, that *Peter Ernestus*, Count of *Mansfeld*, should get together some soldiers, who might serve to remedy any tumult which might happen in the City, and her own person might be the more secure. It was debated in Councel how so many and so great disorders might be provided against. It was thought fit to treat again with the Petitioners, wherein were so many of the Nobility of the Country, to see whether any satisfaction might be given them, so as that their union might be broken, and so the people might want that fomentation, and the King the mean while might put on more vigorous resolutions, which the Regent might with more ease execute. To this purpose some of the Councel were deputed by her, and some others by the Petitioners; and after many contradictions, they pitched upon that which the necessity of the time, upon that occasion, did require. Thus by a new Edict, which seemed to be in answer to the Petition delivered, the preceding *April*, the Regent declared,

'That no use of the Inquisition should be had or made in *Flanders*, and that 'there should be no use thereof for the future: That the Edicts should be so 'moderated as should give full satisfaction to all the Provinces: That the confe-'derates should not be proceeded against for any of the late novelties: and that 'the liberty of Preaching should be permitted where it was already introduced; 'provided that no tumults were occasioned thereby, and that the Catholick wor-'ship should not be in any wise hindred.

Another Edict came forth presently after in the Kings express name, denouncing heavy punishments to all those who had committed so many and so horrible enormities

mitys againſt the Churches and Monaſteries. But by how much the Regent went every day leſs in her authority, ſo much more did the audacity of the Confederates, and the reſt who held Intelligence with them, increaſe: So as the hereticks not laying aſide their former inſolencies in *Antwerp*, did ſtill inſult in divers manners over the Catholicks. They by violence made their Churches be ſhut up: they ſtormed to ſee that they could not get any one of them for themſelves to preach in; and not being able to do it elſewhere, they preached publickly in the *Piazzas* of the new Town of *Antwerp*, the Lutherans in one place, in another the Calviniſts: and the ſtinch of many other ſectaries gave occaſion of divers other ſorts of meetings, both in privat and in publick. Theſe ſects did greatly differ one from another, but they joyned all in their rage againſt the Catholick religion. At laſt they prevailed ſo far, as it behoved to come to expreſs capitulation with them: by vertue whereof they got ſo much liberty, as did amount almoſt to a full exerciſe of hereſie: and at laſt they were permitted to build a particular Fabrick, which they called by the name of Temple, where their Miniſters were heard to preach, and all other exerciſes of their ſects were officiated. Aſſoon as this permiſſion was obtained, men and women flock thither from all parts, Merchants and Plebeians, Gentry and Citizens, to put their hands to the building of this Temple. The Prince of *Orange*, to boot with his being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and of a part of *Burgundy*, was likewiſe Governor of *Antwerp*. In the tumult which had hapned in that City, he had endeavoured that it might appear he had uſed all dilligence to impede them, he himſelf came often thither in perſon: and when he could not be there himſelf, he ſent the Count of *Hoſtrat* thither. 'Twas known that *Orange* his authority in that City was very great; ſo as few thought that he would make uſe thereof according as occaſion did require: And when they ſaw *Hoſtrat* adhere unto him, they thought they were both of the ſame mind. *Orange* had likewiſe gone into *Holland* and *Zealand*, to appeaſe the tumults which had enſued there in matter of Religion, preſently after that of *Antwerp*: But his endeavours there availed but little likewiſe, by reaſon of the maligne conſtellation of times, or they were but little ſincere, by his own, peradventure, more maligne contrariety. Great was the commotion which had enſued in *Gaunt*, the chief City of *Flanders*; where the hereticks had likewiſe inſolently introduced the uſe of their hereſie, as alſo in almoſt all the other conſiderable places of that Province. *Egmont*, who was Governor thereof, had been there too in perſon; and becauſe his preſence had done but little good, he began to be ſuſpected as well as *Orange*. Though it was conſidered by ſome, in their juſtification, that in the Province of *Groninghen*, where Count *Aremberg* was Governour, and in *Ghelderland* and *Zutfen*, which were Governed by the Count *Mega*, both of them being eſteemed great Catholicks, and faithfull to the King. The like revolts were ſeen in matter of Religion, and like difficulties in removing them: but howſoever, thoſe two were chiefliyeſt ſuſpected; ſince they exceeding the reſt ſo far in Authorities, 'twas thought that the tumults fomented by them, had made all the reſt prove likewiſe remedileſs.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK III.

The Contents.

The King is highly offended for the novelties happened in Flanders. *A letter from* Montigni *to Count* Horne; *the Regent resolves to take up Arms. A meeting of* Orange, Egmont, *and others in* Terramond; Valentiennes *is besieged: is reduced. So is* Antwerp. *The Regent enters Antwerp well provided of Arms. A great disposition throughout the whole Low Countries to quiet. Consultations in Spain upon the affairs of* Flanders; *two opposite Orations made unto the King by the Duke of* Feria, *and the Duke of Alva, the King resolves at last to send an Army into* Flanders. *And gives the command thereof to the Duke of Alva: upon newes hereof,* Orange *retures into* Germany. Alva *enters the low Countries: he forthwith imprisons* Egmont *and* Horne. *The Dutchesse of* Parma *departs for* Italy. *The Duke of* Alva *is Governour of the Low Countries.*

THus went the Affairs in *Flanders* at this time: in the interim newes was brought to *Spain*, of the so many and so strange innovasions happened of late in those Provinces: nor can it be said how much the King and his Councel were troubled thereat. Wherfore the Marquess of *Berghen*, and the Lord *Montigni* could not be admitted to Audience before the King, & the King did not only seem not to approve of what had bin done in *Flanders* to the so great prejudice of the Catholike Religion, and his regal Authority, but he discovered a great indignation against the Flemish, and a firm intention to chastise them, and because such a designe required time, and time dissimulation; therefore the King yielding in this conjuncture to the force of necessitie, writ unto the Regent, That she should endeavour by all means possible to compose the tumults the best she might, incouraging her notwithstanding to use force, when she should think it were a fitting time to do so. To this end some monies were sent from *Spain*, and thereupon it was taken into consideration that for the present some *Alman* and *Walloone* forces might be raised, till time should *Anno.* 1566.

better adviſe what was to be reſolved on, touching the ſending of Spaniſh forces, and the like of other nations ſubject to the Crown of *Spain*, into *Flanders*: by reaſon then of theſe orders which were come in ſecret, and much more by reaſon of the manifeſt appearing neceſſity of providing by Arms againſt the tumults which had already happened, and to thoſe of greater danger which might inſue; the Regent reſolved to raiſe a good number of ſouldiers, and to place them under ſuch Commanders as ſhe might confide in: the ſpeedieſt and neereſt Levies which could be made abroad, were the High Dutch, and in *Flanders* the *Walloones*: The Regent had not as then any other ſouldiers then thoſe who a little before ſhe had aſſembled to ſecure *Bruſſels* from tumults, and for the more ſafety of her own perſon: which might be about 500 *Walloone* foot, and 100 Harquebuſiers on horſe back, under the Command of *Erneſtus* Count *Mansfeild*. She did then without any delay give order for the raiſing of the aforeſaid forces; to wit, the Lower *Almans* in two Regiments under the Counts of *Aremberg*, and of *Mega*; and two Regiments of the Upper *Almans*, under Count *Erbeſtin*, and Baron *Shamburg*. The *Walloones* were divided into three Regiments; one of which was given to *Charls* Count *Mansfield*, ſon to *Erneſtus*; another to the Count *De Reules*: and the third to Monſieur *De Hierghes*, ſon to the Lord *Barlemont*: to boote with theſe foot, order was given for the raiſing of ſome horſe. The opinions of thoſe of the Councel of State touching the raiſing of Arms were different. Thoſe of greateſt Authority amongſt them did not ſeem to incline thereunto: alledging that inſtead of taking away jealouſies, which was of moſt importment, this would be the way to increaſe them. Others thought this remedy requiſit, ſince faire means had hitherto prevail'd ſo little; but the Regent would adhere unto the latter opinion, and ſhewed how that it was the more neceſſary, for that it was known a little before, that the confederats had divers projects on foot to raiſe men alſo, and that to this effect divers correſpondencies had already been had between them and the neighbouring parts of *Germany*, and *France*. This preparation for Arms did much trouble ſuch, who thought they might be uſed againſt them. The Hereticks who had ſo many wayes offended, had reaſon to fear: and the better ſort of the Petitioners, and the reſt of their order, who had licentiouſly run upon ſo many novelties, had almoſt as much cauſe to fear: but *Egmont*, *Orange*, and *Horne* were in private no leſſe troubled hereat; they being ſuſpected to have continually fomented the diſorders, more then the other Lords. Their names were publikely torn to pieces in *Spain*; and they were already called Traytors oftner then Subjects. This opinion which the King and the whole Court had of them all three, and in general of all the Flemiſh, had often been ſignified by letters written by the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, and the Lord *Montigni*: and one in particular was ſent (as it was commonly reported) from *Montigni* to his brother Count *Horne*, the contents whereof were theſe.

How much our arrivall here is deteſted by every one, hath been often times ſignified by the Marqueſs of Berghen *and by my ſelf: but in this letter wherein I may be more free, becauſe it will be convey'd with more ſecreſie, I will adde many things, which it was wiſdom to conceal in the reſt: In brief, our affairs cannot be worſe received, nor worſe reliſhed then they are here. After ſo many moneths, we are ſtill denyed Audience: we are permitted but little to Treat with the* State *Miniſters; and their anſwers are every day more ambiguous, aſmuch as to ſay, every day more viſibly oppoſite to our negotiations. They terme our Covenant, conſpiracie, our Petition, a plot; and our popular tumults, manifeſt inſurrection: it is not then to be doubted but that they will ſhew their reſentment by Arms: the Flemiſh themſelves do now make preparations againſt* Flanders. *But the true deſigne is to make uſe of Foreiners, and eſpecially of Spaniards. They are chiefly incenſt againſt the greateſt amongſt us; beleeving that the miſchief is in ſecret chiefly fomented by them.* Granville *rejoyceth at the commotions which have enſued; and boaſts that if he had ſtill continued in* Flanders, *theſe things had not happened: if his Councels were formerly Turbulent, he now ſuggeſts them with much more violence: that the* King *either come himſelf in the head of an Army, or elſe ſend an army: that he quell the Flemiſh, and upon ſo fair an occaſion violate their Priviledges: and that having bridled them by his Forces, he keep them ſtill in the ſame poſture: and theſe his propoſals cannot be better received then they are.*

The

John Lignius Count Aremberg
Governour of Frisland
Generall at ye Battaile of Hilligel.

William Lodovic Count Nassau
Catts &c. Governour of Frisland.

The haughtineſs of that Nation is too well known. The Spaniards *ſee how far they come ſhort of the* Flemiſh *in their prerogatives. They envie our liberty, and would reduce it if they could, to their ſubjection: and becauſe that cannot be done but by force, they will have recourſe unto force. This is the cloud which now threatens our Provinces, and the tempeſt will break forth ſooner perhaps then it is imagined. They who foreſee it, give notice of it; and let them to whom notice is given, either undauntedly encounter it, or warily ſhun it. As for us two who are here, may it pleaſe God, that as our coming hither was unluckie, our return may not prove more unfortunate.*

This letter cauſed much fear; and the end thereof ſhewed (as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place) that the two that writ it, foreſaw the tragical ſucceſs they ſhould have in *Spain*. *Orange* had often intreated the Regent to give him leave to quit his imployments, and to retire; proteſting that in times of ſuch trouble it was impoſſible to ſatisfie his ſervice to the King on the one part, and on the other, the Countreys' neceſſity. But his true end herein was thought to be, his deſire to forgoe *Flanders* with the Kings leave, to the end that he might not be held guilty of the plotted Machinations if he ſhould leave it in a leſs becoming manner. The Regent would never be perſwaded to move any ſuch thing to the King; but on the contrary ſhe exhorted *Orange* to embrace the Kings affairs ſo much the more, by how much the times did now require his ſervice, which might be ſo advantagious. And ſtill by publick praiſe, or privat diſſimulation, ſhe made uſe of him in the moſt important affairs. He afterwards did by Letters make the ſame deſires unto the King, but ſtill received the like anſwer. He did not rely at all notwithſtanding upon any ſhew made by the Regent, nor upon any demonſtrations that he received from *Spain*. He reflected upon what had been advertiſed by *Berghen* and *Montigni*; the which he likewiſe underſtood by other wayes. For it was ſaid that the Admirall *Colligny* by reaſon of the correſpondency which was between them, did advertiſe him from *France* of many particular important paſſages, to make him ſtill the more jealous of what reſolutions would be put on in *Spain*, upon the diſorders which had happened in *Flanders*. *Orange* being thus at odds with himſelf, and ſet upon by various paſſions, he ſometimes ſeemed to ſerve the King out of meer zeal: but moſt commonly notwithſtanding he appeared inclined to ſecond, as formerly, the unquiet humors. His brother *Lodovick* ſhewed himſelfe more ſeditiouſly arrogant then any other. He had ſtill the chiefeſt part in all the moſt turbulent actions; and becauſe great confiding appeared to be between the two brothers, it was thought that *Lodovick* did but act *Orange* his true intentions. They held divers correſpondencies in *Germany*, as well for that their family derived from thence, as out of the relation which *Orange* had to the *Elector* of *Saxony*, his Father-inlaw. Great was their adherence almoſt throughout all *Flanders*; but eſpecially that which *Orange* had in *Holland* and *Zealand*. He was not therefore any ways pleaſed with the Regents reſolution of levying men. Nothing was heard of any where, but that either the King would come himſelfe in perſon into *Flanders* with a great Army, or that he would ſend an Army thither under ſome gallant Commander. It was known that good ſtore of ſhipping was already building in the havens of *Biſcay*; and that the rumor was, that the King would make uſe of them for ſuch a voyage. And though for what concerned the Kings coming himſelf in perſon, the difficulties were ſo great, as they were almoſt inſuperable; yet that a foraign Army ſhould appear in *Holland*, could not but cauſe great fear in the *Flemiſh*, and chiefly in the greateſt men amongſt them. *Orange* his fear, and the like of the other aboveſaid Lords, was much increaſed by the interception of a letter (though it was thought by many to be but an invention of *Orange* himſelfe) which *Franciſco d'Alano*, a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in the Court of *France*, writ to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, it contained almoſt the ſame things wch were ſpecified in *Montigni's* letter, touching what ſenſe the *Spaniards* had of the tumults which had happened in *Flanders*. The Ambaſſador did therein exhort the Regent above all things to uſe diſſimulation; and that in the mean time the King would prepare either to come himſelf in perſon with a great Army, or elſe would ſend one. That in fine, he was fully reſolved to hazard, if need ſhould be, all his other Kingdoms, rather then not to puniſh

so many, and so inormous offences as were committed in *Flanders* against the honour of God, and of himself. This letter being seen, and the imminent danger being considered of the Forces which began already to move in *Flanders*, and of those which were shortly to be expected from *Spain*; *Orange*, together with his brother *Lodovick*, *Egmont*, *Horn*, and *Hostrat* resolved to meet together, and treat of the common interest. They therefore met at *Terramonde*, a town in *Brabant*, not farre from *Antwerp*; where they differ'd in opinion. *Horn* and *Lodovick* were of one and the same mind out of the similitude of their fierce and rash natures. Both of them were of opinion, that even from that instant they should endeavour to incite the people to arms within *Flanders*, and to make foreigners advance; so as those forces raised by the Regent, might forthwith be withstood, and that they might prepare to do it much more against those which were to come from *Spain*. *Orange* was not for the taking up of arms presently, but exhorted that affairs might be put in order by way of anticipation.

'That we should be the first who should begin the war (said he) is that which 'neither can, nor ought to be done. It cannot, for that we are not at this time 'sufficiently prepared of forces. It ought not, for that as yet we have not pre-'tences fair enough to do it. The Inquisition is already taken away; the Edicts 'are already almost abolished; and we enjoy such liberty of religion as may suf-'fice And for what concerns the Regents having raised some Soldiers, to say 'truth, the popular Tumults have either been too great, or too immature, which 'have forced her to such a resolution, and put us into a necessity of tollerating 'it; but this is a Militia consisting almost wholly of our own Country-men, and 'therefore not to be by us feared. We must then wait for more just occasions 'of taking up arms; and these in my opinion we shall unavoidably soon have. 'Can we ever believe that the *Spaniards* will use moderation? Their pride and 'surquedry is not capable thereof: They will have an absolute Empire in *Flan-'ders*, as they have in *Spain*: *Granville*, the Duke of *Alva*, and almost all the rest 'of that Councel do continually infuse such sence as this into the Kings ears, so as 'we shall soon see foreign forces brought into these our Provinces: 'twill then 'be fitting time for us to move; then will our people at home, and foreigners 'from abroad, readily flock unto us. Let us then prepare for this resolution by 'all necessary endeavours against that time. Here, by shewing that the *Spaniards* 'design is, not only to set the Inquisition again on foot by the way of force, and the 'Edicts, but punctually to introduce the Government of *Spain* in *Flanders*, and 'abroad, by making it known, that when they shall have enthraled our Provin-'ces, our neighbours may the more justly fear to be dealt withall accordingly. 'Let us the mean while be sure not to trust them; the malice of Princes is then 'chiefly preparing, when they do most conceal it. And that they do now deeply 'dissemble with us in *Spain*, who can know it better then a native *Spaniard*, who 'is an Ambassador, and to whom the Kings most intimate thoughts touching '*Flanders* are known? doth not his whole Letter denounce fire and sword against 'the *Flemish*? and chiefly us who are here, and enjoy the greatest Prerogatives? 'but let us primarily remember what hath been often formerly treated of by us, 'and which in this our present meeting is again in agitation. They would have 'all late actions to be felony, and to have had it but in thought, will suffice to 'make men guilty thereof.

Hostrat did adhere to *Orange* almost in all things; and it was certainly thought that *Egmont* would be of the same mind: but he, contrary to the expectation of all men, shewed how much better it would be to endeavour peace and quiet in the Countrey, and to abstain by all means from force.

What a folly would it be (said he) *for us to move? where are our men? where is our money? where can we hope to have any? from the Nobility, who are already totally exhausted? or from those meaner sort of people, who have so unworthily violated the Churches, and rob'd the Altars? These misdeeds must be attributed to the very scum of people; and not to the true popularity. The better sort of Citizens, and who sit most at ease, will not be induced to take up arms, but upon necessary occasions. Moreover, do not we know how great the inconstancie of the multitude is? the multitude is apt on the sudden to waver between contrary passions, and is always advised either*

either by raſhneſs, or abjection. And for what concerns our hopes in our neighbours, we muſt believe, that conſidering their own Intereſts more then ours, they will be apt rather to fear, then to provoke the enmity of Spain. *How much better will it be then, for us to endeavour to allay the Kings anger, and cancelling all memory of late diſorders, do what in us lies, to bring him to his former inclination to theſe Provinces, and to our ſelves in particular? To ſay the truth, the King may with too much reaſon eſteem himſelf offended by theſe late novelties: For though the fault ought rather to be imputed to the times then to us; yet who can deny that the Nobility hath paſt by many actions of great licentiouſneſs? And theſe laſt of the common people againſt the Churches, have been ſuch, as 'tis no wonder if it be generally held in* Spain, *that a will hath rather been wanting in us the Governours of the Provinces, then a power to impede them. The King may be therefore thought to have juſt cauſe to reſent them: But that he will do it by the means of foreign forces, and that he will by violence introduce the* Spaniſh *Government into* Flanders, *his own concernment, more then ours, makes me not believe it. Princes ought not to commit that to the uncertain ſucceſs of violence, the fruit whereof they may certainly enjoy by moderation. I know how I found the King minded towards the affairs of* Flanders *when I was in* Spain: *and I cannot perſwade my ſelf that he will be diſſwaded from thence by the particular paſſions of our enemies. Such a one I know* Granville *to be; the Duke of* Alva *is ſuch a one: and it may be that* Alva, *as ſuch a one, writes paſſionately from* Paris. *Neither do I much value* Montigni's *Letter: For in my opinion, it is grounded rather upon appearing, then upon real threats. My vote goes therefore, that we ought by all means poſſible, endeavour the Countries tranquility: That this doth not only biſit the Kings ſervice, but the like of the Country, and of our ſelves. And that if we do thus, he will neither ſend foreign forces hither, nor uſe any violence to our Government. In fine, the* Spaniards *know where* Flanders *is: and thoſe of the Councel who are even moſt hoodwink'd in their hatred towards us, know, that in this form of Principality, prayers prevail, and that here we obey, becauſe we will do ſo.*

All the reſt were much amazed, and troubled to hear *Egmont* ſpeak thus. They had thought that he would have gone along with them in their deſignes; which were, to involve the Country continually in more evils, and to increaſe their own private fortunes by the publick ruines. But *Egmont*, were it either that he was won over by the Regents perſwaſions, or that he was thereunto moved out of his own natural goodneſs; or (which was of more force with him then all thing elſe) that he was the Father of a numerous family, and that he would not ſeek to advantage himſelf by the downfall of others; was reſolved to ſecond the Kings ſence, by executing the like of the *Regents*. To boot that weighing his ſervices done to the King, together with his defaults, he could not think the latter ſuch, as ſhould make him loſe the reward of the former. *Orange* and the reſt did notwithſtanding endeavour to make him adhere to them in their reſolutions, by many efficacious replyes; but all in vain: whereupon, much to their grief, and whereat *Orange* did not a little ſtorm; the meeting at *Terramond* was diſſolved. This diviſion falling out between them, *Egmont* apply'd himſelf ſincerely, and the other feignedly, to endeavour the peace of the Provinces, and to effect it where need ſhould require, by the forces which the Regent had already gathered together. That they might afterwards expect what time and chance might produce. The Regents reſolution was, that the forces ſhould move thither firſt, where was greateſt cauſe of puniſhment. They were therefore ſuddenly prepared to goe againſt the Town of *Valentiennes*, the Inhabitants whereof were moſt infected with hereſie, and occaſioned moſt fear in the Dutcheſs; as well by reaſon of the apparent ſignes of diſobedience which were already ſeen, as for their being openly fomented from without by the *Hugonots* of *France*. She therefore gave order to Monſieur *Norchermes*, who in the Marquis of *Berghens* abſence, govern'd the Province of *Hennault*, that he ſhould cauſe ſo many ſoldiers to be received into *Valentiennes*, as might ſerve to bridle the peoples boldneſs, and re-order the affairs of that Town. *Norchermes* marched thitherward, and endeavoured to execute the Regents Orders; but becauſe the Townſmen were equally doubtfull of being inforced to take in the Gariſon, and *Norchermes*, that he ſhould not be able to conſtrain them ſo to do; therefore it was agreed before he approached the

Town,

Town, that no Garison should be put in thither, provided that no heretical exercise might be permitted there. The rabble rout now will, and aron will not, *Norchermes* coming near to the walls without any soldiers, to the end that he might be admitted to come in, and by his being there in person, see the agreement better established, a handfull of base people were so bold as not only to shut the gates upon him, but to make him keep aloof by musquet shot. The Dutchess, much moved at this excess, commanded *Norchermes* howsoever, to bring the intended Garison into the Town. But the Townsmen increasing in their contumacy, refused to receive them; whereupon the Dutchess declared them presently rebels, and made all things be prepared to besiege the Town. Their confederate hereticks, both within and without *Flanders*, had presently notice of what past Some few *Hugonots* came immediately thither from the Frontiers of *France*; but from the neighbouring parts of *Flanders*, above 3000 foot, and some horse were forthwith gathered together, and some pieces of Artillery, and all these went to put in such numbers of men into *Valentiennes*, as might suffice to secure the Town in its present condition. These people were led on by *John Soreas*, a man of base abstract, who had assembled them together between *Lilla* and *Torney*. *Norchermes* being hereof advertised, he suddenly drew up some Companies of foot, together with some horse, and with him, *Rosseghen* the Governour of *Lilla* did joyn: Then falling at unawares upon these suddenly assembled ragrags, rather then soldiers, they easily routed them, *Soreas* was wounded, and many others slain, though they had seated themselves strongly in a wood between ditches and marish grounds, which made the getting thereinto very difficult. The Artillery was likewise taken; the rest of the rout sought to get into *Torney*; but *Norchermes*, and especially the Country people reduced them to such straits, as they could never make head again; and making use of this occasion, he went himself in person to *Torney*, entred by the Citadel, and reduced things to obedience there, where they were not much less likely to have been wavering then in *Valentiennes*; he punisht divers in that City, and put some heretick preachers to death, who had been the chief incitors of the people to this contumacy. And making amends by present rigour for past impunitie; he went from thence and turn'd to *Valentiennes* to lay formal siege unto it, and to reduce them by force, which he could not do by Treaty: yet before the siege was made, the Dutchess was content that Count *Egment* and Duke *Arescot* should go to *Valentiennes*, to see whether by their Authority and Offices they could bring the people therein to their wits: But all was to no purpose, *Norchermes* delayed then no longer. Such preparations as were needfull being made, and particularly of great pieces of Artillery, he began the siege in the beginning of *March*, a great Battery was made ready, and yet they within seemed resolute to defend themselves, fed with several hopes of succour; but their rashness turn'd suddenly to weakness: being in an instant cast down, seeing no succour from without, and wanting wherewithall to defend themselves they hardly expected the first battery; they yielded upon discretion to *Norchermes*. He entred the Town, and gave Laws thereunto, such as satisfied the Regent, as well in what concern'd religion, as their obedience to the King. He left a sufficient Garison there, and put the Government into the hands of a Catholick Magistrate; having first cleansed the Town of the most seditious hereticks, and of al their preachers. He, for the example of others, punisht some of the prime offenders with death, and particularly many of the *French Hugonots*, who bore arms against the King in that siege. In the beginning of war, fame hath always a great share; and the bare reputation of one victory, suffices to the getting of many others. The news of *Valentiennes* was suddenly divulged abroad, and the Regents forces began to be dreaded every where.

Fresh Tumults about this time began to be made in divers places, and especially in the Castle of *Cambresis* upon the Frontiers of *France*; in *Balduke*, a chief City in *Brabant*; and in the Town of *Mastrick*, a place of important situation, having a stone-bridg over the *Mause*, which makes the passage surer and safer on that side which confines upon *Germany*. Such remedies as were requisite either by way of Treaty, or by force were apply'd in all these places, and in a few days they were reduced to quiet obedience. And as the Kings cause did improve, so did the

cause

cauſe of religion by reaſon of this ſucceſs of the Regents forces, the Nobles of the Confederacy began to ſtagger; the chief head whereof was *Henry de Brederode*, as hath been ſaid. Some grew cooler, others fell off, and many laid aſide all unquiet thoughts; thus they endeavoured by ſeveral ways to be reſtored to the Regents favour: nor did ſhe forbear to uſe the fitteſt means for this purpoſe. Yet *Brederode* growing every day more vain, and being drawn by the ſpirit of hereſie to the like of rebellion, he uſed all means not only to re-unite the beſt ſort of Petitioners, but alſo to excite new diſorders in thoſe of meaner condition. He gave out that nothing was performed which was promiſed in matter of religion; but that the liberty thereof was daily more and more loſt, and they ſeverely puniſhed who would enjoy it. What was there then wanting but to ſee the Inquiſition and the Edicts on foot again? and that they were ſhortly to ſee their necks not only under the yoke of the *Flemiſh* forces, but under the intollerable yoke of thoſe which were preparing in *Spain*. He formed ſome new Petitions, full of ſuch complaints as theſe, and made them be preſented to the Dutcheſs. The firſt was preſented in name of the People, with new preſſures for liberty in matters belonging to religion: and to facilitate the work, they offered three millions of guilders: The Regent ſuddenly refuſed it, as altogether raſh, vain, and diſloyal; and 'twas known that this proceeded only from *Brederode* and ſome few of his followers. He made another be afterwards preſented under the name of many of the Nobility, and renewed the former deſire, of being permitted to come to *Bruſſels*, and being heard by the Regent; but this ſecond prevailed no more then did the firſt. *Brederode*, failing of all hopes this way, precipitated himſelf into a more raſh councel, which was to try ſome novelty by force of arms. He went to *Holland*, and there endeavoured to incite the people to new tumults, eſpecially in *Amſterdam*, which next to *Antwerp*, was at that time the Town of greateſt Traffick in all *Flanders*. The Dutcheſs doubted ſome ſedition of concernment; eſpecially ſince it was generally known that *Brederode* ſeconded *Orange* in all things; and therefore though by his preſence he cauſed ſome alteration there, yet the Dutcheſs took ſuch good order, as that all diſorders were there ſoon quieted. *Brederode* being rather driven then gon out of *Amſterdam*, he ſtaid at *Vianen*, a little Town of his own not far from *Amſterdam*: he began to fortifie it, and to bring ſoldiers thither. The Counts of *Aremberg*, and of *Mega* went ſuddenly by order from the Regent towards that Town, who had the Government of the Provinces neereſt thereunto: *Norchermes* was alſo ſent thither, ſo as they quickly drove *Brederode* from thence; who of a chief Commander being become a ſingle man, and of a mutiner an exile, was forced to flie to the neareſt parts of *Germany*; and tarrying at *Embden*, a Sea-Town, he not long after dyed there. The Regent encouraged by this good ſucceſs, betook her ſelf ſuddenly to re-order the affairs of *Antwerp*. To this purpoſe ſhe ſhewed at one and the ſame time both lenity and force. *Orange* and *Hoſtrat* laboured to compoſe the affairs of that City the beſt they could though, to place a Gariſon there (which was the Regents chiefe drift) ſtood not with their particular Intereſts. Divers tumults had happened there ſince that firſt great one, wherein the hereticks had violated the Churches, trampled the ſacred things, and inſulted in all unworthy manner over the Catholicks. One ſedition being allayd, another was preſently ready to be ſet on foot, which made ſtill more for the advantage of the hereticks. They grumbled that they had not ſo many Churches as they deſired: There were almoſt as many ſects as ſectariſts: with the Inhabitants, Foreigners did combine; and plots from abroad accompanied thoſe within: They ſtrove to provide themſelves of arms, to better their cauſe thereby: One *Toloſe* appeared more ſeditious then all the reſt, a bold man, and of good retinue: This man betaking himſelf to raiſe men, had gathered a conſiderable number together, not above a league from *Antwerp*, in a certain Village called *Oſtervel*, on the other ſide the Scheld. The Dutches had notice of this, and making thoſe men be ſet upon on the ſudden by a good many of hers, they were ſoon ſcattered: *Toloſe* endeavored to ſave himſelf in a houſe, but was therein burnt; the reſt either fled or were ſlain, or drowned in the river. This ſucceſs cauſed a great revolt in *Antwerp*, and they were ready to fall together by the ears in the City; the hereticks growing mad hereat on the one

one ſide, and the Catholicks taking advantage and courage on the other ſide. But *Orange*, *Hoſtrat* and others of Authority with the people, did ſo handle the buſineſs, as the apparent danger was provided for by a new agreement which was there made in matter of Religion: This agreement had much reference to the others which had preceded; but in this, ſome things were added touching the Government of the City, the better to prevent future tumults: To which purpoſe the City it ſelf raiſed certain foot Companies, and armed ſome boats to guard the Scheld where it was moſt needfull; yet let them do what they could to keep peace in that City, none took effect, or at leaſt they laſted not. In fine, where Religion is not united, there can be no union in obedience. This new agreement was ſoon obſerved to be kept as ill as were the former. The Regent, whoſe forces ſtill increaſed, taking occaſion from hence, reſolved to put a good Gariſon into *Antwerp*; which ſhe could not very well do before. All neceſſary preparations being had to this end, and the Catholick party in *Antwerp* being much advantaged, the Cities deliberations were ſutable to her deſires. She firſt ſent for ſome to *Bruſſels*, who were choſen by the City to this purpoſe, and treated with them touching the form of re-ordering the Government, wherein the Catholick religion, and obedience to the King were above all things to be conſidered. The agreement being made, wherein ſhe now no longer received, but gave conditions, the City ſeemed willing to execute them. All heretical exerciſes were thereby forbidden, and all new erection of Temples for ſectariſts: their preachers were driven out, and order taken for the repairing of the Churches by them violated. A Magiſtrate was choſen who was zealous for the affairs of religion, and of the King. And the ſoldiers which the City had taken into Gariſon, took an oath to be faithfull to the King, and to execute, if need ſhould require, all things which were agreed upon. The Regent immediately ſent *Charls* Count *Mansfield* into *Antwerp* with his Regiment of *Walloons*, to eſtabliſh all things better by arms, and that it might be ſeen ſhe would no longer uſe only intreaties. The Gariſon was received by the City, whereinto *Manſfield* entred in good order, ſo as the hereticks could neither endeavour any novelty, nor the ſoldiers on the other ſide uſe any licentiouſneſs. The Gariſon being placed in *Antwerp*, the Regent thought ſhe her ſelf might now ſafely and with honour go thither: ſo as leaving *Bruſſels* ſhe went thither, waited on by many of the Nobility and chief Lords. She entred as it were in triumph; ſo great a concourſe of people met her, and with ſuch acclamations was ſhe received: though the heretick party forbore not to murmure, ſeeing themſelves reduced to ſo mean terms. The Regent ſtaid awhile in *Antwerp*, till ſhe thought ſhe had reduced the affairs of the Church and King into convenient order: ſhe uſed ſeverity, tempered with clemency. She returned from thence to *Bruſſels*. It cannot be ſaid what good conſequences this example of *Antwerp* wrought in amendment of the preceding evils: The tottering condition of the Provinces was on a ſudden reduced to tranquility almoſt in all parts; the Churches were repaired, Altars reſtored, Images worſhiped, and wonted obedience given to Magiſtrates. The chief Lords ſtrove who ſhould be forwardeſt in their ſervice to the Church, and to the King, in their obſequiouſneſs to the Regent, and in waiting perſonally upon her: in ſo much as it was generally hoped that the peace of thoſe Provinces ſhould for ever be perpetuated; and that hereſie being either totally extinguiſht in them, or at leaſt mightily quel'd, the antient worſhip of God, and their former devotion and loyalty to their Prince was to flouriſh again.

Whilſt affairs went thus in *Flanders*, great conſultations were had in *Spain*, to reſolve how the diſorders which had hapned in thoſe Provinces might beſt be remedi'd. One of the chiefeſt debates was, whether the King ſhould go thither himſelf in perſon or no, or whether he ſhould ſend a Commander of known valour and authority. It was not doubted but that his going in perſon would be the moſt efficacious remedy which could be apply'd to the neceſſities of thoſe Countries. Many examples were hereupon alleadged, to ſhew of what power the very preſence of the Prince was with the people. And amongſt the reſt, that which the King might take from his Father the Emperour; who with the very ſole majeſty of his aſpect, had aſſoon queld as ſeen thoſe of *Gaunt*. The Dutcheſs urged this

as the only remedy; and ſhewed how that aſſoon as the King ſhould be arrived, *Flanders* would ſuddenly be quieted; and that his preſence would in all other reſpects be very acceptable to thoſe people. The Marquis of *Berghen* and *Montigni* gave out the ſame opinions in *Madrid*; were it either that they did really deſire the King ſhould go into the Low-Countries, or that thinking it very hard to be effected, they believed it would be yet much more difficult to ſend a Commander in chief thither with a foreign army. They ſaid that the King would find greateſt obedience; they ſought to honeſt as much as they could the Covenant, and the Petition: and though they deteſted the popular inſolencies againſt the Church, yet they would make it be believed, that it was done out of ignorance, or levity, but not out of infidelity: That therefore the King ſhould come himſelf in perſon; and that imitating his father, and his fore-fathers in his benignity, he might expect anſwerable effects in their obſequiouſneſs from the *Flemiſh*. The King himſelf had long nouriſht this opinion of his going into *Flanders*, and ſuch a ſpeech was ſpread abroad in *Spain*; and ſuch was the preparation of ſhips which were built in *Biſcay*, to make that voyage, as it was given out, as all *Europe* did firmly believe it: and to ſay truth, the aforeſaid reaſons being well conſidered, it could not be judged but that the King had ſome ſuch thought; but oftimes thoſe councels which are adviſedly taken, are out of neceſſity paſt by. The conſequences which made againſt it being therefore put into the contrary ſcale, it appear'd almoſt impoſſible for the King to reſolve upon ſuch an action And firſt to keep a long time aloof off from the heart of his Monarchy, bore with it thoſe important conſiderations which were toucht upon in the beginning, when it was ſhewed for what reaſons the King reſolved to make his reſidency in *Spain*. And a double fear did ſtill continue, as well of the *Moors*, who were ſpread thorough-out all thoſe Kingdoms, as alſo of ſome dangerous infectious hereſie which might be brought amongſt thoſe people. But ſuppoſe the King had been free of thoſe ſuſpitions; how ſhould he have gone into *Flanders* by ſea or by land? with or without forces? by ſea he muſt depend upon ſtorms and wind, and upon the meer will of fortune, which uſeth to make her greateſt ſports of the moſt eminent amongſt mortals. And the King himſelf, not many years before, had experienced the danger of ſea-voyages, in his return from *Flanders*: and had not his own example been ſufficient, that of his Grandfather *Philip* was yet very freſh, who by the violence of the winds was thrown upon *England*, and detained by force many days in that Kingdom: Upon which occaſion he notwithſtanding received all fair entertainment, and Courtly hoſpitality from *Henry* the ſeventh, which the King could not exſpect from Queen *Elizabeth*, who did rather conſpire with his enemies to his prejudice. On the other ſide, the journey by land ſeemed very difficult; for the King was of neceſſity to paſs through the Countries of ſeveral Princes, and would depend with too much danger upon their wills. The King of *France* would peradventure conſent that he ſhould paſs through his Kingdom, and would perhaps have received him with no leſs friendly demonſtrations then King *Francis* had done the Emperour *Charls* the fifth: but the hereticks wherewith all the parts of that Kingdom were then almoſt infected, would have oppoſed his journey, and would doubtleſly have made the event prove dangerous. It remained then that he muſt land in *Italy*, and afterwards take his way either through *Savoy*, or by the *Switzers*, ſo to enter into the Country of *Burgundy* and *Lorain*, and from thence into *Flanders*. On both which parts he was likewiſe to paſs through the Countries of ſtrangers, and to coaſt ſo near upon *France* and *Germany*, as he muſt needs be ſubject to many ſiniſter accidents, which eaſily might have befaln him. Theſe were the difficulties which were taken into conſideration, if the King were to paſs into *Flanders* either by ſea or by land, with only his Court attendance: But how much greater were to be feared if he ſhould paſs with an Army? ſince carrying with him ſo great a one as the occaſion would doubtleſly require, all States would be jealous of ſo great Forces, and peradventure would have raiſed Forces likewiſe, and inſtead of friends have become enemies; leſt that which was termed a paſſage, might turn to an oppreſſion.

Then the Councel of *Spain* not thinking it fit that the King ſhould go himſelf

in person into *Flanders* for the aforesaid reasons, it remained to see whether it were better to send some warlick Commander thither with an Army; or laying aside all asperity, endeavour to compose the affairs by fair means. The King was much at variance within himself upon this point: He was naturally given to love quiet; he loved the *Flemish*, and would rather have been beloved then feared by them; knowing very well how much securer the Garison is which Princes have in their subjects hearts, then those of Citadels or Cities: moreover that he might be very uncertain of what the event of his forces would be, against a people by nature so fierce, so far remote from all the rest of his Dominions, and who were invironed on all sides by the Crown of *Spains* greatest enemies and enviers: But on the contrary he saw how little good fair means had done as yet, since the authors of the begun disorders had rather been incouraged thereunto then otherwise, by too much tolleration, and might likely, if unpunished, grow worse and worse. Nor were the Kings Councel less at a stand then the King. The Councel of *Spain* was then full of many eminent personages. Amongst the rest *Ferdinand de Tolledo*, Duke of *Alva*, and *Gomes de Figheroa* Duke of *Feria*, were in great esteem both with the King and Councel. *Feria* chiefly for Civil affairs, and *Alva* for Military actions; who was so excellent therein, as the first place in the profession of Militia, was unquestionably given to him by all *Spain*. These two were of differing opinions. *Feria* thought it better to reduce the Flemish to their duties by fair means, and *Alva* by force. Upon a certain day then, when the King himself was in Councel to resolve what was to be done in this so important business. The Duke of *Feria* spake thus.

'The cure of an evil (most glorious Prince) lies chiefly without all question in 'knowing what it is. Cities and Monarchies are born and die, grow sick and 'are cured, as humane bodies are; so as if diligence be used in the private indispo- 'sitions of one onely man, how much more necessary is it to be used in the pub- 'lick maladies of whole Kingdoms? To provide then for the evils wherewith '*Flanders* is afflicted, 'tis very necessary first to know their causes. And this 'without all doubt ought chiefly to be attributed to the terror which the Inqui- 'sition and the Edicts have infused into that Country. The Flemish have appre- 'hended, and do apprehend now more then ever to have their consciences vio- 'lated by such ways, and to undergoe all other greater affliction and misery: and 'this it is which hath made them fall at last into so many and so hainous outra- 'ges. That under which *Flanders* doth at the present labour, is (if I may so call 'it) a Frenzie of fear, which is fomented by such as are ambitious and turbulent, 'that they may have matter for innovations to their advantage. What reason is 'there then that more fuel should be added to the fire of those tumults, when 'they ought rather to be quenched and deaded? If the bare name of Inquisition '(as it may be termed) not almost any ways put in use, or at least but as a sha- 'dow, and which it was thought necessary wholly to suppress, hath put *Flanders* 'into such commotions; what will that Nation do when they shall see them- 'selves threatned with the forces of a foreign Army? what fear, what horrour 'will they thereat conceive? the least they can apprehend, will doubtlesly be the 'Inquisition. They will believe that the Government of *Spain* will be by force 'brought into *Flanders*: that their Priviledges will be violated, their Institu- 'ons overthrown, their faults severely punished, their Liberties oppress by Gari- 'sons; and finally be buried in Citadels. But suppose an Army be to be sent in- 'to *Flanders*; who will secure their passage? who will secure their entrance? 'Peoples fear doth oft-times degenerate into desparation. So the Flemings 'growing desperate, and the Nobility cloaking themselves no longer under Cove- 'nants and Petitions, nor the common people falling into slight tumults, but the 'whole Country going into a general rebellion, all may with one accord oppose 'our forces, and not suffer them to enter. And say the Flemish were not apt e- 'nough of themselves to make this opposition, will they peradventure want nigh- 'bours who will use all means to incite them thereunto? do not we know what 'apprehensions the being of the Spanish forces in *Flanders* will cause in *Germany*, 'in *England*, and in *France*? But let it be granted that they be suffered to enter, 'and that as then they cannot from thence receive any impediment for so doing:

'are

'are we any whit the more ſecure that the Country may not alter afterwards, and 'be troubled? Great puniſhments muſt certainly be undergone, and force muſt 'divers ways be ſecured by greater force. The people there will then begin to de- 'ſpair more then ever: they will call puniſhment oppreſſion, and ſeverity tyran- 'ny; Citadels yokes; and Gariſons chains and fetters: and thus at laſt they will 'break out into rebellion and arms: thus will the war be kindled. Nor doe I 'know whether it will be afterwards as eaſily ended, as it would have been eaſie 'at firſt not to have begun it. Nature, by the ſtrong ſituation of ſea and rivers, 'will fight for them; they themſelves will fight deſperately, in defence (as they 'will ſay) of themſelves, wives, children and liberty. The opulency of their own 'Country will furniſh them with gallant forces, and much more the oportunity 'of their neighbours. On the contrary, how heavie a burthen of war will your 'Majeſty be to ſuſtain? Succours at ſo great a diſtance will prove very ſlow, and 'very coſtly both by ſea and land. Paſſage muſt either be beg'd or bought: and 'we ſhall ſee our men fail before they come into *Flanders*. The event of war is 'always uncertain: And Fortune, which in other humane accidents is content 'with a part, will here have the whole Dominion. If the ſucceſs prove favoura- 'ble to your Majeſty, the victory will be bought with bloud, and againſt the 'bloud of your ſubjects. But if the contrary ſhould fall out (which God for- 'bid) not only men, but States would be loſt; nor they alone, but Religion: 'and ſo at laſt by too deplorable event we ſhall be taught, how much fair means 'would have been better then bitter proceedings, for the accommodation of the 'affairs of thoſe Provinces. It is to thoſe fair means that I exhort you, and that 'by all means you give over any thought of the other. Every Province, every 'Kingdom hath its particular nature, like unto humane bodies. And who knows 'this better then you, Sir? to whoſe Scepter worlds are born, and whoſe Mo- 'narchie embraceth ſo much, as the circuit thereof is only to be meaſured by the 'Sun. One Government is proper for *Spain*, another for the *Indies*, another 'for your States in *Italy*; and ſo likewiſe others in *Flanders*, and in the reſt of 'ſo many members, of which the bulk of your Empire is compoſed. Only the 'ſame religion ought to be in them all; but in this alſo the zeal ought to be well 'regulated, ſo as the too violent remedies which may be uſed to that purpoſe, do 'not produce diviſion inſtead of unity; and that together with the loſs of obe- 'dience to the Church, that fail not likewiſe which is due by the people to their 'Prince. What did not *Don Piedro di Toledo* Viceroy of *Naples* do? what did he not 'trie to bring the Inquiſition into that Kingdom, in the Emperour your fathers 'time? *Naples* roſe, and ſo would the whole Kingdom have done; ſo as it was 'neceſſary to remove the occaſion of the tumults of that City. Let the Flemiſh 'then be permitted to enjoy the Government of *Flanders*: Free them from all 'ſuſpition either of Inquiſition, Foreign Forces, or any other more dreaded vio- 'lence. Let one contrary cure another: So the peoples fear ceaſing, the Coun- 'trey commotions will ceaſe. Nor is it to be doubted but that hereſie is rather 'ſuppreſt by peace then by war. It is too well ſeen how much it hath increaſed 'hereſie in *Germany* and in *France*: and ſince ſo many have done amiſs in *Flan- 'ders*, and that the faults ought not to be left altogether unpuniſht, let the pu- 'niſhment of a few ſerve for the example of all; and let it be laid there where 'the Country may be leaſt exaſperated thereby. In fine, clemency becomes a 'Prince; other people are capable of other vertues.

But the Duke of *Alva* ſpake thus to the contrary.

To begin (moſt puiſant Prince) where the Duke of Feria *ended; I ſhall both truely and freely deny, that it is now in your Majeſties power to uſe clemency. Which virtue ill uſed, degenerates into abject ſervilitie. And as in ſome caſes it preſerves Kingdoms, in other ſome it ruines them. How long will you indure to receive Laws in* Flanders, *inſtead of giving them? What remains now but that the Flemiſh who upon all occaſions boaſt themſelves to be as well free as ſubjects, having denyed all obedience to the Church, may alſo altogether deny it to you? ſo as a ſecond* Switzer *Commonwealth ſhall be ſeen to ariſe againſt you in* Flanders, *as the former did againſt the other Auſtrians in* Germany; *or rather inſtead of a popular tyranny,* Orange *and* Egmont, *and the other Authors of ſo many baſe novelties, oppreſſing the liberty of*

those people, instead of defending it, shall boldly divide those Provinces amongst themselves. The affairs of Flanders *do at the present lean this way; and shall we talk of pardon? and shall it be in your power to make the Church lose the Patrimony of so many of the faithfull, and your Crown the like of so many opulent Countries? Heresie triumphs there now with a thousand horrid impieties: and is not your Authority oppugned on all sides by Covenants, Petitions, and a thousand other perfideous practises? you have erred then sufficiently already, in using only fair means. And to say truth, to what end hath so long patience and dissimulation served? unless to make the disorders still the greater, and the Authors thereof more audacious. O that it were Gods will that you might go your self in person into* Flanders! *That would certainly be a prevalent remedy. We have the example thereof in your father against those of* Gaunt: *But that great Prince, born in* Flanders, *yea even in the City of* Gaunt, *and who punisht that City only, having all the rest of the Country in full obedience, would not go from thence till he had placed a strong and well Garisoned Castle in* Gaunt. *They then likewise broke forth into complaints; they called upon their Priviledges as upon so many Tutelary Angels, and termed the Castle a chain and yoke. But all was in vain; they must at last submit their rebellious necks to so just force. If the Emperour thought that his sole presence was not sufficient upon that occasion, how much less should you think yours should suffice? who instead of one City, have the whole Country in rebellion; to boot with heresie, which infects it at home, and threatens it from all parts abroad. If then it stood with your Majesties conveniency to go now into the Low-Countries, you ought appear in a posture to command, not to intreat: which is as much as to say, powerfully armed, that you might leave your Authority when you should depart, armed with Castles and Garisons. So did the Emperour your Father; and so doubtlesly would you do. And how much more applyable is the cause whereof we now treat to this example of* Gaunt *then to that other of* Naples? *where the so many strong holds which are every where in that City, and throughout the whole Kingdom, and which are so well Garisoned, may suffice no less for the safety of Religion, then of your self. I wish (I say again) it were Gods pleasure that you your self in person might provide by such remedies as your great wisdom would apply, to remedy those disorders which now afflict* Flanders. *But since for other more urgent occasions your Majesties presence cannot at this time be dispenst withall from out this Center of your Empire, my opinion is, That without more delay you send an Army into those Provinces, appointing such a Commander over it as you shall think fit. Which if it be resolved on; for what remains, either in its passage to* Flanders, *or its being admitted entrance when it shall be there, I do not at all scruple it. Who knows not how much you may rely upon the Duke of* Savoy, *so near allyd in bloud to your Crown, and more unto your Interest? your Army shall then at its going out of* Italy, *pass through* Savoy *as through your own Country. If it were better to march through* Swisserland, *the Catholick Cantons which are your Confederates will easily accommodate you: hence it enters into your* Burgundy, *and* Lorain *neither can nor will resist you. When the Army shall be come to the confines of* Lucemberg, *which is the Gate of* Flanders *towards* Italy, *on what side shall any one so much as dare to oppose the passage of your forces? will the* Flemish *peradventure do it? as if it were as easie to raise an Army, as to frame a Conspiracy; and that the rabble-rout will be as ready to fight against armed squadrons, as they have been to wage war so wickedly against the sacred Images and Altars. Will the Confining Princes perhaps deny their passage?* France *is wholly on fire with Civil War. A Woman sits at the Helm of Government in* England; *and what can be feared from* Germany, *divided amongst so many Princes, and so at variance within themselves? moreover your case will be theirs. All Princes are equally concerned in the peoples disobedience. The damage insues peradventure but to one at once; but the example reaches always to all. On the contrary; when was ever your Empire in greater power and tranquility? your Empire, which imbraceth several worlds; and wherein God hath placed you, more for the amplifying of his glory, then of your own. Your forces will then without any manner of difficulty be received in* Flanders: *and the strife will be, who shall first give them entrance, and most fear them when they are entred. When they shall once be setled there, 'twill doubtlesly be consonant*

Ferdinand of Toledo Duke of Alva
Governour of the Lov=countreys. 45

Ro: Vaughan sculp:

to reason that that be rendred to God which is his, and what is yours to you. Punishment must be inflicted in proportion to the faults demerit. And if that frenzy (as it is termed) of fear, but which is indeed of perfideousness, made the Flemish fall blindfald into open rebellion, why ought not your forces hope for all good success against them? Yours, which will be so just, and so potent, against theirs which are tumultuary, managed by abject men, rebels to God, and to their Prince. Nor if need should require, will yours want succour by the same ways, either of Savoy *or of* Switzerland; *and succour may also easilier be conveyed by sea than by land. But there will be no occasion, in my judgement, that your forces should either move or be succour'd. We shall see the Rebellion suppresst almost assoon as born by those which shall now enter* Flanders. *And what fairer occasion then this can you desire to bring an Army into* Flanders, *and make those Provinces the* Piazza d' Armi *of your Empire? to make by that situation, which may be said to be in the very bowels of* Europe, *the Churches Authority be so much the more reverenced, and your Name the more respected. Doubtlesly there are variety of Governments; but there can be no variance in the bond of obedience which is due by the people unto their Prince. Subjects are born with this Law, and when they go about to break it, 'tis they that use violence, they receive it not. Just thus it falls out now in* Flanders, *where all Laws both humane and divine are troden under foot. Your Majesty shall not then use force, save only to suppress force; nor sharp remedies, till after having so long in vain used moderate ones. The wound is degenerated into a Gangreen; it requires fire and sword.*

By so many and so efficacious reasons, on the one, and on the other side the King was rather confused then confirmed; Cardinal *Granville* adhered to the Duke of *Alva*; and though he appeared to be a bitter enemy to the Flemish; yet his long experience in the affairs of that Country, gave authority to his very passions. On the other side Prince *Ruygomez* who was greatly in the Kings favour, joyned with the Duke of *Feria*. And almost the whole Councel was divided between these two opinions. The King did then again waver a little before he put on any resolution: But the news of the novelties in *Flanders* still increasing, and particularly those of the violence used to the Churches, and of the excess of liberty which the hereticks took in all things else, the King thought it was now no longer an act of will, but of necessity to send an Army into the Low-Countries, and to use force against the *Flemish*. Princes usually when they can, commit the execution of affairs to those who have had the greatest share thereof in Councel. Therefore the King chose the Duke of *Alva* to go chief Commander over his Forces which went for *Flanders*. To boot that if there should be any occasion to use them, none in *Spain* was thought to be more able (as hath been said) in that profession: A man rigid both in nature and aspect: haughty in peace, and much more haughty in war; long bred up in arms; and who thought it always advantagious for him and the King, to have them, and to make use of them. The delay was not long: requisite orders were suddenly given for the raising of good store of new soldiers in *Spain*; that they might be placed in the wonted Garisons in *Italy*, and that those who were ancient Companies might be sent into *Flanders*. The chief strength of foot were to be *Spaniards*; the horse were to be composed of *Italians*, *Burgundians* and High-*Dutch*: and some Regiments of foot were to come to *Flanders* from *Germany*, which by their vicinity might the speedilier be raised. Whilst these preparations were a making in *Spain*, *Italy* and other parts, the Regents affairs prospered in *Flanders*, as hath been said. Obedience was restored to the King, and the Church had almost wholly recovered hers; and the Country was on all sides reduced to quiet: so as it was expected that the King would change his mind, and that no Army should be sent into *Flanders*. But were it that he did think that the tumults risen in those Provinces were rather husht then quite extinct; or that desires to establish his Authority the better there for ever after, he would not lose the present occasion of doing it; or that he thought he could not without a great body of forces, perfectly enjoy the secure possession thereof, they being placed amidst neighbours, which made him daily more jealous of them; he continued his first resolution. The Duke of *Alva* being departed from *Spain*, and come by sea

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to *Genoa*: he mustered the men spoken of before, in the State of *Millan*, which came to near 8000 Spanish foot, under four Camp-Masters. *Allonso Ulloa* commanded the Neapolitan Brigado; *Guellielmo Romero* that of *Cicily*; *Sancio di Londonio* that of *Lombardy*, and the Sardinian Brigado was commanded by *Gonsalo di Bracamonte*. All experienced soldiers, and under valliant Commanders. He gave the command of the horse which were raised in *Italy*, which might be about 1500. the greatest part whereof were Itallians, the rest Spaniards, to his natural son *Fernando di Tolledo*. 300 were afterwards added to these in *Burgundy*; and of the Dutch there was but only one Regiment of 4000 foot raised at the present under Count *Alberico di Lodrone*. The Duke would have also divers other Spaniards to be near him, who were fit for command; and amongst others, *Sancio d'Avola* who was Governor of the Castle of *Pavia*, and who by his valour came afterwards to the chief Commands in *Flanders*. Of the Italian Commanders, the chief were Marquis *Chiapino Vitelli*, and *Gabrio Serbelloni*, Prior of the Order of St. *Johns* of *Jerusalem*, in *Hungary*: Both of them long experienced in the wars of *Italy*, and who had therein won much renown. He made *Vitelli* Camp-Master-General, and gave the charge of the Artillery to *Serbelloni*. The Muster being made, and the Army marching in very good discipline, not meeting with any difficulty either from *France* or *Germany*, he led it finally into the Province of *Lucemberg*. He made some Brigades of foot advance from thence, and quartered them where he thought most convenient, the better to secure his entry into the Country, and then he himself went to the Regent. The Flemish who were much astonisht to hear of these forces, were much more astonisht when they saw them. Many of them resolved to quit the Country before the Duke should bring them in: and the Prince of *Orange* had already led them an example. He being assertained of so great a preparation of forces, and that the Duke of *Alva* was Commander in chief, resolved to withdraw into *Germany*. He knew how suspected his actions were in *Spain*.

'That the Duke of *Alva* formerly a rival, was now become a Superiour: and 'insteed of thundring out contrary opinions in the Councel at *Madrid*, he was 'to lead a powerfull Army into *Flanders*. That the fore orders were to be put 'into forer execution; if Count *Egmont* and the rest would perish through con. 'fiding, he would secure himself by doing the contrary; 'twas therefore no lon. 'ger time to stand lingring; 'twas better to get into *Germany*, and to be a specta. 'tor of the Tragedies in *Flanders* afar off. And how could he with honour be 'under the Duke of *Alva*, who was but a bare Crandee of *Spain*? whereas he 'himself enjoy'd the Prerogative of Free States, and many other greater in his 'Family in *Germany*. Let others endure to see the Provinces of *Flanders*, always 'accustomed to be governed by some of the bloud royal, or at least nearly allyd 'thereunto, fall with scorn into such hands.

Together with him went his brother *Lodovick*; and at the same time the Count of *Hostrat* went from *Flanders*. Before *Orange* departed, he oft-times incited Count *Egmont* to do the like; and not able to prevail with him, he told him, *You will repent, but too late*. And in other speeches did prognosticate unto him those misfortunes whereinto afterwards he fell.

The Duke taking a house in *Brussels*, not with the Regent, but in a house near the Palace-Royal; the first thing he did, was to make the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn* prisoners, which he did thus: They were both of them of the Councel of State, and therefore the Duke seeming as if he would know their opinions touching some intended Citadels, and especially concerning one which he meant to erect presently in *Antwerp*, he made them come to his lodgings, with divers others of the Councel. Some discourse being here had upon the business, the Councel being ended, as they past through divers lodgings, they were by feigned pretences parted one from another, and after made prisoners. At the same time, but not in *Brussels*, was *Antonio Strales* taken, who had been oft-times Burgamaster of *Antwerp*, a man of great imployment in that City, and esteemed one of the chiefest Authors of the Tumults which had happened there; and *John Casembrot* Lord of *Bacharsel*, who was *Egmonts* Secretary, and who managed all his affairs. By means of these two, more then by any others, the Duke hoped to come

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Sancho Avila Governour of the Fort at Antwerp General at ye Battaile of Mooch

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by the knowledg of many inportant buſineſſes, not only touching the perſonages of *Egmont* and *Horn*, but concerning the paſſages and events of all the late revolts. Upon the news hereof in Spain, *Montigni* was likewiſe ſuddenly impriſoned, the Marquiſs of *Berghen* being dead ſome months before in *Spain*, not without ſuſpition of being poyſoned as the Flemiſh did believe. The Regent knew nothing of what had befaln *Egmont* and *Horn*, till it was done. From the Kings firſt ſending of the Duke of *Alva* with an Army into *Flanders*, he had declared that the Duke ſhould have the ſole Government of the Militia, and that for all things elſe the Regent ſhould continue in her former adminiſtration. The Duke at his firſt arrival had ſhewed his Commiſſion to be ſuch; but the Regent had already diſcerned, that he had private Orders for further Authority then he would as yet make known. Yet ſhe did not think the Duke would have proceeded ſo far as he had done in the Impriſonment of *Egmont* and *Horn*, without making her firſt acquainted with his reſolution therein; ſo as ſhe eſteemed this either a diffidence, or an undervaluation of her by the King; and almoſt an approbation of thoſe accuſations which were laid to her charge in *Spain*: as if ſhe had uſed too much tolleration in the diſorders which had happened, and had rather occaſioned then ſuppreſt the novelties. Judging then that ſhe could not with her honour continue longer in ſuch a form of Government, and deſirous alſo to be rid of it, as one who had always been contrary to the Duke of *Alva*'s ſence touching the affairs of thoſe Countries; ſhe intreated the King that he would ſuffer her to return to *Italy*: and after ſome reiterated requeſts therein, ſhe at laſt got leave ſo to do. The King notwithſtanding ſeemed very well ſatisfied with her Government, and gave large demonſtrations thereof. He honoured her ſeveral ways, and in particular teſtimony of his gratitude, he gave her a good increaſe of revenue for her and her heirs; to boot with that which formerly ſhe enjoyed as her Dowry, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. She went from *Bruſſels* about the beginning of the year 1568. nor can it be ſaid how much love ſhe left behind her amongſt the Flemiſh. She was born amongſt them, and her demeanors were conformable to her birth. She was gracious, affable and moderate: but therewithall a Princeſs of a manly ſpirit, and conſtancy; ſince involved ſo long in ſo many ſtorms and tempeſts wherewith her Government was agitated, ſhe knew how to come out of them with ſo much honour, and at laſt, did turn the tempeſts into a calm.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO*.

BOOK IV.

The Contents.

Divers of the Duke of Alva's *cruel proceedings. A great many of the Flemish fly to the neighbouring parts. The disposition of the confining Princes to foment the revolts of the Low-Countries.* Orange *his particular indeavours in* Germany *to this purpose. He cals a Diet of some Princes, and Hans Towns. His Speech to the Diet. The Germans resolve to assist the Flemish. Their first motion, and their defeat.* Lodovick *brother to* Orange, *enters* Friesland *with an Army. Count* Aremberg *is sent against him by the Duke of* Alva. *They fight:* Aremberg *is routed and slain. The Duke resolves to go himself in person against* Lodovick. *To this purpose he gives order for the increasing of his Army. Before his departure he causeth* Egmont *and* Horn *to be beheaded in* Brussels. *Other severities of his. He comes to the Army in* Friesland; *makes an Oration to the soldiers.* Lodovick *retreats; but the Duke overtakes him, fights him, and utterly defeats him.*

Anno. 1568.

THe Reyns of *Government* being wholly left in the Duke of *Alva*'s hand, he apply'd himself with all attention to execute his begun rigour upon the Flemish. Soon after that *Egmont* and *Horn* were made prisoners in *Brussels*, he sent them both well guarded to the Castle at *Gaunt*; and put in an High-Dutch Garison into it, instead of the Flemish Garison which was there before. He formed a new Tribunal of Justice by the name of a Councel to sit upon Tumults, for the better cognisance of businesses of that weight, and all others of that nature, and composed it of such as he thought he might most confide in: Amongst other he placed a Spanish Lawyer in it, and a Burgundian of the same profession; and he himself would be the President thereof. Then publishing his Authority in Print to make it the more formidable by being divulged: and proclaimed all those to be guilty of High-Treason, both against God and the King, who had had any thing to do in the late actions of the Covenant,

Covenant, Petition, and of the violences uſed againſt the Churches, and the Catholick religion. He forthwith accompanied the terror of his Threats with the ſeverity of Puniſhment. He cauſed the Prince of *Orange*, his Brother *Lodovick*, Count *Hoſtrate*, *Brederode* and *Colemburgh*, and the reſt of the prime men who were gone out of *Flanders*, to be publikely cited to appear before him within a certain prefixt time, upon pain of rebellion, and the loſs of their goods in caſe they did not appear. He cauſed a great many others of all ſorts to be impriſoned in ſundry parts of the Provinces, who were fallen into the aforeſaid faults, and they were in ſo great numbers, that all the priſons throughout the whole Country were on a ſudden full of them. To impriſonment he added Death, and made the market-places the places of execution, to the end that the publikeneſs thereof might infuſe the greater terror. At the ſame time he deſigned divers Citadels, and began to lay their foundations where he thought either the ſituation of the Towns, or the condition of the Inhabitants did moſt require it. The firſt was placed in *Antwerp*, with five royal Bulwarks upon the *Scheld*, upon which River the City is ſeated; to haſten the which he went in perſon to *Antwerp*, and made the City contribute towards the expence thereof, giving them aſſured hopes that as ſoon as the Citadel ſhould be put into a poſture of defence, *Lodroncas* Regiment of High-Dutch which were there in garriſon ſhould be removed. He began to build a Fort in *Fluſhing*, the chief Haven of *Zealand*, and which opens and ſhuts the entrance into the *Scheld*. He deſigned another in *Groninghen*, upon the confines of *Germany*; and another in *Valentiennes*, which lies towards *France*: But unleſs it were that of *Antwerp*, the reſt were not built; for ſo many troubles aroſe from ſo many parts, as the Duke had not fitting opportunity to doe it. He notwithſtanding ſecured the Frontiers on all ſides by good garriſons, againſt all innovations which might be endeavoured from abroad; and within, he diſarmed many of the moſt ſuſpected Cities, and diſtributed forces in divers parts, where he thought it moſt needfull to curb the *Flemiſh* more ſtraightly.

This ſo rigorous a beginning of Government put the Country every where into ſuch fear, as it was on a ſudden abandoned by a great number of people of all ſorts; they were reported to be above thirty thouſand. Thoſe who were no wayes concerned, were affrighted to ſee the faults of others ſo ſeverely puniſhed; and they groaned to ſee that *Flanders*, which was wont to enjoy one of the eaſieſt governments of all *Europe*, ſhould now have no other object to behold but the Terror of Arms, Flight, Exiles, Impriſonments, blood, death, and confiſcations. The people fled to the neighbouring parts of *Germany*, to *France*, and *England*: But thoſe of beſt quality retired to *Germany*, drawn thither by *Orange*, who encouraged them more then all the reſt to follow his example, and run his fortune. And who from thence did anſwer the Dukes citation in writing, refuſing to ſubmit himſelf to his Tribunal, as to that of a Judge too much ſuſpected, and of too inferior a condition to take cogniſance of ſuch a cauſe; ſaying that he was a free Prince of *Germany*, and therefore in the firſt place a Subject to the Emperour; and that being a Knight of the Golden Fleece, he was only to be judged by the King himſelf, who was the ſupreme Head of that Order. *Hoſtrat* anſwered almoſt in the ſame ſort, ſave only that he left out the reaſon of being Feudatory to the Emperour, for he had no eſtate in *Germany*. *Horn* had ſome eſtate of that nature; and therefore his Mother, when he was impriſoned, had ſuddenly recourſe to *Cæſars* Authority, and had from thence procured favourable offices in her ſons behalf to the King and Duke of *Alva*. The like is done by divers Princes of *Germany* in *Orange* his behalf, and thoſe that were joyned with him in the ſame cauſe; for indeed the Catholike Princes were no leſs diſpleaſed then were the Hereticks of thoſe parts with the Dukes ſeverity; and that ſuch an alteration ſhould be made in the Government of *Flanders*, with which Country they had ſuch conformity both in language, cuſtoms, and laws. The King promiſed all fair intreatment, ſo as the Citation might be obeyed. But none of thoſe that were cited daring to truſt, and the time of citation being already elapſed, the Duke proceeded to puniſhment; and amongſt other things, he made *Colemburghs* houſe in *Bruſſels* be pull'd down to the ground, in memory of the deteſtation of the ſeditious practiſes which were there chiefly woven and concluded. *Orange*

was Master of divers fair Towns in sundry Provinces of *Flanders*, (The Principality of *Orange* is in *France*, though not subject to that Crown) and of a great many likewise in the County of *Burgundy*; in *Brabant* amongst others he had *Breda*, a noble p ace, having a stately Castle in it, and of such consequence as the Duke of *Alva* would suddenly secure himself the better thereof by putting a garrison into it. To the confiscation of his goods, the Duke added the retension of the Count *di Buren*, a Youth of twelve years of age, who was the Prince of *Orange* his eldest son, and who was then at the University of *Lovain* following his studies; and under pretence that the King would have him follow the same studies and exercises in the University of *Alcala d' Enares*, he sent him well guarded into *Spain*. *Orange* and his companions, together with other Nobles who were fled from *Flanders*, exasperated at these proceedings, did what they could to shew their resentment. Their chief end was to raise Forces, and lead them into *Flanders*; hoping assuredly that when any Forces should appear from without, they that were within the Country would suddenly rise. This was therefore hotly endeavoured, and it was managed by their Adherents in almost all the Provinces of *Flanders*. The Duke of *Alva's* government infused horror into them, and by all dreadful exagerations they endeavoured to make the people abhor it. From without they themselves endeavoured by all possible means to draw other Princes to favour their cause. From *England*, 'twas known the Queen had a great inclination to foment whatsoever novelties which might happen in the *Low-Countries*. She considered, that if the King of *Spain* should possess them peacefully, his Forces would be too formidable both by sea and land throughout all *Europe*: That she in particular was greatly to apprehend his Forces by Sea, since *England* and *Ireland* would be as it were invironed by the Fleets which might be maintained on the one side in *Spain*, and on the other in *Flanders*: That the King would not be backward in molesting her, having opportunity to doe it; as he who knew she sought to indamage him as much as she might, as he had already had several experiences. These outward dangers appeared unto the Queen to be the greater, when she considered also those within. She saw the Heretick government which she had introduced within her Kingdom began to totter; that a great many Catholicks were still in *England*, that *Ireland* was almost wholly Catholick; and that to cause innovations in those parts, particularly in matters of Religion, no Prince would be more forward therein then the King of *Spain*: She therefore desired to see her neighbour Countries involved in Heresie, hoping that people withdrawing themselves from the obedience of the Church, would the easelier be perswaded to doe the like from that of their Prince; and that one rebellion added to another, affairs should be so imbroiled in those parts, as there should be no design of troubling her. To this purpose the *Hugonot* Faction in *France* was at first favoured by her, and now more then ever; who joyed to see the progress thereof so great in that Kingdom. But her design in this point, was chiefly upon *Flanders*; for from thence, by reason of the vicinity of those Countries unto hers, both before, and much more after the Duke of *Alva* was entred there with his Forces, grew the greatest suspitions which she had of the King of *Spains* power. Wherefore she graciously received all those who fled from *Flanders* to *England*, and nourisht the complaints which they made against the *Spaniard*, and much more the hatred and ill will which they bore them. Nor content to favour them in her own Dominions, she did the like with the Hereticks of *France* and *Germany*, with whom she held continual correspondencie, and bore great sway. But though these offices did help, yet were they more then needed either for the one or the other faction. That of the *Hugonots* was already so increased in *France*, as they designed to ground a popular Commonwealth upon the ruines of the Monarchy. The government in Religion which they had imbraced was of this form: And desirous that their Politick interests should be guided by the like, they pretended that the King should permit them to meet in the general, and in the particular Assemblies, and to treat of what concerned their body apart, which was to make a total separation from the State, within the State. King *Charles* was then got out of his minority, and shewed himself to be both generously and piously given: But by reason of his youth, the government was still managed by the Queen his mother;

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who set upon by the ambition of the Hereticks, and almost no less by the like of the Catholicks, did temporise amongst so many and so fierce storms, and sought to shun danger, since she knew not how to oppose it. Arms had already been several times both taken up, and laid down; and the King had endeavoured to allay the fire of Civil wars by divers Edicts of Pacification, (as they termed them) since the times would not suffer him totally to extinguish it. But the Edicts served but to little purpose to restore quiet to that Kingdom, since the factions were more inflamed then ever: Nor were Arms laid down, but that they might be taken up again with more advantage. To this end the *Hugonots* held close intelligence with the Queen of *England*, and with the Hereticks of *Germany*. And because the King of *Spain* assisted King *Charles*, and did integrally favour the Catholick cause, and especially by the *Flanders* Forces, therefore did not the *Hugonots* omit to foment the *Flemish* in their bad inclinations. Secret intelligence had ever past (as we have already said) between the Prince of *Orange* and *Coligni* the Admiral of *France*: But after *Orange* his retreat to *Germany*, their practises grew hotter; The one of them plotted the ruine of *France*, which was already begun; the other the ruine of *Flanders*, which was shortly to begin. Nor is it to be said how much the *Hugonots* desired to see the like troubles ensue in *Flanders*, as *France* did already suffer under, that they might have companions abroad, and to make but one cause of two, to the end that it might be so much the better defended by common forces, and honested by reciprocal examples. So that *Coligni*, and the other Chieftains of the Heretick faction used all possible diligence to make the *Flemish* who were fled into *France*, suddenly endeavour the like novelty, which they greatly desired to raise up of themselves in their Country. From *Germany* likewise, the Heretick Princes, and the *Hans*-Towns of the same Faction, seemed for the same reasons to have the same ends in the affairs of *Flanders*. Yea before the rise of *Luthers* Heresie, all the Princes and the Hans-Towns of *Germany*, which together with the Emperor their head doe compose the body of the Empire, were not well pleased to see that the House of *Austria*, first by the addition of *Flanders*, and then by that of *Spain*, should be so much exalted. Till then they had looked upon the fortune of that House with an envious eye. When *Charles* the Fifth was come to the Imperial Crown, they turned their envy into open fear, lest from being Head of the German government he might become absolute Prince of that Empire. They saw that how great soever his design might be, his Forces were equivalent in greatness thereunto. And their fear in this point was rather increased then diminished by the entry of Heresie into *Germany*: For they apprehended, lest under the colour of reordering the affairs concerning Religion, he might intend to advantage his own Authority the more easily in those which regarded the State. Hence in a great part were occasioned the troubles of those Countries; hence their so many Dyets, and particularly the Accords which insued in point of Religion. And though when *Charles* dyed, the House of *Austria* was divided, and that the greatest power thereof remained in that Branch which was transplanted into *Spain*; and that on the other side the Hereticks had great Forces in *Germany*, yet feared they much the neighbourhood of *Flanders*: They suspected that the Forces of that House might upon all occasions be on that side united against them; to boot that by the opportunity of that situation they saw too great advantages arose to the *Austrians* in *Germany* to continue the enjoyment of the Empire; and that in stead of being elective, it might become hereditary in that Family; and that the possession might remain in the Catholick part, with the exclusion of the Heretical. They therefore fauthor'd by all the means they might, the Novelties which had insued in *Flanders* in the Government of the Dutchess of *Parma*: They favoured Heresie, fomented Sedition, counsell'd their chief Leaders, and endeavoured by all other means to cause such Troubles in those Provinces, as that the King of *Spain* might either wholly lose them, or not quietly enjoy them. They termed *Flanders* the *Lower-Germany*, and reputed it as joyned to the body of their own *Upper-Germany*, by reason of the connexion of Countries, the conformity of speech and manner of living, and by the community of Traffick and Rivers; of which 'tis arguable whether the *Rhine* be more commodious to higher *Germany* by the longer course thereof,

or to the lower by her breadth. In these respects their friendships, adherents, and allyances were very great in those parts. Moreover, divers of the best Families of *Flanders* derived from *Germany*; and amongst others, that of the Prince of *Orange*, who afterwards married with the house of *Saxony*, as hath been said. The heretick Princes held therefore their streighteſt coresponcencies with him, and to him did discover their most intimate sence of the affairs of *Flanders*, because it was most conformable with his own. *Orange*, being afterwards gon to them by reason of the Duke of *Alva*'s being come into *Flanders*, he still indeavoured to increase in them a resolution, not to tollerate that oppression which he in the most horrid manner he could invent, affirmed to be already introduced by the Spaniards amongst the Flemish. Affirming that this cause was common to both the *Germanies*; he mingled the Interest of Religion together with that of State; and by the strength and vivacity of wit, made dangers a far off seem very near at hand. He chiefly propounded a meeting between those Princes who were most to dread the Spanish forces in *Flanders*; the Queen of *England* assisted him herein by her authority, and the Hugonots of *France* by their practices. So as the resolution was soon put on; and divers Hans Towns joyned therein likewise, by sending their Deputies thither; particularly those which are situated upon the *Rhine*, in which by reason of their neighbourhood with *Flanders*, the aforesaid power of the Spanish forces was most dreaded: Of the Princes, the Count Palatine of *Rhine* was most remarkable, his State lay neareſt to *Flanders*; he had the best forces: and being past on from *Luthers* heresie to that of *Calvin*, he held greater coresponcency with the hereticks of *France*, and with the Queen of *England*. The rest were the Duke of *Wittenberg*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, the Marquis of *Bada*, the Marquis of *Durlack*, and some neighbouring Counts, besides those of *Nassaw*. The King of *Denmark*, and the house of *Saxony* sent likewise their particular Deputies to the Diet. Business doth still proceed slowly, which is to be agitated by many: either they differ in their ends, or agree not in the means, or for the most part are lost through confusion. But their progress is more slow then ordinarily in *Germany*, where negotiations are not had without much prolixity, more by writing then by word of mouth, and where more time is spent in banqueting then in business. The Diet proceeded on then but slowly, and by reason of the variety of opinions, many difficulties were met with in the things proposed. Whereupon the Prince of *Orange*, being all on fire himself, and that he might set others on fire likewise, spake one day thus,

'It is not assuredly any waies to be doubted (most Noble Princes and worthy 'Deputies) but that we now treat upon a common cause. The one and the other '*Germany* are sufficiently united in situation, tongue, name, traffick, life, and in 'all things else. And who knows not that in former times they both made but 'one body? their people do chiefly affect liberty. And though in *Flanders* the 'Prince be heriditory, whereas in *Germany* he is elective, yet almost the same pre-'eminence is due by them to their States as is here attributed to your Dyets. 'But how oft, and with how much labour and danger hath it behoved the one 'and the other Nation, to oppose themselves to the avaritiousness of their Prin-'ces? I will leave the pursuit of ancient affairs, that I may come to the more mo-'dern; and those of *Germany*, that I may descend to the present affairs of *Flan-'ders*. When the Emperour *Charls* the fifth was dead, every one knows the 'King his son's chiefest desire was, to leave those parts, and settle himself in *Spain*. 'Being there wholly transformed into the sence and Customs of that people, he 'grew desirous to govern *Flanders* after the same manner and Empire as *Spain* 'was governed. And what more imperious Minister of State could he leave be-'hind him with the Dutchess of *Parma*, then the Cardinal *Granville*? Did I say 'Minister of State? nay rather supream Governor; since whilst he was there 'the Dutchess bore only the name of Regent: the whole power lay in him, base 'Burgundian! The first Author of *Flanders*'s mischiefs; and who deserves 'chiefly to be punished, since the fault was chiefly his. The Government of the 'Ecclesiastical and Temporal affairs was suddenly altered in divers sorts by abso-'lute Authority; but chiefly by new Edicts, still more grievous to the conscience, 'and by introducing the Inquisition. The secretest Oracles are come from the

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'Councel of *Spain*, and are executed by ſecret conſultations in *Flanders*. If the 'Nobility have complained, their complaints have proved vain; to Petition, is 'counted treachery: to ſeem troubled, rebellion; and the caſual headdy giddi-'neſs of the common people, a premeditated inſurrection of the whole Country 'In fine, nothing but to have a pretence to uſe force againſt *Flanders*, was expe-'cted in *Spain*. And what more light pretence could be taken, then to go about to 'ſuppreſs thoſe tumults, which were ſeen to ceaſe almoſt aſſoon as begun? When 'ſo ſuddenly hereupon the Flemiſh are inſolently declared in *Spain* to be rebels to 'God, and to the King: and a foreign Army marches to cauſe *Flanders* to be 'treated hereafter, not as a ſucceſſive Nation, but as a Conquered Countrey. 'And who could be better choſen to execute ſuch violences then the Duke of '*Alva*? the moſt haughty minded man of all *Spain*; *Flanders* greateſt enemy: 'and who knows better then any other how to extinguiſh all remainders of re-'ligion, and in lieu thereof to uſe all ſorts of Tyranny. And juſt ſo it fell out. 'He hath begun to raiſe Citadels in the chiefeſt Cities: he hath placed Gariſons 'every where; the places of execution run down with bloud in all Towns: no 'more home-Laws are heard of, but forein ones. The Country is almoſt unpeo-'pled by exilement, impriſonment and running away. And nothing but gaſtly 'looks, complaints, miſery, deſparation, and calamity is ſeen every where. In 'this deplorable eſtate is *Flanders* at the preſent. How much more happie then 'is *Germany*, which enjoys her former libertie, and which abhorring all forein 'force, knows no other Empire then her own? I partake of this felicity, for from 'hence I derive my bloud, and my firſt ſtem remains ſtill here. Nay I am more 'hated in *Spain* then any other of the Flemiſh, by reaſon of my German ſpirit. 'I am held to be the contriver of Conſpiracies, the head of ſedition, the peſti-'lence of thoſe Countries. Their greateſt anger thunders againſt me, and the 'ſevereſt puniſhments are already fallen upon me. Thus they ſeek to turn my 'glory to infamy: And what greater glory can there be, then to maintain the 'liberty of a mans Country, and to die rather then be inſlaved? I then (moſt 'high Princes and Noble Deputies) who am both a German and a Fleming, after 'having laid before you the miſeries of the Lower *Germany*, whoſe tears and ſup-'plications I bring hither with me, do in her name implore the help and protecti-'on of the Upper *Germany*. But ſuch recourſe for refuge will not avail, unleſs 'you your ſelves repute the cauſe which is now in hand, to be common as well to '*Germany* as to *Flanders*, as I at firſt took for granted. And who can doubt it? 'who is not aware of the Spaniards vaſt deſignes? doubtleſly a deſire of Domi-'nation doth naturally reigne in all men. One will draws on another; nor doth 'what is poſſeſt give ſatisfaction. But how immence, how immoderate doth this 'thirſt appear particularly in the Spaniards? they think not their unknown 'worlds ſufficient to quench it; and will therefore extend their Empire ſtill fur-'ther in thoſe which are known. They fix their eyes, and their machinations much 'more, upon *Europe* in particular. When they ſhall have oppreſt *Flanders*, and 'have gotten ſo opportune a ſeat for their Arms, what Province will they next 'fall upon? that certainly which they ſhall have moſt reaſon to fear. He who 'will lay the foundations of ſervitude well, firſt ſeeks to beat down the Bulwarks 'of Liberty. Wherefore knowing that they ſhall be moſt withſtood by the pow-'er and undaunted ſpirits of this Nation, which in all things is ſo united to *Flan-*'*ders*, they will forthwith bend all their forces hitherward. It may then be con-'cluded, that the Spaniſh forces being in *Flanders*, will be always ready to enter '*Germany*: and then what will your miſeries be? when their Colonies ſhall 'likewiſe be ſeen here; new faces, new Cuſtoms, ſevere Laws, more ſeverely ex-'ecuted heavy yoaks upon mens perſons and more heavy upon their conſciences? 'This point being then granted, that the danger will be common amongſt us, 'the other will be clear, that the cauſe ſhould likewiſe be reputed common: the 'reſt follows on in conſequence: One neighbour runs to quench the fire that is 'kindled in another neighbours houſe. When a river threatens to break in, who 'runs not from all ſides to mend the banks? the ſame courſe ought now to be 'held all you muſt haſte to help the Flemiſh; ſince you are the firſt that are like-'ly to feel the flames of their fire, and they who ſhall firſt partake of the inun-

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'dation of ſo many miſeries which they ſuffer. But do not believe that they will 'linger in expectation of your aids. They will move aſſoon as they ſhall ſee 'you move: and their worth and vertue, which by ſo unexpected and cruel a 'violence, is rather ſtupified then oppreſt, will return with greater vigour then 'before, What cannot armed deſparation do? what dares it not? the entrance 'will be always eaſie from theſe parts into *Frieſland*, and into the Provinces of '*Flanders* which are on this ſide the *Rhine*, that river will with like eaſineſs be 'at all times paſt over: all the chief Cities will throw open their gates. The 'Nobility, and all the whole Country will joyn in the ſame opinion. But I 'came ſhort when I ſaid that only *Germany* and *Flanders* would joyn in this 'cauſe: *France* and *England*, and the other Northern Countries, will undoubt-'edly joyn with us, ſince they ſtand in like fear of the Spaniſh forces. He that 'commits violence doth not always boaſt thereof. And how oft do we ſee op-'preſſion prove the ruine of the oppreſſor? It may ſo fall out, as whilſt the 'Spaniards do ſo greedily gape after other mens ſtates, they may chance to loſe 'their own. The Flemiſh expect only your aſſiſtance, to eſcape ſo hard a ſla-'very. And I in their names do once again earneſtly implore it. The cauſe can-'not be more juſt, nor more eaſily helped: and it is yours no leſs then ours. All 'neighbours will take it for their own concernment; and the whole North will 'favour it. But as the defence will in the firſt place fall to your ſhare, ſo the firſt 'place of victory will be given to your forces. And ſo by the title of our being 'oppreſſed, you ſhall for ever be accounted our deliverers.

The Crown of *Spain* never had, nor never ſhall have a fiercer enemy then the Prince of *Orange*. To this his diſcourſe made in publick, he added many others in privat. He exagerated all the evils which are wont to be ſaid in deteſtation of great Empires and their Governors; and fought by all means poſſible to imprint thoſe paſſions in the minds of others, which burnt ſo fiercely in his own. He pre-'vailed ſo far with the Diet, as even the backwardeſt amongſt them, wiſht they had helped the Flemiſh. Whereupon it was concluded that ſuch men as were ne-ceſſary for that purpoſe ſhould ſpeedily be raiſed. This reſolution was ſuddenly communicated by *Orange* to his confederates of *Flanders*, and to thoſe alſo with whom he held intelligence in *France* and in *England*. They deſigned to enter *Flanders* at one and the ſame time in divers parts. The eaſieſt way ſeemed to be by *Frieſland*, as being the moſt open Country, and the moſt commodious to re-ceive German aids. The other ſide whereon they would endeavour to get en-trance was *Brabant* and *Ghelderland*, confining upon the States of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and *Liege*. On the behalf of *France*, the Hugonot intimated hopes that they would cauſe ſome novelties in the *Walloon* Frontiers; and the like was pro-miſed from *England*, in *Holland* and *Zealand* by ſea. They made no delay: much ſoldiery did juſt then return to *Germany*, which *John Caſimere*, one of the Count Palatines of *Rhine*, had not long before led into *France* in favour of the Hugo-nots. Arms were for that time laid down in that Kingdom by ſome agreement between the parties intereſſed; and therefore the aforeſaid Germans returning to their own homes, *Orange* and the reſt of his adherents, thought it very opor-tune upon this occaſion to make uſe of them for the accompliſhment of their deſignes. Such as were needfull being then tane into pay by the Princes, and Ci-ties that did intervene in the Diet, as many of them as were requiſit, to boot with the men which they raiſed in their own Countries, began to march under Count *Lodovick*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, with intention to enter the Low-Countries on the ſide of *Frieſland*: but before he began to move, another was heard of towards *Ghelderland*. *Lumay* and *Villiers*, were two of thoſe Nobles who had ſhared moſt in the Covenant, Petitions and revolts which had happened in the Dutcheſs of *Parma*'s time, they feared to be puniſhed by the Duke of *Alva*, proportionably to their demerits. Havingtherefore through this appre-henſion quitted their Countrie, they would now return again with forces. They reſolved to put it to a tryal, by indeavouring to ſurpriſe ſome important place in *Ghelderland*. They thought *Ruremond* a fitting place, a City ſtanding on the *Mauſe*, and which might ſerve them for a paſſage into *Brabant*. *Orange* inſti-gated them hereunto; for he deſigned to enter with very powerfull forces on

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that ſide, and then to ſettle in the midſt of the Countrie. Having gathered tumultuouſly together about 2000 foot, and ſome few horſe, a rabble of people, all of them almoſt of the neighbouring Countries, they moved to execute the said deſigne: and they hoped for better ſucceſs, for that they had ſome intelligence in the City. This was ſoon foreſeen, and ſpeedily prevented by the Duke of *Alva*. He diſpacht away the Camp-Maſter *Londonio* forthwith thitherward with ſome *Spaniſh*, ſome *German*, and ſome *Walloon* Colours, and ſent *Sancio d'Avila* likewiſe thither with 30 horſe; and in the firſt place ſecured *Maſtrick*, that being the chief paſs towards *Germany*. That City is cut through, not in the midſt, but on one ſide by the *Manſe*, the leſſer part thereof makes as it were an angle, which is called by the name of *Vich*. This part belongs to the Principality of *Liege*; but the chief body of the Town is under the Low-Countries. The City is united by a ſtone-bridg: and the *Ligeois* contented with the Civil Government of what belongs to them, leave both the leſſer and greater diviſion under the Military cuſtody of the King of *Spain*. The revolters drew near *Ruremond*, and endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of one gate; but they failed in their deſigne: for they reaped no good by the Intelligence they had within; but found things in a better poſture of defence then they expected. They therefore preſently withdrew into the State of *Liege*, fearing to have the Spaniards on their back, if they ſhould tarry in the Kings Territories. This mean while *Londonio* and *Avila* were on their march; and underſtanding that they were retreated, *Londonio* was not minded to purſue them into *Liege*, ſaying,

Will not this be to offend and irritate our neighbours? our own Countrie is too full of jealouſie. Let us make a bridg to them that fly; to ſee the enemy run away, is to have ſufficiently overcome.

But *Avila* was for purſuing them: replying,

Our neighbours will be ſo far from being hereat offended, as they ought rather to thank us for it. Do not we know that theſe wicked ones have entred the Country of Liege *by force? the* Ligeois *will then repute our forces for their own, and muſt confeſs that we have done this to free them, not to invade their Countrie.*

This opinion prevailed; and the Spaniards advancing, heard that *Lumay* and *Villiers* were retired with their men towards *Dalem*, a little Town, bordering upon the Country of *Liege*, environed with a wall and a ditch, but otherwiſe not ſtrong. They did not think that the Spaniard would have touched upon that State: but when they knew they marched towards them, they got underneath the walls of *Dalem*, and aſſiſted by a ravelin on one ſide, and by the carriage carts on the other, they prepared to defend themſelves. When the Spaniards were come up, they ſent ſome of their men forthwith to the other ſide of the Town, and with the reſt gave ſo ſtrong an aſſault to the enemy on the front, as they wholly routed them. They ſlew many of them, took many of them, and amongſt the reſt, *Villiers* was taken priſoner. So the deſigne of the Flemiſh who had quit their Countrie, proved vain on that ſide. Not long after they indeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of the Town of *Graves*, which was firſt poſſeſt by the Prince of *Orange*; and which being ſeated upon the *Mauſe*, on the utmoſt confines of *Brabant*, would have been very fit for their purpoſe. But they were not well got in, by means of ſome intelligence which they had, when they reſolved to be gon again, hearing that the Dukes men marched towards them. Nor had they better ſucceſs in a conſpiracy of theirs, which (as was commonly divulged) was not long before diſcovered againſt the Dukes perſon. He oft-times uſed to paſs by the Forreſt *Soigny*, near *Bruſſels*, upon occaſion of frequenting a Monaſtery which was thereabouts, called *Groendal*. Some of the Nobility had reſolved to ſet upon him with ſome men in that wood, and to kill him, and ſo ſuddenly to run to *Bruſſels*, and to raiſe the people there. But were it either that the report was falſe, (for the conſpiracy was not much believed) or that the deſigne could not be executed, the buſineſs ſoon vaniſht, no certainty of it being ever known. Count *Lodovick* was this mean while fallen into *Frieſland* with an intire Army, conſiſting as 'twas ſaid, of 10000 foot, and 3000 horſe; and *Orange* did prepare at the ſame time to paſs into the Low Countries on another ſide with a much greater ſtrength. *Lodovick* being entred *Frieſland*, he began to fortifie the

Town

Town of *Delfeziel*, situated towards the mouth of the river *Embs*. This river divides East-*Friesland*, which belongs to the Upper-*Germany*, from West-*Friesland*, which appertains to the Lower. As it grows nearer the sea, it so inlargeth it self, as by the mouth thereof it makes a gulf. Here is the City of *Embden* seated, one of the most considerable Towns of all the Maretine part, by reason of the frequency of people, and oportunity of Commerce, which is much helped by the Haven thereof, being held one of the most commodious of all the North. The Flemish *Friesland* (if I may so call it) makes two Provinces; that which joyns upon *Germany*, is called *Groninghen*, from the City of the same name: a City very well populated, and suspitiously seated, being the chiefest Key of those Confines. 'Tis seated very low, as is its sister Province, which retains the name of *Friesland*. In Winter the fields stand full of water; and there is no coming to their habitations but upon the banks: in Summer the land lies dry, and yields great store of pasturage You would say that in those parts the sea is interchangably turned into land, and the land to sea. By reason of the low situation, and great humidity, there is no Woods in the Country, nor almost any sort of Trees which may serve for firing. But where nature is therein wanting, the Inhabitants make it good by their industry; they make use of Turfs cut out of the Earth, and dryed in the Sun, in stead of Wood. These are the Woods of *Friesland*, and the Inhabitants usual fire. In divers other parts of *Flanders* they suffer likewise the same wants, and with the same industry provide against it. *Lodovick* intended to make himself Master of the City of *Groninghen*, and there were some within the Town who fed him with hopes of so doing. He therefore encamped thereabouts, and fortified himself where he thought best; especially where he might receive new supplies from *Germany*. But the Duke of *Alva* had not been wanting this mean while in taking such order as was needfull to withstand this Army. Count *Aremberg* was Governour of that *Friesland* which belong'd to the King of *Spain*; he was one of the chiefest Lords of *Flanders*; of great esteem in the Militia: and who a little before was sent by the Duke into *France* with a good strength of horse to the aid of King *Charls* against the hereticks of that Kingdom. The affairs of *France* being afterwards setled, and *Aremberg* being returned to *Flanders*, the Duke sent him suddenly into *Friesland*. He had under him a Regiment of High-*Dutch*: and Count *Mega*, Governour of the Provinces of *Ghelderland* and *Zutfen*, had another. The Duke then ordered, that as many of the High-*Dutch* as could be had, should fall down into those parts. He dispatched away thither also the Camp-Master *Bracamonte*, with almost his whole *Spanish* Brigado, and some horse, and six Field-Pieces. *Lodovick* had begun to fortifie the Town of *Dam*, from whence there runs a Channel to *Delfeziel*; but hindred by the coming of the *Spaniards*, he resolved to quit those Quarters, and to go to a certain Priory not far from thence, which was more commodious and safe: the ground was higher here then in other parts, and there were some trees which served for the use of the Priory. Here the Count took up his Quarters, not knowing whether the *Spaniards* would assault him, or indeavour by reducing him to straits, to make him return to *Germany*. If they should assault him, it would make for his advantage, by reason of his situation, and because the *Spaniards* were of necessity to pass through the hollow places where they had cut out Turfs, which stood ful of water and mire, as did likewise all the fields thereabouts. He feared rather to be straitned in victuals, and consequently inforced to retreat: but he was not left long in this doubt. The *Spaniards* assoon as they descri'd the enemy, began to murmure for that *Aremberg* would not suffer them to fall on and assault them; which he was against, considering wisely that *Mega* was not yet come, and that he expected some further reinforcement of horse and foot, his present forces being fewer in number then were the enemy. But his councel was but little listned unto, nor his Authority respected. For the *Spaniards*, impatient of all delay, despising his Command, would forbear no longer. Nay some of them using injurious and offensive words towards him, tearmed him a coward for matter of War, and disloyal in the Cause of the Church and King. Whence much incenst, he said,

Let us then goe, not to overcome, but to be overcome; and not by the Arms of our Enemies, but those which Nature adoperates for them. Shall not we be buried in water, dirt, and ditches, before we can come to assault them? How strong in all other respects is their situation? and how much greater are their numbers then ours? I notwithstanding will be one of the first that will fight, and dye: Thus will I shew whether I degenerate from my blood or no whether I be a Coward, and whether I be faulty in my loyalty to my Religion and to my King.

This being said, he with the rest fell headlong into the battel. The *Spaniards* were on the front, the *High-Dutch* followed; and the Horse were placed more where the quality of the ground would permit them to be, then in any good order; the Artillery guarded one flank of the Enemy, where they lay most open. *Lodovick* on the contrary, seeing himself at such advantage, full of joy, put his Army in order, and encouraged them thus unto the battel.

What Victory (my fellow-souldiers) was ever more certain, then that which we shall this day win upon the Spaniards? *Doe you see how rashly, and with how much arrogancie they come to assault us? as if this Quarter of so valiant Souldiers were the proud* Alva's *Palace, and that they were by their base treacheries to imprison here some other* Egmont *and* Horn; *to make them afterwards laughing-stocks, and to destroy them in their new Forts, wherewith they have inthralled* Flanders *every where. But this day undoubtedly will make them repent their so many tyrannical proceedings; and make the Country conceive a certain hope, that all bondage being shaken off, it shall soon recover its former liberty. If we consider Forces, ours are twice as many as theirs: If the Cause, Violence displayes the Colours on their side, and Justice on ours: If the condition of Souldiers, many of theirs are to be accounted ours; and how can their* Germans *differ in opinion from you? But say they were all* Spaniards, *that they were more in number then we, and that they had the better cause; were not our so many other advantages sufficient to win us the victory? The water, dirt, and holes will rob us of the honour of overcoming them. This will not be like the encounter at* Dalem, *where those few of our men thinking to be safe in the Country of* Liege, *were set on at unawares, and routed without almost any fighting. Deceits will not avail here: We will here soon repay our selves for that loss, with good use to boot. In Wars, the beginning useth to presage the end: And therefore we by this present Victory, will ascertain the future. But lo, the Enemy already comes on; receive him couragiously: For as Justice leads them on to punishment, so doth it you to prey, revenge, and glory.*

He had ordered his men thus: The Horse on the right wing, under his brother *Adolphus*, who had the command of them, on which side the ground was more tractable; the Foot on the left, where they were sheltred by a little hill, whereon he placed some Files of Musquetiers; he left the ground on which were trees on his back, and on his front that which was most myery. At the first the Spanish Artillery did somewhat prejudice his men; and some of them did so couragiously charge *Lodovicks* Musquetiers who were placed to defend the little hill, as they hoped to win it: whereupon the *Spaniards* gave on upon the Enemy with more obstinate resolution then before. But they soon were aware of their errors: For bemyred in the water and mud, the more they endeavoured to get out, the faster they stuck; and the rest who came to help them, had need of help themselves. They were then wounded and slain by the Enemies Foot, who ran no danger thereby: And *Lodovick* making his Horse wheel about, invironed *Arembergs* men, and without any trouble routed and defeated them. In the Battel about 600 *Spaniards* were slain, and almost none of the *Germans*; for they suddenly yielded upon discretion to the Enemy, who easily gave them their lives, upon obligation that they should never bear arms more for the *Spaniard*. *Aremberg*, playing the part rather of a common Souldier then of a Commander, whilst he fought couragiously was slain at the first encounter. There were but few lost on *Lodovicks* side: their greatest loss was in his brother *Adolphus*; Some will have it that he was slain by *Arembergs* own hand, and that *Adolphus* slew *Aremberg*. The *Spaniards* lost their Artillery and their Baggage, and some monies which was brought to their Camp to pay the Souldiers. The Battel was not well ended, when a Troop of horse appeared, led on by Count *Curtio Martinengo*, and by

Andrea Salatſar, which Count *Mega* had ſent before to reinforce the Horſe of the Kings army. Their arrival helped at leaſt to hinder the Enemy from ſlaughtering any more of the disbanded men, who ran away from the Spaniſh Camp. Nor was *Mega* himſelf long after in coming up; who conſidering the danger of *Groninghen*, entred thereinto ſuddenly, and did there aſſemble all the men he could get together, leſt they might fall into *Lodovicks* hands.

The ſucceſs of this Battel was ſundry times related to me in the time of my being Nuntio in the *Low-Countries*, by Count *Aremberg*, ſon to him that was ſlain: who was Knight of the Golden Fleece; a Gentleman of very much merit likewiſe, and no whit inferior to his Father in the managing as well of Military as Civil affairs in *Flanders*.

Upon the news of this Rout, the Duke of *Alva* was much troubled: He ſaw how that *Lodovick*, when he was hardly entred *Frieſland*, had won ſo important a victory; that *Orange* prepared likewiſe to enter the Country with very potent Forces; and that now the Neighbours would be much encouraged to aſſiſt them, and the *Flemiſh* ready to receive them. Moved by theſe conſiderations, he would have gone himſelf in perſon preſently into *Frieſland*, the better to ſecure that Frontier, to drive *Lodovick* from thence, and to hinder *Orange* from entring into *Flanders* by any other part. But he conſidered on the contrary, that he had not at that preſent men enough to confront the Enemy, and to ſecure the Country. But he chiefly queſtioned whether he were to go ſo far or no from the impriſoned *Egmont* and *Horn*, ſince a ſlight guard would not be ſufficient to keep them, and his Army would be too much leſſened by leaving a great garriſon. Amidſt theſe difficulties, he judged it was not fit to afford the Enemy time: whereupon he reſolved to haſten as faſt as might be divers Levies, which he forthwith gave order for, of German, Burgonian, and Walloon foot and horſe, and to go with all ſpeed to drive *Lodovick* out of *Frieſland*. This reſolution being put on, he determined to have the cauſe of the aforeſaid Counts, and of other Priſoners of quality ſpeedily heard and determined; touching which he had received divers expreſs Commiſſions from *Spain*: The Kings Councel thinking it fit that the hainouſneſs of ſo many faults committed by ſuch Chieftains againſt the Church and King ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. The two Counts being forthwith brought with a good guard from *Gaunt* to *Bruſſels*, after ſeven moneths impriſonment, they received their ſentence, whereby they were adjudged to be publikely beheaded, and their goods confiſcated as guilty of the aforeſaid faults againſt divine and humane Majeſty. Before they came to their execution, eighteen of a meaner condition were publikely put to death in the ſame City, for being Rebels. Soon after, for the ſame faults, Monſieur *de Villiers* and Monſieur *de Duy* had their heads cut off in ſight of all the people. And laſtly, two dayes after the ſentence was executed upon *Egmont* and *Horn*; the place of execution being firſt well guarded by a great many *Spaniards*, to hinder any tumult which might ariſe amongſt the people by ſeeing two Perſonages of ſuch condition led to death, one of them being eſpecially ſo generally beloved by the *Flemiſh*. The ſorrow which they ſhewed for his death, was anſwerable to the love they bore *Egmont*. He was bewailed by all; many vowed his revenge; and they were not a few who gathered up the blood which ran from his body. So great was the ſenſe which was then had of his ſuffering, and ſo fatal accidents did afterwards inſue, as if the neck of whole *Flanders* had depended upon his. *Egmont* dyed with demonſtration of great piety and courage. *Horn* did likewiſe undauntedly wait the blow; and being to loſe his life, he ſtood not much upon his conſcience. *Strales* formerly Burgamaſter of *Antwerp*, who had ſo much fomented the ſeditions of that City, as hath been ſaid in its proper place, was executed in *Viluorde*, within two leagues of *Bruſſels*, where he was impriſoned. And *Caſſenbrot*, formerly Secretary to *Egmont*, was whilſt alive torn to peeces by four horſes in *Bruſſels*. Other four obſtinate hereticks, who had had the greateſt hand in the violation & depredation of the Churches, were publikely burnt; and divers others were at the ſame time executed in ſeveral places, to the ſo great fear and horror of the people, as nothing was any where ſeen or heard but ſighs, groans, and lamentations. To all this was added a horrible Proclamation againſt all thoſe that were fled, who were ſummoned

Chiapino Vitelli Marquess of Cetona
Campe-master-generall

moned to return upon pain of loſing their goods, if they did not, and a ſtrict ſearch was ordered to find out all their wealth. At the ſame time *Montigni*, brother to Count *Horn*, was put to death in *Spain*; the Marquis of *Berghen* being dead there likewiſe ſome monet hs before, as hath been ſaid. The Duke being thus free from the fear of his Priſoners he gave himſelf wholly to the thought of Arms. He diipatcht away the Marquis *Chiapino Vitelli* immediately with many men, to ſecure *Groninghen*: And this mean while 1500 German Horſe were raiſed by *Henry*, one of the Dukes of *Brunſwick*; 400 German Dragoons by *Hans Bernia*, and 1000 in *Burgundy* by Signior *Norchernes*; and the German Regiments which were under *Mega*, *Ladrone*, and *Schamburg* were recruited. To theſe Foot were added three new Walloon Brigades under the command of Count *de Rules*, of *Egidius Barlemonte* Lord of *Hierges*, and *Gaſpero de Robles* Lord of *Bigly*; and all theſe people were ordered to meet at *Deventer*, a City ſtanding upon the River *Iſel* in the Province of *Overiſel*, joyning upon *Frieſland*; in which City the Duke was to be with all the Spaniſh Brigades, except it were ſome few Companies which were left in the moſt important Garriſons. Theſe expeditions being made, *Vitelly* ſoon arrived at *Groninghen*; and there were with him *Brunſwicks* Horſe, *Mega's* Foot, and part of *Shamburg's* Foot. *Lodovick* durſt not all this time lay a formal ſiege to *Groninghen*, partly becauſe he had not men enough for that purpoſe, partly becauſe he hoped to be brought in by Intelligence, and finally becauſe he would not ingage himſelf in a buſineſs, of which he could not diſingage himſelf but either by danger or diſhonour. *Vitelli* being afterwards come to *Groninghen*, *Lodovick* ſtaid ſtill neer thereabouts in a place ſtrengthened by a River on one ſide, and by the buildings of a Priory called *Salveret* on the other, where he had fortified himſelf very well. *Vitelli*, to encourage his men, and to try the Enemies valour, made many skirmiſhes, and reſolved at laſt to poſſeſs himſelf of a place ſomewhat higher neer to *Lodovicks* quarters, and where the Enemy had fortified themſelves: The place was ſomewhat diſputed, but at laſt he won it with the ſlaughter of about an hundred of their men. This mean while the Duke himſelf was on his march; and having thrown Bridges over the *Mauſe*, *Rhine*, and *Iſel*, and readily paſt over all thoſe Rivers, he about the midſt of *July* arrived at *Deventer*: Then raiſing his whole Camp from thence, he in three dayes march came to *Rolde*, a large Village neereſt to *Groninghen*, and not far diſtant from the Enemy. He was not well got thither, when a great Alarm was given, occaſioned by a ſpeech that the Enemy did aſſault that place which *Vitelli* had taken from them. The Duke went himſelf in perſon to ſee what was doing, and he found the rumour falſe: whereupon, calling to mind the bad ſucceſs of *Frieſland* occaſioned through the ſelf-default of the Kings ſouldiers, and incenſed at this new inconvenience which had hapned in his own ſight at *Rolde*; as ſoon as he was return'd unto the Camp, he call'd his Souldiers unto him, and ſpake thus:

What my Military Government hath been in the ſo many occaſions wherein I have had the honour to command the Spaniſh Forces, may be ſufficiently known to all men. And what old Souldier is there in this Army, eſpecially of my Nation, who either hath not fought under the ſame Enſigns with me, or hath not been diſciplined under me? The form of my Command being not then unknown to you, nor your wonted obedience unknown to me, I may juſtly wonder to ſee your actions ſo altered, as it may almoſt be queſtioned whether you be the accuſtomed Souldiers, or whether you think me your accuſtomed Commander? I am now again ſtrangely moved in thinking upon the diſorders lately happened in Frieſland: *One or two dayes patience might have made the Victory aſſuredly ours: Count* Mega *was already on his march with great Forces: the Flemiſh Rebels were but few in number;* Lodovick *their Commander had neither meat nor money to maintain the* Germans; *his people were for the moſt part tumultuary and full of confuſion within themſelves. In this caſe what was to be done, but to have fought the Enemy by diſcommodiating them, and thus to have defeated them? That was my opinion then, and ſo was Count* Aremberg *ordered by me to doe. And notwithſtanding, not his command, but mine being contemned; and not courage, but raſhneſs being uſed, that Victory was brought home, as it may be ſaid to the Enemies doors, which they could not otherwiſe ever have hoped for. Who could have expected ſuch errors as theſe? eſpecially from* Spaniards, *who are wont to be a*

president of discipline and obedience; and who knew better then all others when to fight, and when not to fight. The injurie was done to me in particular, which was offered by some of them to that so worthy Commander: as if I had been indiscreet in making choice of him upon so great an occurrencie; and yet it was my opinion, that I could not oppose any one more faithfull to the Church and King. and more valiant in arms, then was Count Aremberg, *against so perfidious and rebellious a Leader as is* Lodovick, *From which success, what advantage have the rebels made unto themselves, who are now entred* Friesland? *How much are others thereby incouraged who prepare likewise to enter these Provinces by other parts? What doth not the Prince of* Orange *do? what doth he not now endeavour amongst the hereticks of* Germany *after so joyfull news?* Orange *I say! the plotter of all the past revolts; the occasioner of all these present troubles? We are here then to drive* Lodovick *out of* Friesland, *and to hinder* Orange *from entring into these Provinces by any other way. Now whilst I expect that those errors be amended under my command, which were committed under* Arembergs, *what disorders, what new tumults do both my ears and eyes meet withall? What doth this Alarm, and this running to take up arms without any occasion, mean? Doth not this Army believe that they have the Duke of* Alva *still for their Commander? or doth it no longer fear the severity of his orders, and the rigour of his discipline? Peradventure you will say the fault lies in the new men, perhaps so, but their Governours are not new men. And therefore as a great part of the fault hath been theirs, theirs should likewise be a great part of the punishment. But let indulgency at this time prevail over rigour; and let it never be said that my men were punished before the enemies were so. But if I shall be hereafter provoked to resentment, I do from this time declare it shall be such, as every one shall at last know how inseparable an union there is between my Command and Discipline, and between Discipline and my Command. Rashness is alwaies blind, and almost alwaies unfortunate in all humane actions; but how much more in Military, then in Civil Government? For in these, time is allowed to amend evil councels by good ones; whereas in the other, at the very instant that the error is committed, the loss is irremediably received. And this may suffice to have been said for what is past, together with caution for what is to come. For what remains, I am resolved now to use these very means to break and defeat Lodovick, which* Aremberg *ought to have observed by my Command. I hope to see him soon return to* Germany *with shame and scorn enough, only by the advantages of Incamping, and by the sole force of sufferings, or else to drive him out by lively force Buckle your selves my soldiers then to this business either I shall have forgot the mysterie of War, or I will make good my words.*

That age had not a more compleat Commander then was the Duke of *Alva*; nor who did less hazard the event of Arms to the uncertainty of Fortune. To encamp always with great advantage; to keep his men in great discipline; to weary the enemy, to reduce him into straits, to overcome oftest without fighting; or to fight with little loss of his own mens bloud, and great effusion of the enemies: these were the arts he used in his Military Government. It would be truely said, that he was the *Spanish Fabius* of his time: so did he imitate him in his form of waging War. The Duke parted from *Rolde*, and marched in very good order, lest *Lodovick* might meet with him between *Rolde* and *Groninghen*, and force him to fight before those of the City could joyn with him. But *Lodovick* forbare so doing, fearing likewise lest if he should assault the *Spanish* Camp, he might at the same time be taken in the midst between the Dukes men and those of the City. He therefore kept in his former quarters, and had fortified himself very well there: he had the River, which winding about, fenced him almost on two sides, the rest was strengthened by good Trenches, and by the seat of the aforesaid Priory; a great Trench was likewise thrust out on this side the River, which lay upon the front of the *Spanish* Camp; and which *Lodovick* had made the better to defend two wooden bridges which lay over the same River. He thought to keep himself still in so commodious a quarter, intending to keep the Kings Army imployed in *Friesland*, and the mean while afford the Prince his brother the better commodity to enter into those Provinces also; or that if the Duke should turn upon *Orange*, *Groninghen* and all that Frontier might remain in the former danger. But these designes which *Lodovick* propounded unto himself,

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were very well foreſeen by the Duke, who was therefore reſolved not to ſuffer him to tarry long in *Frieſland*.

When he had certain information that the enemy did not ſtir; he entred into *Groninghen* and having refreſht his men, he led them out of the City, and drew near the enemies Camp. The Duke geſſed juſt as it fell out. To wit, that *Lodovick* when he ſhould be faced with ſo powerfull an Army; when he ſhould ſee himſelf in danger to want victuals, and that he ſhould not be able to retreat when he would, better weighing his deſignes, he would prevent theſe difficulties; and without more adoe reſolve upon retreat. *Lodovick* at laſt reſolved to do ſo: and that he might do it without loſs of men or reputation: he effected it thus, that very day towards the evening he ſent away his baggage before, after it his foot and left the horſe for the laſt: having taken order for breaking down the bridges which were over the river, to the end that the Spaniards might not follow him. The Duke had foreſeen this; and to be the more ſure, he gave order that *Robles* the camp-maſter, with 400 *Walloons*, ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of a certain houſe conveniently ſeated to diſcover the enemies goings the retreat was then apparently ſeen: the Duke made no delay: he forthwith ſent forth 400 Spaniards of the Neopolitan Brigado to aſſault the great trench which was formerly ſpoken of; which was ſo wel perform'd, as they drove away thoſe that defended it, who ſuddenly firing the bridges, repaſt over the river. The night now drew on, and the enemy was already ſo far advanced, and in ſo good order, as the Dukes men could do them no great harm. Yet ſome Spaniards and Walloons waded over the river where it was ſhalloweſt; but they met with ſuch hindrances by the ſquadrons of the enemies horſe, and by the narrowneſs and badneſs of the ways, as they could make no further progreſs. But few of the enemies were ſlain in this action; yet were they much diſcouraged and confuſed therwith, ſeeing themſelvs ſo boldly ſet upon. After this rather flight then retreat, *Lodovick* continued his march backward towards East-*Frieſland*: intending for as much as was conceiv'd, to ſtay notwithſtanding on this ſide the river of *Embs*, in ſome good ſituation, and as near *Embden* as poſſibly he could, that by the nearneſs of the river and the City, he might come the better by victuals, and come what would come, ſecure his laſt retreat. By which means he ſtil thought he might compaſs his intention, either of keeping the Duke of *Alva* buſied, or to keep with his former hopes in *Frieſland*, if the Duke ſhould in ſome other parts oppoſe his brother. He thought he might likewiſe believe that the Duke would not touch upon *Germany*, nor hazard the want of victuals, or ſuffering of other incommodities in a Countrey which appeared openly averſe unto him. And howſoever, he thought he ſhould be able ſo wel to fortifie himſelf, as the Duke ſhould not ſo eaſily diſlodg him the ſecond time, as he had done the firſt. To boot with the river which fenced him on the one ſide, the Country was almoſt altogether impaſſable, ſince it hardly allowed conveniency to be marcht upon, and that upon the banks, and muchleſs to fight. And moreover the river ſwelling much more then ordinarily at a high tide, the Country might eaſily be overflown by means of certain ſluces, which cutting the banks of the ſame river in divers places, are uſually opened or ſhut by the Inhabitants, according as the ſea ſwels or leſſens. This was *Lodovicks* deſigne. So he purſued to march after his firſt retreat, and did advance ſo far that very night, and ſome days after, as at laſt he quarter'd in a great village on this ſide the *Embs*, call'd *Geminghen*. He might firſt have ſtaid in another call'd *Rheeden*, and have had the paſſage over the *Embs*, more cõmodiouſly there alſo, by reaſon of a bridg which was nigh at hand: but it was known that he would ſtay on this ſide the river, and yet as near as he could to the City of *Embden*, for the reaſons which have been already ſpoken of.

On the other ſide the Duke continued his purpoſes, which were to follow *Lodovick* to the *Embs*, and to endeavour by all means poſſible to ſend him back routed and defeated into *Germany*, that ſo he might be the freer afterwards to turn back upon *Orange*. He therefore made his Army march, leaving almoſt all the new raiſed horſe in *Groninghen*, becauſe they could not be ſerviceable in thoſe parts. He lodged the firſt night in a Village called *Sclotenem*: and not hearing any news of the enemy, nor of good conveniency for victuals (for all that Country was againſt him) he was inforced to ſtay two days in that place. He doubted

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ed that *Lodovick* might be tarryed in *Rheeden*, that he might enjoy the oportunity of that near bridg which ſecured unto the paſſage over the River. Knowing afterwards that he was paſt further on, the Duke liked the buſineſs much better, and ſtaid his Camp in *Rheeden*, ſecuring that paſs for himſelf. Here he at laſt had certain advertiſement, that the Enemy were lodged in *Geminghen*. From *Rheeden* to *Geminghen*, at ſome 8 miles diſtance, there runs a continued bank which ſerves as a curb to the River, whereby the better to tame the ſwelling thereof occaſioned by the ſea. The Duke was to make his men march upon this Bank, if he would defeat the Enemy. Divers Channels ran into the River, which had houſes and bridges upon them for the uſe and ſervice of the Country people, who in the ſummer time (which now it was) had ſome abidings not ſo low, nor not ſo muddy as in the Country. *Lodovicks* Quarters were thus fortified: He had the Town of *Geminghen* upon his back, on his left ſide the River, and on his right the open fields fortified with Trenches where the ſituation would allow it: On the Front, the Bank it ſelf, ſomewhat diſtant from the River, gave the entrance, which without was cut in two by two Ravelins, and better guarded within by two peeces of Artillery. In this ſo ſtrong place, he either did not expect, or did not fear the Duke: Who deſirous to try all wayes to fight, and defeat him, reſolved to goe to him. He ſent ſome Horſe before under his natural ſon *Fernando*, who had the charge of the Horſe, and made the houſes and bridges ſtill as he marched be taken, to ſecure his retreat upon all occaſions. From hence he advanced *Sancio d' Avila* with 50 Horſe and 500 Harquebuſiers, all of them *Spaniards*; and ſent the two Camp-maſters *Romero* and *Londonio* after him, with each of them 600 Spaniſh Foot, part Harquebuſiers, part Muſquetiers, and with two Companies of Lances, commanded by *Ceſar d' Avalos*, and *Curtio Martinengo*. The reſt of the Army marcht in this order: The *Spaniards* were the Van; the *High-Dutch* followed next; and the *Walloons* brought up the Reer, incloſed by ſome Troops of Horſe: the Files were very ſtrait, for they could not march well but upon the bank. At *Avala* his firſt advancement, he found ſome of the Enemy, who had opened the Sluces to overflow the Country, and ſaw that the water entred already in abundance: But putting them to flight ſuddenly, he made the Sluces be ſhut, and kept as they ought to be. The Duke himſelf advanced this mean while, together with *Vitelli*, *Norchernes*, and ſome few others, who came in ſight of the Enemies quarters. He underſtood by the Spies that they were in ſome diſorder, as well for that they ſaw his Army ſo neer, as that *Lodovicks* men were almoſt all of them tumultuous, and ſo ill paid, as ſome uprore was already feared in the Camp. The firſt *Spaniards* had this mean while drawn the Enemy forth to skirmiſh; who not thinking that the body of the Army was ſo neer, thought they might eaſily break the forerunners. There was no long delay made: Two great Squadrons of Foot (for as much as the narrowneſs of the place could permit) vigorouſly aſſaulted the *Spaniards*, by whom they were no leſs vigorouſly withſtood. The Dukes Van this mean while advanced; and look how much courage this added to the Catholicks, ſo much did it leſſen in the Hereticks. They then would have retreated; but being hotly purſued by the *Spaniards*, they began baſely to run away; and the *Spaniards* followed them ſo cloſe at the heels, as they fell in with them at the ſame inſtant into their quarters: where the Dukes men ſhewed no leſs valour, nor the Enemy any more reſiſtance; who being ſtill more imbaſed, and thinking only how to ſave themſelves, fell every where into diſorder and confuſion. The reſt was not to be termed fighting, but execution: The *Spaniards*, more greedy of blood then booty, by reaſon of the ſlaughter which the others had committed the preceding battel, put as many of the Enemy as they could unto the ſword; but there were almoſt as many drowned as ſlain: for ſeeing they could not eſcape the fury of the ſword, they blindly threw themſelves into the River, which was very large and deep in that place. It was ſaid that *Lodovick* ſwom it over with much adoe, and that 7000 of his men periſht; the reſt ran away ſome here, ſome there, in ſo great terror, as there hardly was left any remainder of that Army. Few of the Dukes men were ſlain: And the Battel was ſuch, as certainly few will be the like, wherein the vanquiſhed were more indamaged, and the vanquiſhers leſs.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK V.

The Contents.

Orange *enters* Flanders *with great Forces raiſed in* Germany. *The Duke of* Alva *goes to meet him. They lie many dayes in the face of one another.* Orange *at laſt gives way, and muſt quit the Country. The Duke returns triumphant to* Bruſſels. *His neceſſity in matter of monies, occaſioned by a great repriſal made thereof in* England. *He therefore reſolves to impoſe unuſual grievances. Commotions which inſue thereupon. A general Pardon proclaimed by him. The Arch-Dutcheſs* Anne *of* Auſtria *paſſeth through* Flanders, *to marry with the Catholique King. The* Flemiſh *are ſcandalized at a Statue of the Dukes which was ſet up in the Citadel at* Antwerp. *The Caſtle of* Loveſtein *is ſurpriſed by* Orange *his followers, but is ſuddenly recovered by the* Spaniard. Lumay *more luckily takes the* Bril. *A particular Deſcription of* Holland *and* Zealand. *The troubles of* Zealand. Sancio d Avila *goes to the ſuccour of* Middleburgh. Valentiennes *fals into the* Hugonots *hands, who not long after are made to quit it. By their aſſiſtance* Lodovick *ſtealls into the City of* Mons, *and prepares to maintain the ſiege.*

THE Duke of *Alva*, after having obtained ſo notable a victory, return'd to *Groninghen*, and ſtaid there ſome dayes, the better to ſecure it from any new danger. He therefore munited it according as was requiſite: And becauſe he feared danger more from within, then from without, he left a Citadel begun to be built there, according as he intended at firſt, the better to bridle the Inhabitants. From thence he paſt to *Utrecht*, whoſe Province is as it were incorporated in *Holland*. He thought to have ſtayed there ſome time, the better to ſecure the affairs of *Holland*: But the news which he heard from divers parts of *Orange* his approach, or preparation ſo to do, made him go from thence much ſooner then he had intended. From thence he went to *Balduke*, giving at the ſame time ſuch order as was requiſite for the gathering together of the Army, and the reinforcing it with Foot and Horſe. To this end he fill'd up the *German* and *Walloon* Regiments, and added another Regiment *Anno* 1568.

ment of *Walloons* under *Chriſtophero Mandragone*, a *Spaniard*; and commanded that the Train-Bands of *Flanders*, which came to about 20000 Horſe, ſhould be in a readineſs. This ſort of *Militia*, diſtinguiſhed into Companies of Curaſiers and Harquebuſiers, under the chief Lords of the Country, was of great eſteem in time paſt; but afterward it leſſened much in reputation. When there is need to make uſe thereof, the charge is given apart to ſome one chief Lord of the Country, who knows no other Superior then the Generaliſſimo of the Army. Whilſt the Duke was preparing in this manner, the Prince of *Orange* uſed no leſs diligence in gathering together great Forces to enter *Flanders* with them, where it might be more for his advantage. He had received very conſiderable helps, but more in men then mony, from the aforeſaid Princes and Free-Towns of *Germany*: To boot with the German ſouldiers, he and his adherents had aſſembled together a good number of thoſe *Flemiſh* and *Walloons* who had left the Country, and ſome *French*. He was upon the banks of the *Rhine* with all theſe people, part whereof were taken into pay, and part were a taking in, intending to paſs the River, and then to thruſt into *Ghelderland* or *Brabant*, as it hath been ſaid, and fix himſelf in the beſt parts of the Country. He was not to expect any obſtacle in his paſſing over the *Rhine*, not wanting means to doe ſo in many of his friends territories in *Germany*. His greateſt difficulty lay in paſſing over the *Mauſe*, which did wholly appertain unto the King of *Spain*; except the State of *Liege*, which was alſo wholly a Catholick Country, and almoſt incorporated into the Kings Dominions. But he hoped to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome important place upon that ſhore, which might ſecure his paſſage, both for his entrance, if he ſhould advance, and for a ſafe retreat, if he were neceſſitated to turn back. *Orange* having thus muſtered his whole Army together, he paſt freely over the *Rhine* above *Colen*, about the end of *Auguſt*; and then over the *Moſel* at *Trevers*: And winding to the right hand, he advanced towards the Country of *Juliers*, confining upon the Kings Provinces of *Ghelderland* and *Limburg*, and upon the State of *Liege*. The common report was, that his Camp conſiſted of 20000 Foot and 9000 Horſe, all of them *Germans*, except the aforeſaid *Flemiſh*, *Walloons*, and *French*. With *Orange* was his Brother *Lodovick*, Count *Hoſtrat*, and Monſieur *de Lumay*, and ſome other *Flemiſh* of good quality, together with many German Commanders of great conſideration. The Army was well enough furniſht with Artillery and ammunition for war, but had not ſo much mony nor victuals as was needfull. This being underſtood, the Duke of *Alva* reſolved to make his Rendezvous at *Maſtrick*, the moſt commodious place upon the *Mauſe*, that he might oppoſe *Orange* where it ſhould be moſt convenient. There were come unto the Duke from *Spain* at this time 400000 Crowns, and 2000 Spaniſh Foot, which (being all of them new Souldiers) he placed in the Garriſons, and drew out from thence the old ones. His eldeſt ſon *Frederick* came likewiſe then to *Flanders*, to whom he gave the command of all the Foot. The Rendezvous being appointed, the Kings Army was found to conſiſt of 16000 choiſe Foot, to wit, 6000 *Spaniards*, the reſt all *Germans* and *Walloons*; and of 6000 Horſe, ſome whereof were *Spaniſh*, ſome *Italian*, ſome *Germans*, ſome *Burgonians*, and ſome *Walloons*, and thoſe Train-Bands of *Flanders*, which were commanded by *Carlo Philippo de Croy* Marquis of *Haure*. The Duke removed the Camp afterwards from *Maſtrick* to *Haren*, a great Village not far from thence, and ſeated likewiſe upon the *Mauſe*. And here he made a Bridg of Boats that he might have free paſſage over it at all hours, and receive victuals the better from all thoſe parts. This place was almoſt in the midſt between *Liege* and *Ruremonde*, upon which two Cities *Orange* his deſigne was likelieſt to be. *Ruremonde* is in *Ghelderland*, as hath been ſaid: It ſtands upon a little River called *Ruer*, juſt where it fals into the *Mauſe*. 'Tis rather a place of great circuit, then much people; but the ſituation thereof is of importance, by reaſon of both thoſe Rivers. *Liege* lies upon the ſame River a little higher. The *Mauſe* hath not a City upon it of larger circuit, nor better peopled: 'Tis divided by the River, but joyned together again by divers Bridges. The Biſhop governs the Inhabitants there as well in temporal as in ſpiritual affairs, being alſo Prince thereof; though the City enjoy ſuch ample priviledges, as the form of Government therein partakes more of a Common-

wealth

wealth, then of a Principality. 'Tis one of the moſt Catholick Cities of all the North, fulleſt of Eccleſiaſtical goods; and moſt devoted to the Apoſtolical See: *Orange* deſired to try *Liege* firſt: he wrote to the Magiſtracy, omitting to write to *Gerardo Groſbeth*, who was then Biſhop of the City, and a perſonage of great worth; thinking that he adhered too much to the Kings and the Catholick cauſe. But the ſame mind and zeal appeared to be in the Magiſtracy: for they determinately anſwered, That the City would not receive in any foreign ſoldiers, and that they had men enough of their own to defend themſelves againſt any violence that ſhould be offered them.

This practiſing of *Orange* with the *Ligeois*, and his marching with his Army towards that City, made the Duke reſolve likewiſe to draw near it with his. But *Orange* his deſigne upon *Liege* proving vain, he without trying *Ruremond*, turned ſuddenly elſewhere, with intention to paſs the *Mauſe* where he might beſt foard over it. The river happened to be very low that year; for the climat of *Flanders*, which even in Summer is very rainy and moyſt, was of ſome late months more drie then uſual. Having found the moſt commodious foard, and making uſe of the night ſeaſon, *Orange* in great ſilence paſt his Army over the river, juſt againſt *Stocchem*, in the State of *Liege*. Which when the Duke heard, he forthwith went thither alſo, and drew near *Orange* with his Army. Their deſignes were notwithſtanding very different. *Orange* would have fought at the very firſt; for finding himſelf much ſtreigthned in mony and victuals, and with men who he was rather to obey then command, he thought he could not long maintain his Army. And nothing being done as yet in *Flanders* in favour to him, he knew that if he ſhould not have ſome favourable ſucceſs by way of battel, the Countrie would hardly riſe, having ſo powerfull an Army as was that of the Duke of *Alva's* within its bowels. The Duke out of the very ſame reaſons ſhun'd giving of battel. He ſaw that *Orange* in loſing a battel, could loſe nothing but his Army; whereas he together with the loſs of his Army, ſhould hazard the loſs of all *Flanders*. Reſolving therefore rather to coaſt along by his enemy then to fight him, and to vex him ſo with ſufferings, as at laſt he ſhould disband of himſelf, he only kept near him.

And becauſe it was already evidently ſeen that *Orange* his intention was to enter into *Brabant*, the Duke provided the places of greateſt danger with all things needfull; which were *Tilemon*, *Lovayne*, and *Bruſſels*; and had an eye alſo to all other parts where there was any cauſe of ſuſpition. The two Camps being thus quartered, *Orange* moved towards *Tongueren*, a great Town in the State of *Liege*, intending to poſſeſs himſelf of it, and there to get victuals for his men. But the Duke did ſo ſecure it, as *Orange* durſt never aſſault it. *Getringberg*, a very good Town in the ſame Countrie, was more eaſily perſwaded to let him have victuals, and to receive his ſoldiers into the Town. Which it ſoon repented, by reaſon of the inſolencies which they committed, particularly againſt the Churches and ſacred things. Departing ſuddenly from thence, for that it was not tenable. He quartered upon the confines of *Brabant*: hoping that when his Colours ſhould be ſeen ſo nigh at hand, the malecontents within the Countrie would likewiſe diſplay theirs. But the Duke flanking ſtill upon him, and ſtreightning him now on one ſide, now on another, did not afford him one minutes reſt. *Chiapino Vitelli* had the particular care of the quarters; which he was very diligent in taking and muniting. To which purpoſe he had a great many pyoneers in the Army, and upon occaſion he would make the very ſoldiers work within the Trenches. In theſe the Camps approachings one unto the other, in their quartering and diſquartering, and particularly upon occaſion of forrage, there happened almoſt continually ſome skirmiſhes between the ſoldiers of the two Armies. Nor was there any conſiderable advantage got on either ſide for many days. But at laſt one action proved very bloudie. *Brabant* is watered by many ſmall rivolets which fall almoſt all of them into the Demer, which inlarged by their acceſſions, doth at laſt diſgorge it ſelf into the Scheld: Amongſt other, the Geet runs into it. *Orange* being advanced into *Brabant*, he could not paſs this river ſo ſpeedily and with ſuch caution, before that a good part of his Reer ere it could re-joyn with the reſt was in danger to be aſſailed upon great advantage by the Dukes ſoldiers,

who did not lose that oportunity: The Camp-Masters, *Romero*, *Bracamonte* and *Bigli* advancing with their Spaniards and Walloons, gave violently upon the enemy (who seeing the danger, had tumultuously fortified themselves in a Village upon the river side) and without much gainsaying, quickly put them to the rout. Many of them were drowned in the river, many slain, and many taken prisoners. Amongst others *Hostrat* was wounded, and soon after died of his wounds. This action put a period to all *Orange* his hopes of seeing the Countrie rise, and to the like of the Flemish malecontents of ever exciting any. He was the more troubled at this success, because his hopes were much increased at this time by advertisements that he had received of great succours sent from the French Hugonots, which were at hand. They were led on by Monsieur *Genlis*, and sent by the Prince of *Conde*, out of the abovesaid ends which the Hugonots had to foment the neighbouring revolutions of *Flanders*, that they might the better establish their own in *France*. *Orange* thinking now on nothing else but how to put himself into some safe condition, left *Brabant*, and went into the Contiguous Provinces of *Namures* and *Hennault* to meet the French succour (which he did) and so make his retreat the surer. *Genlis* had about some 4000 foot with him, and 1500 horse. *Orange* was somewhat inheartned by the coming of these men, for many of his own men were missing, and many ran away every day: and the rest being ill disciplined, and worse paid, and threatning continually to mutiny, he thought to return back the same way to *Germany*: But finding the *Mause* at that time very high, and greater opposition then before in the *Legeois*, he turned again into the Province of *Hennault*. From thence he continued his retreat towards *France*; and having in vain tryed the Castle of *Cambray* before he quitted *Flanders*, being still close pursued by the Duke of *Alva*, he at last went out of *Flanders*, and staid near St. *Quintains*, at the entrance into *Picardy*. Here, according to the diversity of designes, he divided his men, and those of *France* into several parts. The High-Dutch, quite spent by hunger and hardships, returned to *Germany*. *Orange* staid a while in *France*, to renew the former practises with the chief Hugonots; and his brother *Lodovick* tarryed there afterwards for the same end, till their second coming from *Germany* and *France* against the Duke of *Alva*: as shall be said in its due place.

The Duke having gotten so important a Victury without the loss of almost any one of his Army, or rising of any place: he distributed his soldiers into their several quarters, and about the end of the year returned as in triumph into *Brussels*. And for that it appeared he had merited no less for his service done to Religion then to the King, Pope *Pius Quintus* sent him soon after the Helmet and Trunchion which are presented only to great Princes, and particularly to such who by some famous action have deserved well of the Church. This mean while these prosperous proceedings of the Spanish forces in *Flanders*, were looked upon with a clean contrary eye by the Queen of *England*. She had hitherto assisted the troubles in those parts rather in secret then barefaced; but when she saw that those of *Nassaw* were driven out, and that the King of *Spains* forces were now more potent there then ever, she returning to her former fear of having them so near at hand, resolved to let slip no occasion whereby she might more openly prejudice the Kings affairs in those parts. There were two of her privy Councel who then bore great sway with her. The one was *Robert Dudly* Earl of *Lester*, a Gentleman of Noble descent and great imployment. And the other, *William Cecil* her Secretary of State, who being but of mean bloud, though of great wisdom, passing through divers Court-Offices, to the managing of State-affairs, had drawn almost the whole Government of the Kingdom upon him. Both these had chiefly perswaded the Queen still to establish the heresie of *England*, and consequently to indamage the Catholick Church, and the King of *Spain* as much as she could, for those respects which have been formerly spoken of. She persecuted the Church cruelly in her Kingdom. And watching for an opportunity whereby she might still more incommodate the Kings affairs in *Flanders*, it was not long ere she met with one of very great consequence: which was this, The King by means of divers *Genua* Merchants had raised a great sum of money for the affairs of *Flanders*; whereof 400 thousand crowns were sent by

sea

Robert L.d Dudley Earle of Leicester
Baron of Denbigh K.t of y.e Order of S.t George
& S.t Michal & Governour of y.e United Provinces.
66

ſea to *Antwerp*; the ſhips which brought this money met with ſome Pyrats: ſo as to ſave themſelves they were forced to fall in upon *England*. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador who was then with the Queen, hearing of this, apply'd himſelf preſently to the Queen, that the money might be freely carried to *Antwerp*; and received anſwer from her ſutable to his deſire. But ſhe being reſolved within her ſelf, and councelled thereunto by *Leſter* and *Cecil*, to detain the money, ſo as at one and the ſame time ſhe might accommodate her ſelf, and diſaccommodate the King of *Spain*, let the Ambaſſador know, that being informed that thoſe monies were not really the King of *Spains*, but that they belonged to ſome *Italian* Merchants, ſhe had reſolved to make uſe thereof her ſelf, allowing them juſt conſideration. The Ambaſſador laboured to make it appear that the money belonged unto the King, and ſent by his direction to *Flanders*: and to ſtrengthen this the more, he made the Duke of *Alva* write to her about it. But ſhe feigning one difficulty after another, gave ſuch delatory anſwers, as it was plainly ſeen ſhe had no mind the money ſhould goe into *Flanders*. The Duke ſtormed mightily hereat, and preſently diſpatched away *Aſſonville* to *London* about it, who with much earneſtneſs renewed what the Ambaſſador had formerly preſt for. But look how much the Duke made his need of the monies appear the greater by his ſo earneſt deſiring them, ſo much the more did the Queen by the interpoſal of new and ſubtill Impediments on her behalf, deny them.

He being thus deluded in his Negotiation, and being by nature inclined rather to overcome then to ſweeten difficulties, reſolved at laſt to ſee if he could bring the *Engliſh* over to his will, or no, by repriſals. He therefore firſt made the goods, and the perſons of ſuch Merchants of that Nation be detained, who did in great numbers traffick in the *Low-Countries*; and made it be known unto the Queen, that the like ſhould be done in all the King of *Spain's* other Dominions, unleſs the monies of *Spain* were ſet at liberty which were ſo unjuſtly detained in *England*. The Queen was not inwardly diſpleaſed hereat: but growing the bolder by ſuch a pretence to make good the mony-buſineſs, ſhe began to pretend ſatisfaction, inſtead of giving it; and complained bitterly of the Duke of *Alva* to the King himſelf. To her complaints ſhe added reſentment on her behalf; ſhe commanded that the ſame repriſals ſhould be made in *England* againſt the King of *Spains* ſubjects: And appearing much incenſt againſt the Duke of *Alva's* perſon, ſhe publikely threatned to indammage him as much as ſhe could in his affairs of *Flanders*. Both ſides being thus incenſed, divers means of mitigation were uſed. But this made nothing at all for the Duke of *Alva's* preſent neceſſity: who finding himſelf much in arrears to the Army, and at great charges with the Citadels which he had begun to build, particularly with that of *Antwerp*, which he would ſuddenly ſee finiſhed; could not bear with the malitious delayes made by the *Engliſh*. Moved therefore by ſo urgent neceſſity, and conſidering what new troubles might befall him by *Orange* his plots and machinations which he was framing both within *Flanders* and without it, he reſolved to have recourſe for aid to the *Flemiſh* themſelves by laying new Impoſitions upon the Country: his deſign was to raiſe ſo much mony as might ſuffice for the preſent neceſſity, and to eſtabliſh a ſetled Treaſury for the future, ſo as the grievances ſhould not be every day to be renewed, and therewithall the danger of incenſing the Provinces with odious demands, as doubtleſly thoſe would be which ſhould be made in ſo abhorr'd a buſineſs. The Duke thought therefore to lay on ſo great impoſitions at once, as might ſuffice to carry through his whole buſineſs. And the way was this: That a true value being made of all moveable and immoveable goods, for once only but one of a hundred ſhould be paid; but that upon every contract, the twentieth part of the immoveables ſhould be paid and the tenth of the moveables; and that theſe two laſt payments ſhould laſt as long as the publike neceſſities ſhould require This being reſolved upon, the Duke call'd together the States General of all the Provinces to meet at *Bruſſels*, to acquaint them with the Kings mind in this buſineſs, and to get their conſent. He firſt repreſented unto the Deputies what great neceſſity the King had of monies at that time. He ſaid,

That to boot with the great expences of the Armies late march, the Queen of

England *out of malitious prevenoes, and which argued more malicious machinations in her; had detained* 400000 *Crowns which were sent from* Spain *to* Flanders. *That howsoever, the Souldier must be satisfied, which had long wanted their due pay. That from the vigilancy of the Kings enemies, in procuring by all means how to beat down his authority, and to raise tumults amongst his people, the necessity of those remedies might appear, which were to be opposed to so many perverse intelligences and conspiracies. That without doubt the best lay in building of Citadels, and in maintaining of Garrisons in fitting places, upon which the peace and safety of the Country did depend; and that all whatsoever monies ought to be held well laid out to that purpose. He wisht them to remember what the obligation of every good Subject was towards their Prince; how great the Kings affection was towards those Provinces; and how behovefull it was, that in such and so urgent need, the Kings desires should be by them willingly received, and readily executed.*

He afterwards propounded the demand in manner aboveſaid. It would be hard to ſay how much troubled, and how full of confuſion the Deputies of the Provinces were at the hearing of it: *Flanders* had never formerly been wont to ſuffer the grievances of taxes and impoſitions, as is uſed in *Spain*, *Italy*, and other places. The antient cuſtom was, for the Prince to deſire ſuch aſſiſtance from the people in his neceſſities, as was thought needfull; and the often denying thereof ſhewed that the granting it lay in the peoples free will: When they were reſolved to grant any, every Province impoſed upon it ſelf ſuch a proportion as was fit for that purpoſe. Theſe contributions were demanded by the Prince, and granted by the people, but for a certain preſixt time; and as oft as the one was neceſſitated to make new deſires, as oft was the other to renew again their conſents. So as this unaccuſtomed faſhion propounded by the Duke, of taxing the Country ſo integrally, for an unlimited time, and in a manner not preſcribed by the Provinces, but by himſelf, did ſtrangely move mens minds; eſpecially at this time, when humours were ſtirred every where. The Deputies took time to give their anſwer, and in the mean while acquainted their ſeveral Provinces with the whole affair. Who when they heard thereof, the people ſtrove who ſhould moſt ſtorm: Nothing but complaints, lamenting, and execrations were heard againſt thoſe who had counſelled it, and againſt the Governour who had made it.

That the miſeries of Flanders *did infinitely increaſe. Was it not ſufficient to introduce forein Armies by violence; to violate her liberties by Gariſons, and ſtrong Holds; and to unpeople Cities by baniſhments, impriſonment and death; but that the people whoſe contributions were formerly voluntary and moderate, muſt now be compel'd to ſubmit themſelves to immenſe and everlaſting tributes? That the Flemiſh did not only not deſire, but did wholly deteſt the bringing in of theſe forces, and theſe unaccuſtomed yokes. And yet how faithfull had the Countrie apeared, when the Houſe of* Naſſaw *was in arms? and how ready was it by its own proper forces to ſtrengthen the Kings Army? That the enemies forces being driven out, the Kings were now become the greater enemies. And as if the war had been begun by the Flemiſh, 'tis they that muſt now bear the burthen thereof. That* Flanders *was aſtoniſhed at the very name of Tribute. How much more would ſhe be ſo to feel the effects thereof? Hence it was that the concourſe of foreiners grew leſs, and therewithall the Traffick of the Provinces. That Merchandizing ceaſing, by which the people did chiefly ſuſtain themſelves, what was to be expected but to ſee them fall into the greateſt miſery and calamity that might be? Where was the former moderate Government of their preceding rather Fathers then Princes? where the Emperours reſcent goodneſs? that in lieu thereof, the King deriving his bloud from* Spain, *and his opinions yet more, and imitating the Spaniards yet more particularly in his afflicting* Flanders, *ſeemed as if his only end were to take from her all ſhews of Liberty, and reduce her to the miſerableſt condition of ſlavery. That to this purpoſe he had made choice of the moſt Imperious and cruel Duke* Alva, *for his Agent: who was come to ruine, not to govern the Low-Countries. But the Flemiſh had already tollerated too much: 'twas now time to turn their patience into generoſity; and retaining as well the worth of the antient* Belgiques, *as their deſcent from them, they ought for the future to be as forward in withſtanding vyolence, as they had been formerly in tolerating it.*

The Dukes ears were fill'd with theſe complaints from all parts, much agitated therefore

therefore between his desire of promoting what he had propounded, and the difficulties he found of so doing, he treated very fervently thereof with the Councel of State, to find out some means whereby he might overcome the difficulties which therein were met withall. The Councel differed likewise in their opinions: there were not wanting some who incouraged the Duke to proceed, and who fed him with hopes of good success. They proposed to begin with that which was likelyest to succeed, to wit, with that of the hundreth penny. That this more easie entrance being made, the Provinces would be the easilyer induced afterwards to give way to the harder Impositions of the tenth and twentieth penny. That some of the Provinces should be first dealt withall herein, as were thought were most inclinable to the Proposition. That the example of one, would conduce much to the rest. And where example would not serve, let Authority at last supply the place? But the greater part of the Councel were of a contrary opinion; and the President *Viglio* appeared more openly against it then al the rest: a State Minister who was esteemed of incorrupted Loyalty to the King and of experienced wisdom in the affairs of *Flanders*. He shewed how that too great difficulties would be met with even in the exaction of the hundreth penny, alleadging the example of what had insued some years before upon the desire of the like subsidie. He shewed how much the times were since then impaired: how averse the Countrie did now appear to ordinary Contributions: and how the minds of all men were agitated for what had happened. That howsoever he did not think this kind of Imposition altogether infeisable, since it would not be very grievous, and but for once. But as for the other upon goods moveable and unmoveable, he thought that Imposition altogether uneffectable; those oppositions not being to be overcome which would assuredly be made by whole *Flanders*; as well for being grievances never before experienced, and laid on for an unlimited time, as that also without all peradventure, the overthrow of all Traffick and Commerce would thereupon insue.

'For, (said he) will not all the concourse of foreign Merchants cease, when they 'see they cannot freely buy and sell Merchandise according as they had wont? 'What is it that doth not often turn from one to another species, when it hath 'left its former homely and simple nature? who will not abhor so oft a repeated 'grievance? the price of other Merchandise increasing, the like will certainly in'sue in what concerns victuals. How will the poorer sort of people be there'withall grieved? and how much will the very ablest be displeased? there will 'be no remedy found for so great an evill, but for no foreigners to Traffick in 'these Provinces, and immediately to take away those of our own, who are of the 'same profession. Thus the Countrie will be impoverisht both in men and mo'nies. By which, how much will the King himself suffer? so as instead of recei'ving unwonted Impositions, such as are usual will peradventure not be had here'after. Nor can it be doubted but that the contradictory example which will be 'seen in almost all the whole Countrie, will be of greater prevalence then the 'ascent, and that uncertain, which may perchance be found in some one Province. 'Our neighbour-Nations will likewise much complain of this noveltie, with 'which ours hath expres Covenants of free Trade. But the mischief will at last 'fall wholly upon us; and in the first place upon the King. For in fine, Princes 'are rich according as their Subjects are so. And look what of commodity is got 'from them in time of peace, much more is reaped in time of war. In my opini'on, then that advantage ought to be past by, which brings with it a greater evil. 'And all means ought rather to be indeavoured, whereby to appease mens minds, 'then to afford them new occasions of exasperation. Otherwise I foresee (and I 'wish I may prove a false Prophet) that the losses which we shall receive at home, 'will prove much greater then the victories which we have lately obtained a'broad advantagious.

These reasons alleadged by *Viglio*, were undoubtedly of great wheight. But they did not though divert the Duke of *Alva* from his indeavours; who being accustomed to overcome Military difficulties, thought he might much more easily do the like in Civil affairs. So as continuing in his former fervency, he ceased not to interpose sometimes prayers, sometime power, and very oft threats to

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arrive at the end which he had propoſed unto himſelf. He particularly indeavoured to compaſs thoſe means in every Province, which might the eaſilyer diſpoſe them to allow of the aforeſaid Impoſitions. The Walloon Provinces were the moſt Catholick, and of leaſt Traffick. It was ſo handled, as theſe aſſented preſently to the hundred penny; and by their example, though not without much difficulty, the reſt were induced to do the like. The Duke, to make himſelf appear the more gracious at the ſame time to the people, cauſed ſevere juſtice to be executed upon one *John Speelt*, a Fleming who had had a great ſhare in all the moſt odious criminal affairs. This man was therefore very much abhor'd by all the Country, not only for what he had done, but for the manner of doing it, with all ſort of cruelty and corruption. When he was condemned to die, the Duke would have him hung up in the publick market-place at *Bruſſels*. And two others whom he had uſed moſt in his negotiations were baniſhed. To this Act of Juſtice, the Duke added a much greater of Clemency. He had lying by him a general pardon from the Pope, and another from the King which bore with them abolition for the miſdeeds committed in *Flanders* againſt the Eccleſiaſtical and Regal Authority; of both which he had liberty to make uſe accordingly as he (being upon the place) ſhould think fit. The Popes diſpenſation was to this purpoſe obtained in *Spain*, and the King had likewiſe ſent his: but in each of them ſuch high defaults were excepted, wherein Divine and Humane Majeſty were moſt offended: and the King reſerved unto himſelf the free power to make good or abrogate thoſe priviledges which had ſerved for a pretence to the late riſings. The Duke going to *Antwerp*, which by reaſon of Traffick was a City then very much frequented by forreigners, he made a ſtately Throne be erected in the chief *Piazza*, upon the top of which was placed a Chair of State, whereon he himſelf being ſate, and invironed round about with great pomp, he made both theſe pardons be proclaimed. All the people ran to hear this, and the news thereof was ſuddenly divulged throughout all the Provinces. And the Duke at the ſame time indeavoured to reconcile himſelf unto them, by reducing the ſoldiers to a leſſer number, by ordering their quarters better, and by putting divers things in better order, for the better ſatisfaction of the people: But in fine, it proved too true, that let a man do well or ill, all actions are abhor'd which proceed from a hateful Government. And juſt ſo it fell out then: The Flemiſh ſeemed little ſatisfied with all that the Duke had done; nay many of them gave a ſiniſter interpretation to both the Indulgencies: as if there were too much ſcope left by the ſo many exceptions, both to puniſh paſt faults, and cauſe new ones to be committed. And that clauſe did in particular diſpleaſe very much, wherein the Kings intention of aſſuming unto himſelf a power of anulling all priviledges for the late riſings was ſo clearly ſeen. There wanted not thoſe in *Flanders*, and elſewhere who fomented theſe evil ſuggeſtions. And becauſe the gathering of the hundreth penny was already begun, and that great difficulties were met withall therein, many of the ill-affected Flemiſh, and Kings back-friends in the neighbouring parts, indeavoured ſtill to alienate the people more and more. This alienation, by reaſon of the aboveſaid grievance, appeared particularly in *Holland* and *Zealand* to be greateſt, as alſo in all that Maritine Coaſt. And as for the other of the tenth and twentieth penny, 'twas plainly ſeen that none of the other Provinces would ever be brought unto it: But becauſe Traffick was much greateſt in the Maritine parts by reaſon of the commodity of Navigation, which made them be more frequented by forreiners, and chiefly by Engliſh Merchants, and by thoſe of the neighbouring Hans-Towns, Cities of *Germany*, all of them infected with hereſie: Therefore a greater backwardneſs was ſeen for the preſent in the aforeſaid Provinces, and a greater preparation for the like in the future. This mean while the Dukes neceſſity of monies increaſed. Much pay was due to the ſoldier. The new Citadels proved to be a very great expence; and nothing near ſo much mony could be come by from *Spain* as was requiſite. *Lodrone's* Regiment of High-Dutch did juſt at this time mutiny for want of pay. And though the ring-leaders of the mutiny were ſeverely puniſhed, and that the contagion brake no farther forth in the Army, yet the danger was great, as was alſo the Dukes fear. Whilſt things paſt thus in *Flanders*, the Archdutcheſs *Anne*, daughter to the

the Emperour *Maximilian* was gone from *Germany* towards *Spain* to matry with the Catholick King. She came by *Flanders*, that so she might imbarque in *Zealand*, and goe the sooner to *Spain*. The Duke of *Alva* went therefore to receive her upon the confines, and waited upon her till he saw her under sail; who soon after arrived happily in *Spain*. With her were the two Archdukes her brothers, *Albertus*, and *Vincelaus*. The latter whereof dyed afterwards in *Spain*, and the other tarried long there. This is that *Albertus* who devoting himself first to Ecclesiastical life, was made Cardinal, and was afterwards sent to govern the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and lastly the Low-Countries; wherein returning to a secular profession, and having married the Infanta *Isabella*, eldest daughter to the King, and had those Countries in portion with her; of Governour, became afterwards Prince of them, and joyntly with his wife governed them many years. Princes both of them, of such religion and piety, and indow'd with all other such eminent vertues, as this our History will have fil'd room enough to illustrate it self in their times, if it shall please God that it shall arive thereat, and that their memory may thereby be rendred as famous to posterity, as the knowledg of them hath been in this our age.

The Duke of *Alva* made use of the new Brides going into *Spain*, to obtain leave of the King that he might quit the Government of *Flanders*. To the which the King giving way, the Duke of *Medina-Celi*, was destin'd to succeed him, who at that time was Viceroy of *Cicily*. But whatever the occasion was, it was not for the present so done; the King thought, it may be, that the danger of new troubles in *Flanders* was not so far ceased, as that it was fit to remove the Duke of *Alva* from thence: who peradventure foreseeing them, desired that the tempest might fall upon a new successor. Being then returned to *Brussels*, after he had attended the new Queen to the sea-side, he betook himself wholly to the busines of the new Impositions. And because greater difficulties and obstacles were every day found in that of the tenth and twentieth penny, he indevoured that in lieu thereof the Provinces should pay at one intire payment, 6 million of Crowns, which he afterwards reduced to four. But this appearing still to be too excessive a sum, no favourable resolution could be had therein. The Provinces were rather inclined to build the intended Citadels at their own cost; and this was propounded; but the Duke would in no ways listen thereunto; holding that it neither stood with dignity nor safety, to suffer that the Flemish in so important a business should chuse rather then obey. 'Twas said, that to sweeten the Duke, both in his intercessions to the King, and in his own rigour towards the Countrie, the Provinces offered to give him a donative of a hundred thousand crowns in Gold: and that he with no less wisdom then generosity, refused it; as well not to render his Authority undervalued in *Flanders*, as not to afford colour for such calumnies, as his enemies might plot against him in *Spain*. He at this time did one thing which did exceedingly exasperate the Flemish, and increased their hatred more against him. The Citadel of *Antwerp* was already made defensable, and the Duke caused all possible haste that could be, be made to perfect it. He gloried to leave such a memory of him behind him in the Low-Countries; thinking that by such a curb he had mainly secured their obedience to the King. But desirous that together with this image of his mind, another of his body might likewise remain there, he made his Effigies be set up in the Citadel in a Statue of Brass. The Statue was all in Armour, save the head, and 'twas made by *Jongeling*, a German, one of the famousest workmen that was then in all *Europe*. At the feet thereof was a monstrous Figure of brass also, which had two heads, and six arms, and other misterious signes in other parts which did clearly denote the past successes of the Covenant, Petitions and Revolts. This great piece of workmanship was sustained by a great Pillar of Marble with four faces. In that which looked towards the City, were ingraven some single Letters with a full point to each of them, without any other expression of words therein contained: but the sence thereof, as it was commonly interpreted, was in praise of the Duke of *Alva*, for having preserved obedience to the Church and King in the Low-Countries, and restored Justice and quiet unto the Provinces. In the two side faces, some misterious significations were expresst in Sculpture, in praise likewise

wise of his Government: and in that behind was the Sculptures name. The Flemish seemed deeply concern'd in this action: and great complaints were made thereof every where, as if the Duke would be publickly seen in this his Statue, upon their necks; and as if not content to have reduced them already to this slavery, he would boast of his Trophies, in this to them so ignominious a fashion. Innovations were not long in insuing. In the late indeavours which those of *Nassaw* had made to enter with their forces into *Flanders*, they had experienced how hard a matter it was to get any footing there, having no place upon the Confines which would receive them, and more particularly upon the River, and because the greatest hopes of new commotions lay yet in *Germany*, therefore *Orange* his adherents, spying out the conjuncture of time, resolved to indeavour the taking of some opportune place upon the *Mause* on that side. In this river, after it hath changed its name to *Wahell*, in one of its branches is contained the Island of *Bomele*, of large circuit. The situation of this Island could not be of more importance, in respect also of its nearness to the *Rhine*. And not far from thence was *Balduke*, upon the utmost confines of *Brabant*, which is one of the most populous Cities of that Province, and one the best fortified both by Nature and Art, of all *Flanders*. One Captain *Hermanno Reiter* was a native of this City, who depended upon the Prince of *Orange*, and desired to signalize himself by doing him some service. Upon the lower point of the abovesaid Island stands a little Castle called *Lovesteyn*, more considerable for its situation then strength. *Reiter* with some of his companions got in hither by fraud, and brought in some fifty with him. *Roderigo de Tolledo* lay in *Balduke* with some *Spanish* Companies; who by reason of his being so near, was advertised hereof. He therefore presently dispatcht away 200 foot, under Captain *Lorenso Perea*, of the same Nation, that he might indeavour by all means to recover the Castle. The Invaders did not think to be so soon set upon: so as not being able to defend themselves by their own forces, nor having time to expect any from elsewhere, they presently surrendred it to *Perea*, not without some little dispute, wherein *Reiter* was slain. Thus was *Lovesteyn* recovered almost before it was lost. But the Duke was notwithstanding much moved hereat, weighing more the occasion, then the effect of such a designe: for he might fear that other more dangerous and more considerable designes were hatching, as the event soon after shewed. He being still more necessitated in expences, and in monies to defray them; and much incenst to see how hardly the hundreth penny was payed, and more particularly upon the Maritine coast, where no exaction thereof could ever be made; and being yet more angred at the attempt of *Lovesteyn*: he resolved by all means to recover not only the hundreth penny, but the tenth and twentieth too, he made the Kings mind in that affair be publisht, having notwithstanding moderated the Imposition so, as those of the Country were taxed less, and foreigners more, and thus he would have it executed. But the people were no less resolved to the contrary, notwithstanding any moderation which was added. And this repugnancy grew so great, as in some places no more meat was brought to the Markets, nor did the Merchants expose to sale their wonted Merchandise.

Anno 1571. Thus did affairs stand in the end of the year 1570. The other of 71 follows; which will bring with it deplorable memorials for ever to *Flanders*. For then the war broke forth almost every where in her; and so great a fire was afterwards kindled, as could never be extinguisht, but by the truce of twelve years, wherewith it was not quencht, but smothered up, Arms being suddenly afterwards reassumed, and the War continued with more obstinacy on both sides.

We told you before how the Prince of *Orange* and his brother *Lodovick* were got into *Picardy* in *France*, after the Duke of *Alva* had driven them out of *Flanders*; and that *Orange* retiring from thence into *Germany*, had left his brother in *France*. Their Forces were almost quite disbanded, for they wanted necessarie conveniences to maintain them. But the whole strength which *Genlis* brought with him in assistance of those of *Nassaw*, as hath been said, was still intire: Nor were the chief of the *Hugonots* in *France* wanting, in nourishing in themselvs, and in reviving in the *Flemish* runagates, hopes of new revolutions which were to arise in those Provinces: The *Hugonots* promised therefore all assistance

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on their ſides, and ſhewed how it would be eaſie to make themſelves Maſters of ſome good Town in the *Walloon* Provinces, which (as hath been ſaid) lie neareſt *France*. They therefore ſtood expecting all fit opportunities for this purpoſe. *Orange* uſed all the means he could with the Princes his friends, and other his adherents in *Germany*, to prepare new Forces, and facilitate his deſigne of entring *Flanders* again on that ſide. He excuſed his firſt undertaking, and promiſed better ſucceſs in the next; repreſenting how ill-affected the *Flemiſh* were to the *Spaniards*, and how much their hatred was increaſed by reaſon of the grievances which the Duke of *Alva* would lay upon the Countrie. Nor was his indeavours, and thoſe of his aſſociates in *France* ere a whit leſs fervent with the Queen of *England*, ſo as by the opportunity of the Sea, and for other aforeſaid conſiderations, 'twas hoped that eaſier footing might be got in *Holland* and *Zealand*, and eaſilyer maintained. To this end, ſome of the fled-*Flemiſh*, the better to raiſe ſome inſurrection, were got to ſea in men of War: to which they were driven even by deſpair. For their goods being confiſcated, and not knowing how to live but by rapine, they thought they might better do ſo by ſea, then by land. The Lord *Lumay*, Count of *Marcia*, deſcended of Noble bloud, and who neither wanted courage in undertaking, nor induſtry in executing hard enterpriſes, was one of the beſt qualified amongſt them. From this Maritine part, where the danger appeared to be greateſt, the miſchief firſt broke forth, which *Lumay* was in this manner the Author of. Having got together about 25 Veſſels, ſome of them fled-*Flemiſh*, and ſome of them *Engliſh* Pyrates, and fomented in private by the Queen of *England* her ſelf, he ſteered about the end of *March*, towards *Holland*; and unexpectedly, by underhand dealing, got into the Town of *Brill*. In the Weſtern part of *Holland* there lies a little Iſland, made by the *Mauſe*, and by the Sea, on the utmoſt part whereof towards the ſea, ſtands this Town; which by the commodiouſneſs of its Haven, is held one of the chiefeſt Keys of thoſe Maritine parts. *Lumay* had with him about a thouſand ſouldiers, pickt up from ſeveral parts, which were all hereticks, of mean condition, moſt of them fugitives, or ſuch as were driven from *Flanders*, and ſuch in fine, as deſired to raiſe tumults there. Now becauſe from this firſt commotion in *Holland* many others ſuddenly inſued both in that Province and in *Zealand*, ſo as the war was more kindled there then in other places, and many of the moſt memorable accidents happened there: I think it fit, firſt to ſet down here briefly their ſituation, and nature, to the end that deliniating (as I may ſo ſay) the portraiture thereof, the Reader may have the events, as it were before his eyes.

Both theſe Provinces lie on the North and Weſt ſide of *Flanders*. In *Holland*, the *Rhine* and the *Mauſe*, and in *Zealand* the *Scheld*, fall into the Sea, in ſo large Channels, as loſing the condition of Rivers, they ſeem to carry new Seas into the Sea; on the contrary, the Ocean firſt waſhing the ſaid two Provinces for a long tract of ground, and turning then as it were from the ſea into a River, penetrates into each of them by divers Channels, and hides it ſelf there in ſundry Gulfs. From hence joyning with the Rivers, and together with them, cutting *Zealand* thorough in many places, it makes many Iſlands thereof, and reduceth *Holland* into a *Peninſula*. To boot with theſe three forenamed Rivers, which are the chiefeſt of all *Flanders*, there are in *Holland* divers other leſſer ones; and as if Art would contend with Nature; there are thereunto added an infinite number of Channels cut by hand, which are made for the more commodiouſneſs of the Countrie. There are within it likewiſe a great number of Lakes and ſtanding waters: ſo as the ſituation of both theſe Provinces being well conſidered, 'tis to be queſtioned whether the ſpace of ground be greater which is won from the earth by water, or from water by the earth; nor is it leſs to be diſputed whether their Country do more abound with, or be more failing in thoſe Commodities which men enjoy in other parts. Through the condition of their ſituation they want both Corn, Wine, Oyle, Wool, Wood, Hemp, Flax, and almoſt all other Commodities and delights which are uſed in more temperate and drie Climates; and yet again there is no Country not only in that Northern nook, but not even in any part of *Europe* which abounds ſo much as *Holland* and *Zealand* doth in almoſt all the aforenamed things, and even of thoſe which are leſs neceſſary for the

maintenance of humane life. So great is the advantage which these two Provinces receive by the Sea and Rivers, whereby their Commerce with all other parts is so easie. Which since they have introduced and made so familiar in the *Indies*, it cannot be said how much both Merchandise and Merchants are increased in both of them. Hence it is that they abound so much in Inhabitants, and that their Cities, Towns and Villages are so well peopled. But the Sea likewise is as full of Ships and other bottoms; and all their watry places with other sorts of boats, which serve all for habitations, especially to Mariners and Fishers. Great is the number of people which apply themselves to these two vocations in *Holland* and in *Zealand*. They make houses of their ships, and of their houses schools: Here they are born, here they are bred up, and here they learn their profession. And the Mariners especially practising their Calling, in running so oft and so boldly from the one Pole to the other, and whethersoever the Sun communicates it self to mortals, they grow so expert therein, as though they may be equalled, yet cannot they be out-done in this Seafering mysterie, by any whatsoever Nation. For what remains, these people are generally given to Traffick; and are extraordinary industrious in Manual and Mechanical Arts. Their greatest delight lies in their feasts and at their meat: by which they temper the melancholy of their tedious Winters; which are rather long then sharp, the Country abounding much more in rain then in frost. They are generally well shaped in body: as candid in nature as in countenance: pleasant in their leasure times, but fierce in their revolts; and much better at fighting by sea then by land. They feed most upon fish and white-meats, wherein their Country doth infinitely abound. They have alwaies been inclin'd to a Free Government; and have ever tenaciously held their antient Customes. And since Heresie began to creep in amongst them, turning their Liberty by degrees into licentiousness, it hath since been easier for the Authors of the late Novelties, to make them rise, and forgoe their former obedience to the Church and King. Holland is full of great Cities, good Towns, and infinite in Villages: But by reason of the frequency of Foreigners, and multitude of self-Inhabitants, *Amsterdam* hath always been the chief City of that Province. Even whilst Commerce flourisht in *Antwerp*, great was the concourse of Foreigners to *Amsterdam*; but Commerce failing in that City, by reason of the War, it is so mightily increased in this other, as *Amsterdam* is at this hour the place of greatest Merchandising, not only in *Holland*, but in all the North. In *Zealand*, *Midleburg* is the Town best peopled, and of greatest Traffick: That Province cannot notwithstanding come any thing near *Holland*, neither in circuit, people, nor plenty. 'Tis almost impossible to enter either of these Provinces by force; because not only the chief places, but even the commonest Towns are Invironed either by the Sea, Rivers or Lakes, or by Earth, then which there can be none more low, nor more myery. So as it is no wonder if these People, being thus favoured by Nature, were both so fierce in taking up Arms at first, and have with like animosity maintained them ever since.

But to return to where I left: As soon as *Lumay* was received into the *Brill*, he presently began to fortifie himself; judging that without delay the Duke of *Alva* would send to drive him from thence. He openly profest Heresie, wherewith that Town was likewise much infected, so as great violence and impiety was at first committed against Church-men and sacred things. The news of this flew suddenly round about; and the Duke of *Alva* was soon advertised thereof by *Maximilian*, Count *de Bossu*, Governour of *Holland*. The Duke was mightily troubled hereat. He knew what practises there were in *Germany*, *France* and *England*, to cause new troubles in *Flanders*; and that the neareſt and greatest danger lay on the Maritine side of the Country: He therefore ordered *Bossu*, to draw out so many men out of the neighbouring Garisons with all possible speed, as would suffice not only to recover the *Brill*, but to drive *Lumay* out of that Island. To this purpose *Fernando de Tolledo* marched thitherward, with part of his men which lay neareſt, and went to *Roterdam*, one of the greatest and most Merchandizing Towns in all *Holland*: 'tis seated upon the *Roter*, a little River (from whence it takes its name) and almost where it falls into the *Mause*, which inlargeth it self there very much. The Kings Forces passing from thence, met with

Bossu

Boſſu in *Waldargin*, a Town ſituated likewiſe upon the ſame ſtream of the *Mauſe*, not far from the *Bril*; and hence they were conveyed in Barks into the Iſland. But *Lumay*, being firſt advertiſed of their advancing, *Boſſu* met with ſuch impediments in effecting this enterpriſe, as he was inforced, and that not without great difficulty, to turn back; and all thoſe people were already manifeſtly inclined to riſe, through an opinion which was every where received, and by the Hereticks cunningly ſpread abroad, that the Kings ſouldiers went to gather the impoſed taxes by force. When the *Spaniards* were come out of the *Bril* iſland, they return'd again to *Roterdam*, where they found difficulty in being received: But being got into the town, and greater miſlikes ariſing amongſt the Citizens, they came from words to blows; nor did the quarrel end, till the Town by military licentiouſneſs was ſackt. This ſucceſs drew after it very bad conſequences: For every Town in *Holland* ſeemed to ſhare in this ſacking of *Roterdam*; and the example ſhewn therein by one Town to another, extended it ſelf ſuddenly from one Province to another. The affairs were notwithſtanding for that time appeaſed there by Count *Boſſu*. *Lumay* growing bold by this proſperity, and growing ſtronger by new men who came in unto him, went to get further footing thereabouts, eſpecially in ſome other place upon the *Mauſe*: But divers of the Kings ſouldiers being aſſembled together, hindred all his further attempts at that time. *Orange* prepared this mean while to march with his Forces from *Germany*. He was to this purpoſe in a Town of his called *Dilimburgh*, near the *Rhine*; and endeavoured again to make all that ſide of the Country joyn with him. And ſeeing that fortune began already to ſmile on him in *Flanders* by this ſucceſs of the *Bril*, he thought it good to allure men yet more by writing. He and his brother *Lodovick* did therefore publiſh a *Manifeſto*, the tenor of which was to this purpoſe:

They ſhewed how much they were obliged by Nature and Honour not to ſuffer their Country to be oppreſt. They ſaid that the King, being abuſed, could not remedy thoſe things which were concealed from him. They added to the paſt miſeries, by greatly exagerating the preſent: calling the Duke of Alva's *introduced grievances Tyrannies, and things till then unheard of in* Flanders. *They endeavoured by ſpecious titles, even of doing ſervice to the King, to make the Country incline to them, and particularly to ſecure the Catholicks in matter of Religion. And in fine they ſtrove to be ſo zealous of the publike good, as others ſhould not fear that any of their own private ambition were hidden underneath it.*

The Duke of *Alva* ſeeing theſe beginnings, delayed not to take new men into pay: He gave order for the ſpeedy raiſing of 6000 *Walloon* Foot under 3 Campmaſters, to wit, the Meſſieurs of *Capres*, *Bevoir*, and *Liques*; and he gave out other Commiſſions to the ſame effect. He was chiefly jealous of *Zealand*, by reaſon of the particular correſpondencies which *Orange* held there, who was formerly Maſter of many places there, of importance. The Ilands of that Province are full of Havens, but *Flushing* is the chiefeſt. This Town ſtands further into the Sea then any other on that ſide which looks towards *Spain*, and commands the mouth of the Channel where it is ſeated. The Duke ſought to ſecure himſelf of this Haven which opens and ſhuts the chief ingreſs into that Country, by a Citadel which he cauſed to be built there, but which was not yet made defenſible. Neer *Flushing* ſtands the *Ramechins*, a little Caſtle, but well fortified. And more inward, *Ramua*, an open Town, but which hath one of the beſt Havens of all the North. Between *Flushing* and *Ramua*, a little within land, ſtands *Middleburgh*, the greateſt and chiefeſt City for traffick in all *Zealand*, as hath been ſaid; and which therefore makes its own Iland (called *Walcheren*) the nobleſt of all thoſe Ilands. The City holds communication with the Sea by a large Channel cut out by hand, and receives all commodities from thence. The Duke of *Alva* having theſe jealouſies of *Zealand*, he in the firſt place endeavoured to ſecure *Flushing*, and ſuddenly diſpatched thitherward Captain *Oſorio d'Angulo* with three companies of Spaniſh Foot. Nor did the Duke conceive amiſs. The marching of theſe people being heard of at *Flushing*, the Townſmen reſolved not to receive them into the Town; and boldly did as they reſolved. The Souldiers being come neer the Town, the people within took up Arms, ran to the gates, and ſhut them up: Exclaiming

that they came to raise by force the new Impositions; and moreover, to sack *Flushing*, as they had done *Rotterdam* Nor were they content to keep out the Kings Souldiers; but imprisoning Captain *Pacieco* a Spaniard, who had the care of ordering the new Citadel; and after having treated him abusively in divers sorts, they cut off his head, and hung it up for a publike spectacle in the market-place. This opposition, accompanied with such sad circumstances, forced *Osorio* to quit the Island, and to retreat, as he did, to some place of safety, expecting new Orders from the Duke, who was extremely troubled at this success. But it cannot be said how glad *Orange* was of this, and how much his Fautors rejoyced every where. They all of them applied themselves with all diligence to send men into *Flushing*, and in a few dayes many *High-Dutch* and *French* came and were there received, and the Queen sent some Souldiers privatly thither from *England*. *Ferdlomo* Lord of *Seras*, born at *Breda*, came thither afterwards, who was made Governour of the Town by *Orange*; and he gathering together 3000 Souldiers, did better establish the Insurrection of that Town. The Tumultuaries expecting from hence better progress, they without any gainsaying took *Ramua*, and *Vere*, a considerable place not far from thence, and all other places of lesser importance. So as of the whole Iland of *Walcherin*, only *Middleburg* and the small Castle of *Rumechins*, remained to the King. Wherefore the Tumultuaries, desiring to be masters of the whole Iland, and hoping to be so, they resolved to besiege *Middleburgh*, and sate down before it with those men which they had, whose numbers increased daily. The Duke hearing of this so great revolt, feared very much that *Middleburgh* would also be lost: He knew that there were but few of the Kings Souldiers within it, and that many of the Citizens were but ill enough inclin'd. Wherefore he suddenly sent the Signeur *de Beavoir* thither with 400 old *Walloon* Foot, for the new Souldiers of his Regiment were not as yet raised. *Beavoir* was received into the City: And because to boot with the small number of Souldiers, the City was but ill munited and victuall'd, the Duke gave order to send speedily a powerful succour thither; he commanded that many ships should be made ready in *Antwerp*, and that the greatest strength of *Spaniards* and *Walloons* that could be had should be mustered, and that the Rendezvous should be at *Berghen ap Zoom*. *Berghen* is but a few leagues distant from *Antwerp*, the River of *Zoom* runs by it, which not far off fals into the *Scheld*. So as it is a place of importance in it self, and was then the fittest from whence to send that succour. To encourage the enterprise, the Duke sent his son *Frederick* to *Berghen*, and with him Signior *Norchermes*, and here all things were preparing which were needfull for the above-mentioned enterprise. But news coming every day of greater danger, if *Middleburgh* were not suddenly secured, therefore it was requisite to send away an indifferent aid, since there was not time allowed for a plenary succour. *Sancio d'Avila* was chosen by the Duke to conduct it, who was Governour of the Castle of *Antwerp*, and greatly esteemed of by him. The Tumultuaries hearing of these preparations, they likewise endeavoured by all the power they could to impede the effect thereof: They fortified those places where they thought the *Spaniards* were likeliest to land; and with all diligence increased their Forces at Sea, intending to incounter and break the Fleet which was to bring the succour. *Avila* began to move about the end of *April*, and had with him 500 choise Spanish foot under the Captains *Osorio d'Angulo*, *Gonsalvo d'Ovalla*, *Fernando d'Aguasco*, *Inico de Medinglia*, and *Jovanni d'Avola*. To these *Spaniards* were added as many *Walloons*, all of them also old Souldiers, under the Signiors *de Liques* and *de Glimus*, and Captain *Torres*. And to these were afterward added a good many of Reformado-Officers and other people of quality, especially of the Spanish Nation, who desired rather to serve as Voluntiers, then to take pay upon so hard service. *Avila* went down the *Scheld* at a low ebb, that he might make use of the next flowing water, and drew his men towards the lower part of the channel which washes the Island of *Walcherin*. He would have landed his men there, because the succour would have been neerer from thence, *Middleburgh* lying on that side. But he found the Enemy so well fortified in that place, as he resolved to go to the opposite place which looks upon the sea: A plain situation, and of all others furthest remote from the City, and where the Enemy by reason of these difficulties

did

did not expect that they ſhould endeavour to land. In evils which may happen, nothing is worſe then not to fear: Nothing is more uſually ſeen in war, then the inſuing of damage, where danger was leaſt looked for. *Avila* being arrived on that ſhore, found no impediment in landing his men, ſave only that they muſt wade a little way through the water, before they could come to the land. Watching the Enemies proceedings from thence, he was informed that they were in no very good order, eſpecially toward that place where he and his men had landed, as leaſt apprehended. The Kings men were greatly hereby encouraged: And *Avila*, to make them be ſo the more, ſpake thus unto them.

My fellow-ſouldiers! The worſt is over, now that we are landed and off the ſea; where the Enemy might have beaten us by power, and alſo by fortune. On land, all the advantages will make for us. We ſhall not fight here one ſhip-board flying from another; nor will the wind, be it propitious or contrary, have any ſhare here: but the victory or loſs will lie in our arms and military valour. Which of us can then doubt, but that at our firſt appearance the Enemies are likelier to betake themſelves to their heels, then to put themſelves in order? We are for certain fewer then they: but 'tis not only numbers that fight, nor are victories had by unexperienced men. And what more contemptible people can be found, then thoſe whom we are now to aſſail? Mariners, and fiſher-men for the moſt part, who are not acquainted ſo much as with the name of Arms; who have tumultuouſly taken them up, and will in like manner lay them down. Perfidious to the King, and more to God: and who by very divine juſtice are now delivered up into our hands, to the end that without any delay they may receive puniſhment according to their demerit. They have with them ſome Heretick foreign Souldiers, but almoſt all of them vagabonds, abject people, who in war look after nothing but pillage, and underſtand nothing but rapine. On the contrary, who is he in this our ſo antient Militia, who hath not either ſeen or done ſome egregious action? which of us have not ſeen our late victories abroad againſt thoſe very Chieftains who now foment theſe preſent rebellions here within us? Let us reſolve then to overcome, before we fight: For I preſage as much. The Rebels doe not look for us on this ſide, ſo as we ſhall be upon them at unawares. The beſieged will at the ſame time ſally out upon them: we ſhall fill their Camp with blood, ſlaughter, and runawayes: And ſo by ſuccouring one onely City, we ſhall ſoon ſet the whole Iland ſet at liberty.

This ſpeech being ended, *Avila* began to march: And advancing himſelf and *Liques* with ſome *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, the better to diſcern what the Enemy was doing, they found that there was no appearance of any oppoſition on that ſide. Then calling up the reſt, they went reſolutely to aſſault the Enemy. Nor did *Avila's* preſage prove falſe: For they forſaking their Trenches, which were either ill made, or ill guarded on that ſide, thought rather how to ran away, then how to fight. At the ſame time the Kings ſouldiers ſallied out of the City; ſo as the Enemy being incloſed on both ſides, many of them were ſlain, and the reſt in great confuſion ſcattered here and there abroad. Thus was *Middleburg* freed, and *Ramua* was ſuddenly regained; and ſome of the Enemies ſhips were there taken, which *Avila* made uſe of the better to ſecure that Haven; and moreover he fortified the Town where it was moſt needfull. Whilſt he was thus victorious he would have endeavoured the recovery of *Flushing*: But the Town being munited, and at all times ſuccorable, and he having but a few men with him, he could not doe it. The Duke of *Alva* ſent for him back, to know the better from him by word of mouth, what was beſt to be done to eſtabliſh the affairs of *Holland* and *Zealand*, ſo as might make moſt for the Kings ſervice. But he was no ſooner come, then the Duke heard of another novelty of great conſequence, which had hapned neer the Frontiers of *France*. Upon that Confine ſtands the Town of *Valenciennes*, which was the firſt Town that did rebell in the Dutcheſs of *Parma's* time, as was then ſhewn. It is one of the beſt peopled, and moſt Merchant-like Town of all thoſe parts: and holds great correſpondencie in traffick with the neighbouring Provinces of *France*. Notwithſtanding the puniſhment which was inflicted upon the firſt Tumultuaries, there were yet many Hereticks in it, who ſtill held continual practiſes with the French *Hugonots*. The Duke had already begun to build a Citadel in this Town, as hath been ſaid, it being ſubject to ſuſpi-

tion

tion both by its ſituation, and condition of Inhabitants: And the Citadel was by this time in a good forwardneſs, but it was not as yet made wholly tenable, nor yet provided of a ſufficient Garriſon. This conjuncture of time being by the *Hugonots* obſerved, Monſieur *de Fama* entred the Town on the 15. of *May* with 400 men: He preſently ran to the Town-houſe; and poſſeſſing himſelf of the moſt commodious places to annoy the Citadel, he prepared with ſome Artillery, and ſome other proviſions to beſiege it. The Duke was beyond meaſure moved at this diſorder; both in regard of it ſelf, and for fear leſt others the like, and peradventure greater might inſue upon the ſame Frontier; where he greatly apprehended not only the open practiſes of the *Hugonots*, but even the ſecret ones which by order or connivance of the King of *France* the very Catholicks might nouriſh in thoſe parts. He therefore with all ſpeed ſent ſuch men as were needfull, to chaſe the *French* forthwith from out that Town, and to prevent the danger of the coming in of others to aſſiſt the former. *Alonzo de Lumbrales* marched thitherward immediately with 150 Spaniſh horſe, and was followed the next day by *Garzia de Gualdes* with above one hundred more of the ſame Nation. Theſe Horſe were brought without any difficulty into the Citadel; and time was afforded this mean while for *John de Mendoſa* General of the Light-horſe, to come with both more Horſe and Foot: he brought with him alſo ſome Companies of *Walloons*, taken newly into pay. So as being entred with all theſe men into the Citadel, and charging vigorouſly upon the *French*, who could not in ſo ſhort a time be ſuccoured from without, nor ſufficiently fortified within, they were firſt ſoon diſordered, and afterwards put to flight. Many of them were ſlain, and but few of them would have eſcaped, if the Kings men would in that heat have purſued them. But they were no leſs angry with the Townſmen, ſuſpecting that they had favoured the *French*: So as leaving theſe, and falling on the others, they began to ſack many houſes, and ſhed much blood, not much diſtinguiſhing between ſuch as were guilty, and ſuch as were in no fault at all.

The Duke had not well recovered *Valentiennes*, when he heard that upon the ſame Frontier, by means of ſome other *Hugonots*, who had taken *Lodovick* of *Naſſaw* for their Leader, *Mons* was loſt. And the miſchiefs were already grown ſo general on all ſides in *Flanders*, as it was impoſſible to withſtand their courſe any longer: juſt as the waters of an overſwoln Torrent, bearing down firſt the leſſer obſtacles, and afterwards the greater, doe at laſt in ſundry places overflow the neighbouring fields, and in ſundry ſorts make ſtrange havock. The *Walloon* Provinces (as hath been often ſaid) lie towards *France*: *Henault* is one of the chiefeſt of them, and *Mons* is the chiefeſt Town therein a noble City for ſituation, Inhabitants, and buildings. And becauſe it ſtood not upon the very edge of the Confines, but lay ſomewhat more inward, therefore was it neither very well fortified, nor yet carefully guarded; though it were of it ſelf ſtrongly ſituated, and well provided with ditches, and ſtrong antient walls. *Lodovick* drawing ſecretly neer to that Frontier, with a few French *Hugonots*, he was let in on the 25. of *May*, and thus ſurpriſed the Town. Some other French were firſt entred *Mons* under pretence of merchandiſe, with certain Fats full of Arms; and had private intelligence with divers of the Townſmen. So as the agreement being had, they made themſelves maſters of one of the Gates; and killing him who kept the keyes of it, and driving away the reſt of the Corps de Gard, they let in *Lodovick*, who to that end had marched hard all that night with an hundred Horſe. When he was entred the City, he began to run into every place, and endeavoured by ſeditious ſpeeches to make the people adhere to him, hoping for more ſuccour. But no *French* appearing from without, nor the Townſmen riſing any way within, he forewent almoſt aſſoon the hopes of making himſelf maſter of the City, as he had aſſumed them, and reſolved to quit it: Nay he began already to fear, leſt the people, being almoſt all of them Catholicks, ſhould rather turn againſt him, and either drive him out, or, to his greater danger, take him priſoner. But Fortune, which had favoured him the firſt time, did ſo the ſecond: He was not well gone out of the Town, when he met with 100 other French horſe with foot *en croupe*, which came to ſuccour him, being led on by Monſieur *Genlis* himſelf, who was the chiefeſt plotter of all the Hugonots upon that Frontier: So

as

as reassuming courage, and assuring himself that the gate by which he was newly come out, was yet open, he again entred the City. And having in the first place possest himself of all the Market places, and chiefest streets, he summoned all the best of the Town into the Town-house, and endeavoured to justifie his action, honesting it with words full of zeal towards the Country, and of devotion towards the King: but of detestation against the Duke of *Alvas* Government, and the Spaniards actions. He afterwards gave all assurance that the City should receive no outrage, nor be in any sort damnified: and the better to secure himself and his men, he seised upon all the Arms, and Warlike Ammunition he could any where find. Then he began with all diligence to take order for such things as were requisit for the defence of the City, considering that the Duke of *Alva* would without any delay, bend all the Kings Forces against him. *Genlis* went himself in person to sollicite the Hugonots in *France*, and to be himself their Conductor. And *Lodovick* was not wanting in hastning his brother the Prince of *Orange* to come in unto his succour from the side of *Germany*, and by so great an acquisition, the better to confirm those hopes which he conceived they had reason to build upon of making yet greater in a short time.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK VI.

The Contents.

The Duke of Alva *was mightily incenſt at the loſs of* Mons. *Other Inſurrections in* Holland *follow.* Orange *prepares to enter* Flanders *the ſecond time. The Duke of* Alva *makes a great levy of men to hinder him. Conſultations touching the marching of the Kings Forces. Reſolution is taken to beſiege* Mons. Genlis, *and other Hugonots of* France, *endeavour to bring in relief: They are met with by the Kings Forces, fought, and routed.* Orange *enters* Flanders *with a great Army by* Ghelderland. *He takes and ſacks* Ruremonde: *He ſecures himſelf of* Malines; *and ſtaies his Camp in the Province of* Hennault. *He is ſo oppoſed by the Duke of* Alva *as he cannot relieve* Mons. *He often endeavours therefore, but in vain, to draw the Duke to battel. Great confuſion in the Prince of* Orange *his Army; whereupon the Duke takes occaſion to make a Camiſado by night, wherein he ſucceeds well, and makes great ſlaughter.* Orange *retreats and paſſeth into* Holland. *Sundry troubles in that Province, and in the others beyond the* Rhine *The Duke of* Alva *enters* Mons. *The Town of* Goes *is beſieged by the Tumultuaries, and with memorable courage ſuccoured by the Kings men. The Catholick Army in* Brabant. *Sacks* Malines. *Recovers divers places in* Ghelderland. *Takes and ſacks* Zutfen; *and doth almoſt wholly deſtroy* Naerden.

Anno 1572.

THE Duke of *Alva* was the more troubled for the loſs of *Mons*, in that he did no ways ſuſpect the loſing of it. He conſidered it was not only the prime City in all the Province of *Hennault*, but even one of the chiefeſt of all *Flanders*. That from that Line of the Confines which was towards *France*, it lay far enough inward in the Kings Territories, but yet not ſo far but that it might be eaſily ſuccour'd from without: That it might eaſily be made very ſtrong, being on one ſide in a very low and ſpongy ſituation, and well provided of Walls and Ditches on all other parts. That being near the very Province of *Flanders*, and that of *Brabant*, it might eaſily further the Tumults both in the one and the other of them, and conſequently make

make the fire more lasting, which was to be kindled in so many parts. He therefore with much fervency apply'd himself to the sudden regaining of it; and hoped well therein, by his having so easily recovered *Valentiennes*. He saw that *Lodovick* of *Nassaw* might be succoured on two sides; to wit, by the way of *Germany*, by the Forces which *Orange* prepared, and by the way of *France* by the Forces raised by the Hugonots; these were doubtlesly the neareſt, and therefore likely to be the speediest. The Duke therefore resolved to make his quickest opposition on this side of *France*, hoping that when he should have interrupted that succour, he might more easily impede the other: but such, and so grievous commotions happened suddenly in *Holland*, as they put upon him new, and greater necessities, and rendred him much perplext touching what he was to resolve upon. The Town of *Enchusen* had there led the way first to open disobedience; which Town lies very opportunely for situation, as lying upon the point of a great Gulf which the Sea makes in *Holland*, towards the North; and no less for the quality thereof, and number of shipping which are continually built there, and which makes it one of the best, and most esteemed Arsenals of all that Province. Nor was it long ere other greater revolts followed: For *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Gouda*, and almost all the other Cities and chief Towns did at once the like, except *Amsterdam*, which continued then, and long after in Allegiance to the King. Great raising of Arms was likewise heard of in *Germany*; and that *Orange* having past the *Rhine*, grew still stronger in men, intending to enter *Flanders* again by the same way he did before. To obviate so many evils which threatned him in so many several parts, the Duke of *Alva* betook himself suddenly to raise great levies, both of horse and foot; and gave order for the taking of 5 or 6 thousand horse into pay in High-*Germany*, the chief care whereof was had by *Henry* Duke of *Brunswick*, formerly imployed by the King upon like occasions; by *Salentine*, Count of *Isemburg*, Archbishop of *Cullen*, who shewed himself very faithfull to the Catholick Cause and the Crown of *Spain*; and by *Peter Ernestus* Count of *Mansfield*, who came originally from *Germany*, and who had yet many friends and kindred of great esteem there; he gave order for the raising of 18 thousand foot in six Regiments: to wit, 3000 in the Upper, and 3000 in the Lower *Germany*. The first were taken into pay by *Ottone* Count of *Erbestein*; by *George Baron* of *Fronsberg*, and by *Nicholas Purvighliere*, all of them natives of the same Country. And the latter by *Giles* Count of *Barlemonte*; by *Maximilian* Count of *Bossu*, and by *Lancelot* Count of *Mega*; all of them the Kings Vassals in the Provinces of *Flanders*. These levies required great store of money, whereof the Duke was very much exhausted. But he had represented unto the King the affairs of *Flanders* to be in so dangerous a condition, as he was in some sort presently furnisht therewithall for his necessities: and the King promised him to see him continually furnisht with what should be requisit for maintaining the Churches Cause and his own (which was now become one and the same) in those Provinces. The new Insurrections which had happened in *Holland* bore with them very bad consequences, to boot with the former in *Zealand*. And the Novelties which had succeeded, and which still grew greater in the Frontiers towards *Germany* and *France*, required powerfull and speedy remedy. The Duke of *Alva* consulted therefore with the chief Commanders of the Army, to what part it was best to bend the Kings Forces; or if by dividing them, they might suffice for both occasions. 'Twas generally thought that there were not enough to be divided. And as for the turning to the one or the other place, Marshal *Vitelli*, Camp-Master-General, who was greatly esteemed in the Army, as well for the prerogative of his Place, as for his Valour, was of opinion that they were to bend all their Forces immediately towards *Holland* and *Zealand*. saying,

That by good reason of War, Forces were to be turned thither where their imployment was of greatest consequence. And how much did it most import first to secure the Maritine Country? That in those parts which lay more inward in the Country, the people were neither so infected with Heresie, nor so inclin'd to Rebellion. And though some loss might be suffered by the Forces from Germany *and* France, *it was to be hoped that they might be easily regain'd. That the Hugonots Forces were of no*

substance of themselves; nor was it to be thought that the King of France *would favour them, if for what might concern the good of* Spain, *at least for what might respect the service of his own Kingdom, so grievously infested by them. That the heretick Forces of* Germany *which were to enter* Flanders, *were to be esteemed of the same nature: being tumultuously raised, ill provided of men, and worse of money; more ready to pillage then to fight; and that prey and pay failing, they would soon forgot their obedience, and instead of carrying their Colours against their enemies, they would turn them against their Commanders. That for these reasons it was to be believed, that the noise was greater then the blow would be from either of both those parts: and that those foreign Forces being soon scattered by the opposition made by the Kings Townes (which to that purpose were with all diligence suddenly to be munited) Mons would easily be recovered, as also whatsoever other damage might insue in any other part upon these Frontiers. But on the contrary, how firmly was heresie radicated both in* Holland *and* Zealand? *how much were the people alienated from their former devotion to the Church, and to the King? That by reason of the Sea and Rivers, Merchandise did very much abound there; as also monies and victuals: and that every Town there was so strong by Nature, that allow but a little time to Industry, every Pass would require an Army to overcome it, and every Siege almost an Age to finish it. That by the opportunity of the Sea, new Forces might continually be sent unto the Rebels on those sides, from* Germany *and* France, *but especially from* England. *And they being Masters of the Maritime parts, what advantages might they by other designes work unto themselves in the more inward Countries? What difficulties would the succours then meet withall which should be sent by Sea from* Spain *to* Flanders? *Which succours were to be esteemed the speediest and most profitable: the others which were to be expected by land being so far off, and so chargeable to convey, that* Orange *had long governed both those Provinces, having great store of wealth, and adherents in them; that therefore it was to be believed, that out of so many considerations of his own advantage, he would indeavour to lay the chief seat of the Rebellion there. That therefore the Frontiers towards* Germany *and* France *being secured the best that might be, they were presently to turn with all their forces toward* Holland *and* Zealand. *That from thence the chiefest head of this new* Hydra *arose. And that it was not to be doubted, but that the hardest difficulty being once overcome, the rest would afterwards prove much more easie.*

This opinion of *Vitelli* was grounded upon very solid reasons. But amongst others, *Merchermes* was rather of a different then of a repugnant mind. He was held to be the ablest souldier of all those Provinces. He was Governor of *Hennault*, and therefore adding his own privat ends to the publick considerations, he propounded the recovery of *Mons* in the first place. He said,

'That that City might be recovered by a short siege, and also all the designes 'which *Orange* and the Hugonots could have upon those Frontiers of *Germany* 'and *France* be easily broken. That turning the Kings Forces suddenly from 'thence, upon *Holland* and *Zealand*, they might be there time enough to allay the 'Rebellion which was there begun. Nor was this resolution to be taken so much 'out of conveniency, as out of necessity. That the loss of *Mons* was of too great 'importance: That by the opportunity of its situation, the Enemy might make 'it very strong, and make it as it were a *Pinzza d'Armi*, from whence they might 'infest the whole Countrie of *Walloon*, and also the two neighbouring Provinces of '*Brabant* and *Flanders*, which were the two largest, and most opulent Provinces 'of all the Low-Countries. And how could they be sure, but that so many 'Forces of the Enemy might make further progress in those Frontiers? That it 'was not possible to furnish all the Kings Towns in those parts with all things ne'cessary. And though the chiefest should make resistance, doubtlesly the wea'ker would not be able to do it; which notwithstanding being quickly fortified 'by the Enemy, would make way for their further entrance on other sides into 'the Kings Provinces. How much would they then molest the Countrie every 'where? and what other commodities would they there receive whereby to main'tain themselves? the Towns would then be burnt on all sides, the fields fill'd 'with amazement, the Inhabitants with horror, and to boot with the prejudice 'the Kings affairs should suffer, how much should he thereby suffer in his ho-

nour?

'nour? In my opinion then, we muſt in the firſt place recover what is loſt, and 'ſeek to prevent other greater loſſes, which our Enemies may occaſion unto us in 'our Frontiers upon *Germany* and *France*. This being done, all the Kings For-'ces may the eaſilier march to the reducing of *Holland* and *Zealand* to their for-'mer obedience. One ſucceſs will bring on another, and we ought to expect as 'good ſucceſſe in the ſecond, as we have reaſon to hope for in the firſt.

The Duke was of this opinion. He thought he ſhould be able to ſettle the Kings affairs ſo ſoon in one place, as he might have time enough to ſecure them on the other. To the which he was the more incited out of a deſire not to permit the *French* to neſtle ſo much as any one minute in *Flanders*. And no leſs out of the bitter hatred which he and the Prince of *Orange* bore each to other, as well for privat as publick reſpects, as hath been ſaid. He therefore deſired to oppoſe him as ſoon as might be; and to drive him now again out of the Countrie more ſhamefully then he had done before. The buſineſs of *Mons* being then reſolved on, he forthwith diſpatcht away ſome Troops of horſe thitherward, to hinder the coming of any others thither from *France*; and ſent afterwards his ſon *Frederick de Tolledo* thither with 4000 foot, and 800 horſe, accompanied by *Vitelli* and *Norchermes*. Towards the end of *June* theſe people appeared within ſight of the City: and poſſeſſing themſelves of the fitteſt places round about it, did as it were beſiege it at a large diſtance. The City of *Mons* receives its name from its ſituation, which in that Language ſignifies a Mountain, or Hill; but the riſe of the earth is there ſo gentle, as it cannot well be ſaid to be mountainous. 'Tis a very Noble City, as well for the concourſe of people, as for Commerce: it hath many good houſes in it, and there ſits the Kings Councel, which adminiſters Juſtice to the Countrie; all which Prerogatives gives it the precedency over all other Towns of that Province. It commands large and ſpacious fields round about it, which may be queſtioned whether they abound more in Paſture or Tillage. Nor is the Territory thereof leſs rich in Woods; nor generally indeed all the reſt of the Province. The City is ſtronger by natural ſituation, then by manual induſtry. It is cut thorough on the lower ſide by a little rivolet called *Trulla*, which as ſoon as it goes out of it, fals into another ſomewhat bigger, called *Hayne*; which croſſing through the Province, before it be gotten quite out, fals likewiſe into the *Scheld*. The beſieged this mean while ſought only how to furniſh themſelves with victuals, which they were not well provided of. The Harveſt was then ripe; wherefore they determined to make a ſtout ſally, thereby to afford leaſure for the cutting down of the neareſt Corn, and for the bringing of it into the City. The Kings men were not backwards in oppoſing them, ſo as a very fierce skirmiſh inſued. But freſh ſuccours coming ſtill into the latter, the defendants were forc'd at laſt to retreat, and *Vitelli* as he was purſuing them, was ſhot with a muſquet in the leg. *Genlis* was not this mean while idle on the French behalf: he had with very great diligence gathered together a conſiderable ſtrength of horſe and foot, wherewith he marched ſpeedily to relieve the beſieged. The Province of *Hennault*, looks towards the South on *Champania* and *Picardy* in *France*, ſo as the ſpeedieſt and eaſieſt ſuccour was hoped for from thence. *Genlis* his deſigne was to draw ſo near *Mons*, as that he might put thereinto a good number of ſoldiers, and then to go himſelf with the reſt of his Forces, and joyn with the Prince of *Orange*. The Admiral *Coligni*, who was the principal Architecture of all the plots hatched by the Hugonots as well within *France*, as out of it, had exhorted him, to goe immediately to find out *Orange*. Count *Lodovick* had ſignified the like unto him from *Mons*; both of them being of opinion that the body of the Army conducted by *Orange* being rendred ſo much the greater, that City might be the eaſilyer ſuccoured. But *Genlis* perſiſting in his own opinion, would needs purſue it; ſo took his way through *Picardy* to the Confines of *Hennault*. *Frederick* being advertiſed hereof, reſolved by *Vitelli*'s advice, to incounter him, and fight him before he ſhould get into the Kings Countrie. When the Kings men were come to the River *Heyne*, and heard that the Enemy began to appear out of a Wood, near the Town *Hoterage*, they marched towards them, and by a skirmiſh kept them at firſt ſomewhat farther from the Wood, and from the Town. Here the skirmiſh was turn'd into parties, and the parties into a bat-

tel. The French seeing the necessity of fighting, made two squadrons of their foot, and but one of their horse, placing them all according as best fitted the situation of the Wood, and of field-room. The Kings foot were likewise divided into two bodies, which were seconded to the best advantage by the horse. *Vitelli*, who by reason of his wound, was brought into the field in a chair, not without great pain and danger, ordered the battel. *Julian Romero*, a Spanish Camp-Master, and one of known valour and experience, had the charge of the Van. Here they fell to it; but the fight continued not long; the circumstances whereof being well considered, it might rather be called an Incounter then a Battel. The French did not look to be so soon faced by the Kings men, and therefore came not so well prepared to fight as 'twas needfull they should have been, that they might have disputed the victory better then they did. Being vigorously set upon by the Kings men, they made at first some resistance: but their first force suddenly failing, they fell soon into disorder: and for the rest, 'twas nothing but slaughter and flight. They suffered more by the Country people afterwards, then they did at first by the souldiers. For many Country people of those frontiers having followed the Spanish Camp, fell bitterly upon the French after their defeat, suffering few of them to escape, and fully revenging themselves for the losses their Country had suffered by this their march. The common opinion was, that *Genlis* had with him about 7000 foot, and 1000 horse; whereof a third part together with the loss of almost all their Colours, were either slain or taken prisoners. *Genlis* himself was taken prisoner, and Monsieur *de Geniſack*, who Commanded the horse, and another Chiefstain of the Hugonots of good quality, called the *Ringrave*. The Baron of *Rantz*, and one *Giumella*, both of them foot Colonels, were slain in the battel. These were the chief of the Hugonots Camp: all the rest of their men, what by being slaughtered by the Country people, and what through terror of the discomfeiture, were reduced to so weak a remainder, as they could not be any more serviceable to the Hugonots neither within, nor without the Kingdom. *Genlis* was carried to the Castel of *Antwerp*, where he soon after fell sick and died. Very few were found missing of the Kings Camp, and of those, not any one of quality. Thus ended the succour brought by the French Hugonots: whose unfortunate success, was a presage of that no less unhappy event which was soon after seen, both in the Army Commanded by *Orange*, and in the siege sustained by his brother. The fight was not many miles distant from the City: so as the Kings party returned suddenly to the siege. And *Paluighlier* being come not long after unto the Army with 4500 foot, and some horse, *Frederick* incouraged by so great an addition of Forces, and by the coming likewise of *Fronsbergs* horse, and *Bracamonts* foot, began very hotly to begirt the besieged. He took up his quarters particularly in the Village of *Nimy*, St. *Sinforian*, *Bertamonte*, and *Jumampel*, which inviron *Mons*; and he indeavoured to secure his quarters every where the best he could by the Rivers *Heyne* and *Trouille*. There was a Priory under the Walls of *Mons*, well furnisht with Edifices. And because the Kings men might be much prejudiced from thence, they within the Town had put a good Garison into it, and seemed as if they would strive to defend it. At which *Frederick* being moved, he resolved howsoever to take it: but he failed in his first attempt, through the valiant resistance made by the defendants, and by the help they received by the Cannon which were at that time drawn out of the City. But returning the second time with greater Forces, and playing upon the place with two pieces of Cannon, the Spaniards prepared for the assault, when the French knowing they could no longer hold it, forlook it, and withdrew themselvs within the Walls of the Town. The Priory being lost, the Town was more narrowly besieged. The Duke of *Alva* came at the same time to the Army, as well to encourage the enterprise by being present thereat himself, as to hasten whatsoever was needfull to oppose *Orange* his designe of relieving *Mons*, and freeing his brother. With him came the Duke of *Medina-Celi*, who was then come by sea to *Flanders* from *Spain* with fresh men, being sent by the King to succeed the Duke of *Alva* in that Government.

The Country had in these dayes contributed a great sum of money more then usual, so as the Army was much increased by their arrival, and by the new Levies

of

of *Flanders*, and much more by those that were raised in *Germany*; to boot that, set the chief Garrisons aside, all the old Souldiery were ordered to come to the Camp. The Duke therefore presently prepared divers Batteries and Trenches, where it was easiest to fall down into the Ditches; and the City-walls began already to be furiously plaid upon from sundry sides. The greatest part of the Canon were placed against the gate *Bartimonte*, and against a Ravelin which fenc'd it: the Battery was one day so fierce, as some of the Peeces broke, and the Ravelin was almost quite level'd. But the resistance and valour of those within was no less. Monsieur *de la Nue* was with *Lodovick*, a man of great valour, and the best esteemed of any that was then in *France* of the *Hugonot* Faction: the defence of *Mons* past chiefly through his hands, and by his directions; and therefore the besieged failed not to do what in them lay for their best advantage. Fearing therefore to lose that place, they made a Work more inward, and placed two Culverins upon it; and prejudicing the Kings men greatly thereby, they forced them to proceed more cautiously in their assault which they design'd against that side. But though they were not wanting in defending themselves the best and most resolutely that they could, yet their chiefest hopes lay in their succor from *Orange*: who being already upon his march with a powerful Army raised almost wholly in *Germany*, was got into the *Low-Countries* by *Gelderland*, and made towards *Ruremond*. He intended to use only fair means, and not force, to be accommodated with victuals by that City, thinking he should not so easily win it; nor was he willing to waste his time and forces before it, to the prejudice of his chief design, which was to relieve *Mons* as soon as might be, and afterwards to make there a great Magazine of Arms. He therefore friendly intreated those Citizens to accommodate him with victuals and other things which his Army wanted. But they answering more boldly then they ought to have done, and not measuring their Forces by their words, gave him a flat denial. He did not expect such an answer, so as he grew much incensed; and to his anger necessity was joyned, for his people suffered already in many things. There were not Hereticks wanting in the City, and they desired to see it in *Orange* his possession, who had formerly held some intelligence with them to that purpose. Practises being then renewed within, and the men prepared without, he made a fierce assault upon one of the Gates, which with equal valour was defended by those within: who shewed the like stoutness twice after; when *Orange* renewed twice his assaults. In the heat of this resistance which the Catholick defendants made, the Hetetick Townsmen making use of opportunity, possest themselves of another gate, and thereby let them in that were without. *Orange* either could not, or would not hinder the sacking of the City: withheld perhaps on one side, by judging it was not fit to use examples of cruelty, when the *Flemish* did most expect clemency; and inforst on the other side to provide for the necessities of his people, which since he was not able to satisfie with pay, he must supply the want thereof by plunder. But sacking was the least misery which *Ruremond* suffered: For the Heretucks with unheard of barbarism, mingling slaughter with pillage, grew cruel to all sexes and all ages, especially against Church-men and Church-adornments. By the taking of *Ruremond*, *Orange* got another City in those parts, which gave him a secure pass over the *Mause*. He turn'd from hence to *Malines*, which was already wrought to be at his devotion, by Monsieur *de Dorp*: so as he put a good Garrison thereinto of *High-Dutch*. In his march he likewise made himself master of many other places of lesser consideration: And being come to *Lovain*, desired to be there received. But meeting with more stiffness in the Citizens then he expected, and fearing that he should lose too much time in staying to force it, he resolved to accept of a certain sum of money, which the City was contented to give him.

Thus leaving *Brabant*, he came in the beginning of *September* into *Hennalt*; and here he mustered his Army. His Forces consisted, as it was said, of 16000 Foot, and 9000 Horse; all of them *Germans*, except some *French* and *Wallons*. He was aided by the success of a business which had happened a little before in favour of his adherents in *Zealand*, to move sooner then he himself had thought. A great many Flemish ships were at this time returned from *Lisbone* richly laden;

and

and out of choice rather then neceſſity, they put in according to their cuſtom at *Fluſhing*, not knowing till then any thing of the new revolutions which had happened there. The Inhabitants of that Town being maſters of ſo great a booty, made ſuddenly monies thereof, and ſent the greateſt part to the Prince of *Orange*, juſt when he ſtood in moſt need, to aſſemble his men together, and make them march. But the greater his Army was, the greater was his difficulty in maintaining them: For neither had he ſufficient monies to that end, nor any authority grounded upon command, but only upon intreaties. He came with the like reſolutions as before, to wit, to doe all he could to draw the Duke to battel; hoping at leaſt thereby to find ſome means to ſuccour *Mons* the more eaſily. On the other ſide, as the Dukes ends were clean otherwiſe, ſo did his reſolutions appear to be. He as before, deſired to beat *Orange* by the Arms of his own Neceſſity: ſo as deſpairing of Battel, and no leſs of ſuccour, and forced by diſaccommodations and ſufferings, he ſhould at laſt confeſs himſelf overcome, by returning diſcomfited. The Duke doubted towards which part *Orange* would betake himſelf. The ſpeedieſt and ſhorteſt way was towards *Nimi* and St. *Sinforiano*. Between theſe two Villages ſtands a Wood; and therefore the Duke uſed all needful diligence to fortifie all thoſe places, ſo to hinder his paſſage on that ſide. Which *Orange* hearing of, he changed his way, and turning Eaſtward, paſt by *Perone* a Village ſome two leagues diſtant from *Mons*; and fording without any difficulty over the *Heyn* and *Trulla*, he marched towards the other part of the City, drawing ſtraight upon *Jumampel*. The ground was here a little more hilly then in other parts thereabouts, and was therefore thought leſs eaſie to fortifie; and therefore *Orange* judged he might ſooneſt ſuccour the beſieged on that ſide. But as ſoon as the Duke had diſcovered this deſign, he turn'd moſt of his men ſuddenly thitherward, and reſolved to raiſe a Fort there: which was done with all ſpeed, and the Duke *Medina celi* took particular care of it. To boot with the Fort, which was provided of Artillery the better to entertain the Enemy on that ſide, the Duke ſurrounded his Camp on that ſide too with a Trench. Having thus ſecured himſelf, and having a watchfull eye over all things, he commanded upon ſevereſt puniſhment that no man ſhould ſtir from the Squadrons without his order, nor ſhould in any manner whatſoever offer to fight. *Orange* was this mean while drawn neer this place: And having ſent his brother *Henry* a little before, who was a gallant Youth, with fifty Horſe, to learn ſome news of the Spaniſh Camp, he met with almoſt as many which the Duke of *Alva* had ſent out towards the Enemy to the ſame purpoſe. A bloody skirmiſh was had between theſe two Parties of Horſe, wherein the Dukes men coming off with ſomewhat the worſe, *Orange* came up ſoon after with his whole Army, and offered the Duke battel. But he, ſtill more ſtedfaſt in his firſt reſolution, kept all his men in great order within their Trenches, ſuffering only the Artillery to play upon the Enemy, who did the like upon the Spaniſh camp. *Orange* took up his Quarters afterwards at *Quievron* a Village not far from *Jumampel*, and endeavoured divers times to provoke the Duke to fight. To this end he greatly annoyed the Kings Camp with continual thunder of Cannon; he endeavoured to keep them from forrage or victuals, and ſallied out in skirmiſhes as oft as he could, ſo to provoke them to battel the ſooner; wherein, having much the greater number of Horſe, he hoped to be Victor. There were ſome with the Duke, who adviſed to fight the Enemy, ſhewing how much his men did exceed the others in valour; ſaying,

That victories were not won by numbers, but by worth. How oft had their firſt Squadrons born it away? nay, how oft their firſt Files? What compariſon was there to be made between new tumultuary baſe people, ſuch as were the Enemy; and old Souldiers, ſo well diſciplin'd, and ſo nobly born as were his? Let him then go out of the Trenches: and fighting in ſo juſt a cauſe, and with ſuch valiant men, he might be ſure to overcome. The Archbiſhop of *Cullen* was particularly of this opinion; who being of a warlike mind, was come in perſon into the Camp. But the Duke, ſtill firm to his old Maxim, not to fight with Fortune, which in all humane affairs is ever fickle, but eſpecially in affairs of war and battel, anſwered in words befitting ſuch a Commander:

That

That the end of those who govern an Army, was alwaies to overcome, but not alwaies to fight. And that he should have fought sufficiently, when he should have overcome.

Orange being thus deluded of all hopes of bringing it to a day of battel, apply'd himself wholly to the relief; and the Duke wholly to keep him from it: and this was the chiefest indeavor of them both. *Orange* propounded unto himself the consequences of preserving such a place as *Mons* was: and the Duke the importancy of re-possessing himself of it. *Orange* had assur'd his friends that he would succor and relieve it; and the other had signified no less assurance in *Spain* that he would hinder him from so doing. Each of them argue the future from the present success. And warring one against the other, rather out of privat hatred, then the publick respect, each of them fervently desired to compass their ends with reputation and glory, the more to thwart the adversaries designe with loss and dishonour. *Orange* was much afflicted to find himself amidst the aforesaid necessities, which did foretoken that if he did not very speedily relieve *Mons*, his Army would immediately moulder away: he had no money to maintain it, nor was it any longer nourishable by rapine; and fearing every day lest the souldier might mutiny, he knew that in such a case his own forces would be more prejudiciall to him then those of his enemies. And doubtlessly he ran hazard either of being brought into great agony by his own men, by actual imprisonment, or through greater perfidiousness and avarice, of being delivered up into the Duke of *Alva*'s hands, which was the most hideous thing his thoughts could suggest unto him. Without any further delay then, chusing out 2000 of his best horse, and 1000 of his best foot, he sent them with great resolution towards that part where he thought they might easilyest enter *Mons*; on the side of *Juampel*. He divided the horse into two squadrons, and by them sheltered the foot, which he intended to put into the City; and disposed of all the rest of his Army so as might serve upon any occasion which fortune might present of battel. But the Kings men who had very well furnisht that pass before, and especially with some Spanish Colours under *Sancio d'Avila*, and *Julian Romero*, did so gallantly oppose the Assailants, and were so advantagiously second. ll by the Artillery which from the Fort commanded the Champian, as *Orange* could in no ways compass his intent. The conflict was notwithstanding very fierce, and was accompanied by a double tempest of Canon-shot, wherewith the Kings men played continually upon the Enemy both within and without: they being no less playd upon by the others likewise, both from within and without: but few of the Spaniards were slain. Of the Enemy about 300. *Orange* despairing of bringing in any relief on that side, removed his Camp that very night, and lodged in the Village *Hermenes* upon the bank of *Trulla*, not far from *St Sinforiano*. The Duke of *Alva* turned such forces likewise as were requisite on his side thitherward, to hinder the enemy from all relief on that side. Nor was it long ere he made them lose all hopes thereof. *Orange* his souldiers were quartered in great disorder, especially the Germans; all other things also in his Camp were in much confusion, nor was it any wonder: For the souldiers being for the most part pickt up here and there, without pay, or the curb of discipline, they obeyed no longer then they listed. The Duke of *Alva* was very well informed of all these disorders and wants amongst the enemy; which he suddenly made advantage of. Having himself viewed the Germans nearest quarters, he resolved to assault them that very night, hoping that fortune would befriend him in their change of quarters. He gave the charge thereof to *Norchermes*, who was then very much imployed by him in *Vitelli*'s absence, he being gone out of the Camp to be cured of his wound. The business insued thus: A thousand Spanish foot were pickt out and the Camp-Master *Romero* was chosen to conduct them, who though he was very good at Councel, yet was much better at execution. To these thousand Spaniards as many *Walloons* were added, to secure the retreat where need should require. In the deepest silence of night the Kings men began to move: and that they might be known from the enemy in the dark, they went with shirts uppermost. The Germans were then in a great deal of carelesness all of them fast asleep, so as they were slain before they knew they were assaulted: they thought som

tumult

tumult had casually happned amongst them; but being disdeceived by their wounds and bloud, and suddenly seised upon by confusion and fear they betook themselves rather to flight than to fight. The Kings men at the same time they assaulted the Germans, the more to increase their terror and loss, had fired their quarters: the fire burst forth on a sudden in sundry parts, and burnt many of the enemies: So as it was questionable whether more of them perisht by the Sword, Fire, or Water, whereinto many of them did blindly precipitate themselves. So to shun one death, met with another: and the Kings men having continu'd slaughter a good while, they were forced at last to retreat, for the Enemies Camp was by this time in Arms. In this action about 500 Germans were lost; and some few of the Spaniards, who not observing well their orders, were either borne away with too much heat of fighting, or were not well acquainted with the places of retreat. But the Enemy was hereat so affrighted, as forgoing all obedience and discipline, and leaving behind them great part of their baggage, they of their own inclination betook themselves presently to be gone. They stormed against *Orange* for having abused and betrayed them, and that instead of returning home loaded with spoyl and booty, they were now to carry away nothing but sufferings and disaccommodations. Amidst these outcries which tasted more of threats then complaints; *Orange*, being strangely confused, and being reduced to a condition rather of obeying then commanding, raised his Camp and marched towards *Malines*. The Duke was councelled by divers not to let slip so fitting an occasion of falling on the enemy whilst they retreated in disorder. But he answered with the vulgar Proverb;

Let us make a Bridg to them that fly,

and shew'd how that without doubt *Orange* would within a few days be forced to quit the Country. That it was sufficient for him that he had compast his end in the same manner as he desired. *Orange* left a strong Garison in *Malines*, intending to keep that City, which lying in the heart of *Flanders*, might serve him for many purposes. His Army afterwards wholly disbanding, and he luckely escaping out of their hands, whom he now suspected more then the enemy, he at last by way of a fugitive, rather hiding himself then retiring, got to *Delfe*, a City in *Holland*, there to put on such new resolutions as time and necessity should administer. When *Orange* was gone from about *Mons*, the Duke of *Alva* began narrowlyer to begirt the besieged. He re-inforced the begun batteries, and used all other necessary diligence, to the end that being rid of this siege, he might the sooner also recover those other places which *Orange* had made himself Master of. The besieged did notwithstanding valiantly and constantly defend themselves for some days; but at last all hopes of succour failing them, they resolved to yield, having received such honourable conditions as upon such occasions are usually articled and agreed upon between the vanquishers and vanquished. Count *Lodovick* went sick out of *Mons*; and passing into *Holland* to see his brother, he departed suddenly for *Germany*, to move every stone there which might serve to disturbe *Flanders*. Whilst affairs went thus about *Mons*, many important novelties had happened in *Holland*, *Zealand*, and in other places. Monsieur *de Seras* was Governor of *Flusbing*, being sent thither, as hath been said, by the Prince of *Orange*; and many hereticks were come from the neighbouring Countries to joyn with him. He therefore borne away with greater designes, and desirous in particular to lend his helping hand to the besieged in *Mons*, by entring into *Flanders*, and afterwards into *Hennault*, betook himself thereunto. He gathered together 2000 foot, and easily imbarked them in the maritine coasts of *Flanders* he had not notwithstanding sufficient Artillery to force any place; wherefore he placed his hopes more in the peoples rising, then in his own forces. But the Duke having used all needfull care to secure that Province, and *Seras* meeting with good resistance in all parts, he came from thence almost as soon as he was entred, and laid aside all thoughts of doing any good on that side. The chief end of the tumultuaries in *Zealand*, was to possess themselves of *Midleburg*. They thought that the Town of *Targoes*, placed on the Northern parts of one of those Islands, called

called *Southbeverlant*, would be a hindrance herein unto them. This Town was guarded by ſome *Spaniards*, and *Walloons*: and *Midleburg* might better be relieved by the Kings men from thence, then from any other part. *Seras* applying himſelf to get this place, brought a good number of men with him, and endeavoured to enter it by force; but he found ſuch oppoſition, as he ſoon forſook the enterpriſe. And being deſpiſed by his own men, for theſe two unfortunate ſucceſſes, as alſo for ſome other things; thoſe of *Fluſhing* would no more receive him, nor the reſt any longer follow him; ſo as he was fain to forgoe the Province with as much ſhame as he was at firſt received thereinto with honour. At the ſame time that Count *Lodovick* had poſſeſt himſelf of *Mons*, the aboveſaid inſurrections had happened in *Holland*; and except it were *Amſterdam*, the whole Province was almoſt revolted. To the *Brill*, where *Lumay* had raiſed the firſt tumults of thoſe parts, many heretick ſouldiers were come from the neighbouring Countries, eſpecially from *England*. People were likewiſe raiſed by the Rebels in other parts of the Province, who fortified divers other Paſſes which lay more inward in the Countrie, to the end that they might be Maſters of the beſt Avenues on both ſides. The Duke of *Alva* had taken with him, to the relief of *Mons*, and to oppoſe *Orange*, almoſt all the whole Army, as hath been ſaid, eſpecially the Spaniards, in whom he did moſt confide. So as *Holland* being as it were abandoned to the will of the tumultuaries, it was no wonder, if having ſo large a field to break forth in into novelties, they were both ſo eaſily contrived by them, and ſo eaſily executed. Divers notable alterations to the Kings prejudice aroſe likewiſe in the contiguous Provinces of *Utricht*, *Frieſland*, *Overiſel*, *Groninghen* and *Zutfen*. At *Orange* his entrance into *Flanders*, many of the chiefeſt places in each of them, followed him and his fortune, not meeting with almoſt any oppoſition by the Kings men. And the people baited by the ſpetious titles of common good, run almoſt from all places to aſſiſt his cauſe as if it had been their own. The Count *de Berg*, one of the chiefeſt Lords of all the Low-Countries, had married a ſiſter of the Prince of *Orange*; who had great adherencies particularly in *Frieſland*, and the parts thereabouts. He was likewiſe apparently inclin'd to favour hereſie, and joyned with *Orange* no leſs in Councel then in Bloud. He therefore came into the aforeſaid Province beyond the *Rhine* at the ſame time that *Orange* paſt from them to the other more inward Provinces, and made divers places of importance riſe, and placed Garriſons in ſome of them which were moſt conſiderable either for their Situation or Inhabitants: amongſt others the City of *Zutfen* was fallen into his hands, which gives the name to that Province. and which being ſeated on the River *Iſel*, is held for one of the chiefeſt of all thoſe parts. He had taken and ſackt the Town of *Amersfort*, upon the Frontiers of *Holland*; and indeavoured thus to draw the people by force, where they would not of themſelves be wrought unto it, to joyn with him, *Orange*, and the other Flemiſh exiles. It is not to be believed how ill they obſerved their promiſe which *Orange* in the aforementioned Manifeſto made to the Catholicks in point of Religion: For the firſt thing the hereticks did when they were entred into any Town, was to violate this promiſe: nay growing more outragious then ordinarily againſt Eccleſiaſticks, and eſpecially againſt Votaries; not content to uſe ſcorn, they proceeded to rapine, to impriſonment, to torments, and with unheard of cruelties, even to death. The end, which to the praiſe of Martyrdom, ſome Franciſcan Votaries made in the Towns of *Alckmar* and *Gorcham*, was very memorable. The affairs of the aboveſaid Provinces were at this paſs when *Mons* was delivered into the Duke of *Alva's* hands. A little before this ſiege was ended, the Tumultuaries in the heat of the advantages they had gotten, and whilſt the Duke was buſied about *Mons* with all the Kings forces, had reſolved to attempt the taking of *Tergoes* in *Zealand*: They deſpaired of getting *Middleburgh*, if they had not *Tergoes* firſt. Putting therefore 8000 Foot together, many whereof were *French*, *Germans*, and *Engliſh*; and being provided of Artillery to batter, they ſhipt the one and the other at *Fluſhing*, with all other things neceſſary for the enterpriſe: and from thence went to the Iſland of *Southbevolant*, and incamped themſelves underneath *Tergoes*. *Iſidore Pacceco* commanded ſuch of the Kings men as were there, conſiſting of little leſs then 400

Foot, part Spaniards, part Walloons. And becauſe one of the gallanteſt reſiſtance was there made that hath been ſeen in all this war, and the Town ſtill preſerv'd by one of the moſt memorable ſuccours that ever was read of either in antient or modern Hiſtory, methinks I may be permitted to be a little more diligent in the narration of the whole, then the brevity which we would willingly follow doth allow of.

Where the *Scheld* falls from the more inward parts of the Land, gliding for a good ſpace along the Confines of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, it comes at once out of both thoſe Provinces, and at the coming out divides it ſelf into two large branches: The one bends towards the North, and retains the name of *Scheld*; the other turns towards the Weſt, and is called *Honte*. Here both of them growing greater as they draw nearer the Ocean, before they fall thereinto, they joyn together in divers ſpacious Gulfs; amongſt which the Iſlands of *Zealand* are rather buried, then raiſed up, ſo low are they ſeated, and ſo oft doth the Sea do miſchief there. This low ſituation is notwithſtanding endeavoured to be remedied by the Inhabitants with exceeding high and firm banks. But this remedy doth not always avail: of which the Iſland of *Zuitbevolant*, which now we ſpeak of, hath had ſad experience, it having in former times been one of the greateſt and beſt populated of all the *Zealands* Iſlands. 'Tis ſaid that in the year 1532. the Sea roſe with one of the terribleſt tempeſts that was ever ſeen in thoſe parts; and that rending the banks aſunder, and bearing down whatſoever withſtood it, it overflowed from the one ſide to the other, and did actually drown a great part of the Iſland, to the utter and horrible deſtruction both of men and beaſts, and a great number of intire Villages, which were miſerably ſwallowed up by that deluge. This chance hapned on that ſide which lies neereſt *Brabant* and *Flanders*; this being the firſt Iſland which the *Scheld* in forming its aboveſaid branches, cuts off and divides from the Continent. Yet that Angle which lieth neereſt the firm land, remained ſtill unprejudiced, and is yet inhabited: So as by an eaſie paſſage which the *Scheld* gives there way unto, as many Souldiers as you pleaſe may be conveyed from each of the forenamed Provinces. On the Weſt the Iſland looks towards *Flanders*, on the North towards *Brabant*, and on this ſide ſtands *Tergoes*, and might therefore eaſilieſt be relieved from thence. *Tergoes* is a ſmall Town, better munited by nature then by art, being fenced on the one ſide by the *Scheld*, upon whoſe banks it is ſituated; it is invironed on another part with certain mariſh grounds; and the defendants had fortified it on the weakeſt ſide which lies towards the firm land. When the Enemies were incamped about it, they were very diligent in their ſtrait beſieging it. Nor did the Kings men forbear making divers ſallies to hinder the out-works, ſo as at the firſt many were ſlain on both ſides, wherein thoſe within ſhewed notable valour and courage. But the Enemy advancing with Trenches and Batteries on divers ſides, they began to annoy the beſieged very much; and had already made ſo great a breach in one of the walls with their batteries, as they thought they might come to an aſſault. Wherefore ſelecting out their choiſe men, they ſet upon the Kings men: but they met with ſo ſtout reſiſtance, as they were forced to retreat with the loſs and wounding of many of them; amongſt which more then one of their chiefeſt Captains. They afterwards made the like trial in another of their batteries, and had the ſame ſucceſs. In fine, thoſe without could not labour more to offend, then thoſe within did to defend. Behind one Work they raiſed another; they wrought both night and day; women ran to the Works as well as men: And although the Souldiers were but few in number to what was requiſite, yet they ſupplied that want by their worth. Famine works oft-times more in Sieges then doth the Sword. The Enemy proceeding no longer by way of Aſſault, betook themſelves to a more ſlow oppoſition, hoping to reduce the beſieged to ſuch a ſcarcity of victuals, as that they ſhould be forced to yield the Town. This mean while the Duke of *Alva* having taken *Mons*, did not delay his reſolution of ſuccouring *Tergoes*: He conſidered the Souldiers worth, the honour of the enterpriſe, and the importancie of the place; ſince upon the loſs or preſervation thereof, the like of *Middleburgh* did conſiſt. But it was chiefly weighed, that by keeping poſſeſſion of both theſe places, the King ſhould keep good footing ſtill in *Zealand*, the chief

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Maritime Port of all those Countries; to the full obtaining whereof, all courage and industry was to be imployed. He therefore charged *Sancio d'Avila* and *Christopher Mandragone* to endeavour the relief of the besieged with all speed. *Avila* was Governour of the Castle of *Antwerp:* and from that City, which lies upon the *Scheld*, and not far from the Iland *Zuitbevolant*, necessary provisions for relief might be better had then from any other part. *Berghen ap Zoom* is yet neerer *Tergoes*; so as all things necessary for the business were appointed to be brought thither, as the place fittest to receive them from *Antwerp*. The resolution was, to enter the North branch of the *Scheld*, which keeps the name thereof, and upon which *Tergoes* stands, with armed Boats, and to endeavour to effect their enterprise by that way. *Mandragone*, though a *Spaniard*, was then the *Walloons* Camp-master; but past afterwards to the like, and other greater imployments in his own Nation, with such praise for his valour, as he after became one of the chief Commanders thereof. A good number of men being then mustered to this end, part *Spaniards*, part *Germans*, part *Walloons*, they divers times endeavoured at the flowing of the Sea to advance by the said branch of the River, and to convey in the relief: but they still found the passage so possest by the enemy, and with so much stronger forces by Sea then theirs, as they could not effect it. *Avila* resolved afterwards to bring some Peeces of Artillery to the banks of the *Scheld*, and to try whether he could thereby make the Enemy give way unto the passage, so as *Mandragone* might at the same time convey the succour into *Goes* by water. But this answered not their expectation: For the Artillery being almost sunk in the mire of those low places, they could not advance much; wherefore *Mandragone* despaired likewise of doing any thing on his part. Thus did all hope of succour fail: When Captain *Plumart*, a Native of that Country, and very well practis'd therein, a man of courage, and who had served the King faithfully, presented himself before *D' Avila* and *Mandragone*, and spake thus:

Desperate advice is requisite in desperate enterprises. Yet I hope that which I shall now propound will prove rather so in shew then in substance. Why shall not we endeavour the relief, hazarding to wade through the drown'd part of the Island? A passage of terrible length doubtlesly; but yet it may be happily effected, if we observe well to endeavour it at the Seas lowest ebb. I who so boldly give the advice, doe with the like boldness offer to be my self the first that will execute it.

The quality of the man, who was held experienced, and known to be faithfull, added some force to his proposition, though both *Avila* and *Mandragone* thought it bore with it important difficulties. They knew already by experience, that the Country which was drowned, and through which they were to wade, was neer upon seven miles over; that the bottom of those drowned grounds was very muddy; that before the inundation happened, there were other running waters which past through the Country: That in propositions of this nature, the difficulties proved alwayes greatest in the practise; and how troublesome would so long a passage be? what breast, or what breath would be able to go through with it? and how could the ebbing and the flowing of the Sea be so justly measured, as that the Souldiers might not run danger of being lost? Nor would their dangers have here an end: for if the Enemy should either know of, or but suspect such a design, they might assault the Kings Souldiers upon great advantage as they should draw neer the dry land, and slaughtering them at their pleasure, hinder them from fixing their foot there: In which case what would it avail them to be well gotten out of the water, if they must at last be a prey unto the sword of the enemy? *Plumart* did not at all go less, for all these difficulties mentioned by *d'Avila* and *Mandragone*. But still making good his opinion, said, his minde gave him that the passage would be safe, and that he would be the first that would venture upon it. That the chiefest importance lay herein; and that the business was to be carryed on with all secresie, and done before it was known. *Avila* and *Mandragone* made then no longer delay. *Plumart*, together with two Spaniards and another Country fellow well verst in those parts, went and found the passage for their purpose. It was about the end of *October*, and the season was yet very fair, seeming as if it did also applaud the designe. The tryal proving

ving ſo well, they reſolved forthwith to venture to ſuccour the Town by that way. To this purpoſe a great many ſacks were prepared to carry match and powder, and bisket, and the ſouldiers were carryed into a Village called *Aggier*, in that Angle of the Iſland which lies neareſt the firm land, moſt commodious for that paſſage. The people that were to make it were 3000 choſen out of the three abovesaid Nations. *Avila* ſtayed in another neighbouring Village with Minhere *Seroſcherche*, Governour of *Berghen*, and the care of the ſuccour was left to *Mandragone*. They took their time to enter into the water at the firſt ebb; for the time of its being at the very loweſt would not ſerve the turn. He commanded the ſacks to be diſtributed according to the number of the ſouldiers, who were to carry them upon their backs, to the end that not being hurt by the water, the ſouldiers might at their coming out take ſome refreſhment after their ſo great labour, and uſe their muſquets againſt the enemy in caſe they ſhould meet with any unexpected oppoſition. In War, nothing is more requiſite then ſecrecy, as well to advantage the fight, as to overcome without fighting. The enterpriſe was therefore till then kept very ſecret, to the end that the enemy being taken at unawares, might not diſturb it. The time determined being come, and *Mandragone* being now to make the buſineſs known, he by way of incouragment ſpake thus unto the ſouldiers: *Fortune could not ſhew her ſelf unto us (my fellow ſouldiers) with a more favourable aſpect, then when ſhe ſeemed moſt to frown. You know we have oft-times in vain endeavoured to relieve* Tergous; *and now when we were in deſpair of doing it, Fortune hath pointed out a way unto us how to do it: Do you ſee this ſtanding water whereinto we are now to enter? This in former times was all drie land, which hath ſince been miſerably drowned by the ſea; yet ever ſince then the waters have been ſo ſhallow in ſome parts, as when the Sea ebs it may be waded thorough. And that there may be no doubt of this, the tryal hath been lately made. Which of you doth not know Captain* Plumart, *and his fidelity in the Kings ſervice? which of you knows not that he is better practiſed in theſe parts, then in his own houſe? he, accompanied with ſome others, hath paſt forwards and backwards over theſe waters, through which we are to bring in the relief. He will be my guide, I will be the like to the firſt file, and ſo one to another till we ſhall all come upon drie land: which being done, the buſineſs is effected. The enemy will dream of nothing leſs then of being aſſaulted by us on this ſide: ſo as aſtoniſhed at our boldneſſe, and overcome more by their own feare, then by our Forces, they will betake themſelves rather to flie then to fight: and ſay they ſhould fight, how can we doubt the victory? Theſe are the ſame Rebels as at firſt: Rebels no leſs to God then to the King. And altogether as cowardly at their Arms, as perfidious in their Cauſe. Theſe are the very ſame whom we but lately ſaw beſiege* Midleburg; *and in deſpight of them we relieved the Town by unexpected ways; and they running away before we were well got up unto them, yielded us the victory without any gainſaying. Then 'tis only the water that we are now to fight with, and to overcome; and ſome of you peradventure will fear this more then you would do the enemy. So many miles of drown'd land, blind ways, through ſo blind an Element; and chiefly the terror which the Tide brings with it. Theſe doubtleſs are all of them dreadfull objects, and I confeſs the enterpriſe is difficult; but glory is not won where there is no danger. Yet theſe are not ſuch as may not aſſuredly be overcome. The Ford (as I told you) is already found: the tryal thereof hath already been faithfully made: and the ebb will allow us time enough for our march before the flood come. For what remains, our patience will be more requiſite then our courage: and yet our courage will herein ſo clearly appear, as ſuch an action cannot be more apprehended by the enemy, nor more celebrated in the mouths of all others. We ſhall be famous throughout all the world, as contemners of dangers; as vanquiſhers even of Natures ſelf, and of her proudeſt Element. And what ſhall our deſerts be hereby from God? what from the King? moreover we may hope for great booty from their precipitate running away, as aſſuredly the enemy will do from the ſiege of* Tergoes. *But the work allows no longer time. I will be the firſt that ſhall enter the water: but every one afterwards undantedly follow me; and let each of us perform our parts ſo, as that by this glorious action the world may think me a gallant Commander, and you no leſs gallant Souldiers.*

Theſe words were followed with a great applauſe, each Nation ſeeming ambi-

tious

tious of the enterprise: and *Mandragone* ordered his people thus: The Spaniards went first, the Germans next them, and the Walloons last; all in very close files, to the end that the soldiers might wade the better, and if need should be, be the readier to help one another. Nor was there any delay made. *Mandragone* stept first into the water bare-footed and bare-leg'd, taking *Plumart* for his guide. Then all the rest did the like in the abovesaid order, and thus they continued to march, one file still incouraging the other. And the voyage was so well fitted to the floud, as also their courage in enduring it, to the labour of doing it, as unless it were nine who perisht either through misfortune or wearines, all of them got safely to the banks of *Tersichen*, a Village on the contrary shore, after a long march by water. *Tersichen* is two leagues distant from *Tergoes*; when they were got thither, *Mandragone* gave notice thereof presently to *Avila* by fires: and resting himself and his souldiers that night, he resolved to proceed on to the succour the next morning. But it was not needfull to make use of their Arms; for when the enemy heard how that they had passed the water, and in what manner; they were so astonished, and so sorely frighted, as they immediately raised their Camp, and began to imbarque themselves. *Mandragone* being hereof advertised from *Tergoes*, and being desired to send some souldiers to the Town, to assault the other in their retreat, he forthwith sent them 400 Harquebusiers, who made such haste, as they met with those of the Town time enough to anoy the enemy on their reer, and slew many of them before they could imbarque themselves. *Mandragone* entred afterwards into *Tergoes*, and by mutual demonstration of military joy, the soldiers received each other on both sides, contending whether the one had shewed more valour in maintaining the siege, or the others in raising it. When *Mandragone* had furnished the Town with things necessary, he returned to *Avila*, and both of them with their men went to the Army where the Duke of *Alva* was. Some of the antientest Spaniards who were in *Flanders* during my being Nuntio in those Provinces were present at this memorable action; and amongst others, *John Rivas*, who was come into those parts with the Duke of *Alva*; and who from a private souldier, was by his worth arrived by degrees to the higheſt places of Military profession. In my time he was Governour of the City and Citadel of *Cambray*, which is one of the chiefest charges which is given to those of his Nation. A man of a venerable aspect, and in whom it might be disputed, whether his wisdom in Civil, or in Military affairs was the more eminent. He hath sundry times related this succes to me, and I have in this place willingly commemorated so worthy and so grave an Author.

But to return to what the Duke of *Alva* did after the recovery of *Mons*: when he had provided for the safety of that City, and the rest of that Frontier, he turned his Army into *Brabant*, and marched towards the City of *Malines*. He went thither intending to use more severity then clemency: He thought that the Malineses had favoured *Orange* upon too easie terms, both in receiving a Garison from him, and in furnishing him with whatsoever he desired. He therefore made his son *Frederick* advance, to prepare all things requisite for storming the City. The rest of the Camp followed him, breathing forth threats and revenge. But not having received any pay for a long time, they were rather desirous of booty then of bloud, and therefore inclin'd to allay their anger more by pillage then by slaughter. The Citizens were not ignorant of their danger; so as after a short skirmish which happened between *Orange* his Germans, and the Kings men at their first arrival, they presently put that Garison out of the Town; and indeavoured by all means possible to appease the enemies anger. They used the greatest submission that might be to the Duke; and finally sent forth the Clergy in solemn procession, to induce them the more to clemency and commiseration The Duke began to listen to conditions; when the Spaniards, laying aside all delay, forced the Walls, and being followed by the rest, they entred the City, and overrunning it on a sudden, put it wholly to the sack. Their fury extended to all sexes, and to all ages. The Churches did not escape their avarice, nor did the Monasteries escape their lust. There was but little bloud shed and the Duke not being much troubled to see the City punisht, as also being in great arrears unto the Army, he was contented rather to excuse the plunder, then to

resent it. When he had reordered his affairs, he went from *Malines* to *Maſtricks* and from thence to *Nimínghen* the chiefeſt City in *Ghelderland*. Here he ſtaid ſome dayes, thinking how he might recover the Towns of that Province which were loſt. *Ruremond* fell without any difficulty into his hands, together with whatſoever *Orange* had poſſeſt himſelf of thereabouts. He then reſolved to begirt *Zutfen*, where the Enemy had fortified themſelves, and ſeemed as if they would make it good. To this end he ſent his ſon *Frederick* thitherward with a good proportion of men, and Artillery.

Zutfen is ſituated upon the River *Iſel*, and on one ſide of the Town a leſſer River called *Berchel* fals into the ſaid *Iſel*: The other ſituations without the Town are very low and myerie. *Zutfen* was at this time walled about after the ancient form, and was every where provided with good and deep ditches. But being many years after fallen into the abſolute power of the Hereticks, they have made it one of the ſtrongeſt places of all thoſe Countries. *Frederick* pitched his Camp about it about the latter end of *November*, at which time the weather grew very ſharp and cold; and there was great ſtore of Ice, which as it made for the advantage of the Kings men, ſo did it to the contrary for the enemy, who had placed their chiefeſt hopes of defence in their low and watery places, wherewith the Town was environed on all ſides. *Frederick* drew neer it without much difficulty; and having raiſed two Batteries where he thought it fitteſt in thoſe low ſituations, he began by them to make great breaches. Signior *Hierges*, a valiant Souldier, had the charge of the Artillery; and the Kings men were not likely long to forbear the aſſault: when the Garriſon which was within the Town growing apprehenſive, reſolved to ſteal privately away; wherefore the Townſmens fear growing greater, they fell preſently to treat of agreement. But the Kings men, ſcorning all accord, forced the walls: and being more greedy here likewiſe of booty then of blood, fell forthwith to plunder the Town in hoſtile manner, and treated it altogether as ill as they had formerly done *Malines*. By the terror of theſe two ſackings, all thoſe Cities and Towns on the other ſide of *Rhein* in the aforeſaid Provinces of *Groninghen*, *Overiſel*, *Frieſland* and *Utricht*, which had caſt off their obedience to the King, returned ſuddenly thereunto: And the Count *de Berg*, together with divers other perſonages of quality, withdrew themſelves preſently into the neereſt parts of *Germany*.

It was now the beginning of winter: Wherefore the Duke caſhier'd all the Germans which he had lately raiſed, and which were much leſſened in their numbers, and returned to his uſual abode at *Bruſſels*. But his ſon *Frederick*, when he had ſecured the moſt important places beyond the *Rhine*, turn'd his Army forthwith into *Holland*. To boot with his former victories, he was encouraged by the ſeaſon of the year; which being extraordinarily cold and icy, made him hope he might the more eaſily enter thoſe low and watry ſituations. He marched thitherward with great Forces, particularly with the flower of the *Spaniards*. But before he could get thereinto, he muſt entertain himſelf ſome dayes before *Naerden*, a little Town neer the Sea. *Naerden* is ſeated very low, and hath many ſtanding waters about it, occaſioned by the River *Wetcht*, which running through the midſt of the Town fals ſoon after into the *Zuiderzee*. Here had many Hereticks neſtled themſelves, by reaſon of the opportunity of the ſeat; and not only thoſe of the Country, but alſo of the neighbouring parts. And this was one of the moſt corrupted Sanctuaries which they had in all thoſe parts. *Frederick* did not think they would make any reſiſtance: yet becauſe there were many French *Hugonots* there, and becauſe they were encouraged by the other Rebels in *Holland* who had promiſed them aid, they would not return to the Kings obedience, as *Frederick* had fairly invited them to doe. Wherefore he was the more incenſed. He made the Artillery advance; and adding threats to the terror of Arms, he betook himſelf to ſtorm the Town. But thoſe within, failing in their courage, condeſcended to a parley, and agreed to ſurrender the Town to *Frederick*: wherewith the Souldiers being diſpleaſed, they obſerved no Articles, but fell preſently to fire the Town: Plunder was the leaſt of their evils: All the *French*, and other Hereticks who were in the Town, were put to the ſword: And to compleat their miſeries, to Plunder and blood Fire was added; ſo as except it were one Church

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and Monaſtery, there was not any ſign of a Town left. With theſe dreadfull preſidents did *Frederick* enter *Holland*. But the event will ſhew, that though it be always good to joyn fear to clemencie, it is always hurtful to couple it with deſperation. When the Spaniſh forces were brought into that Province, the people thereof grew into ſuch horror of them, as deſpairing either to obtain forgiveneſs if they ſhould demand it, or to have it made good unto them though they ſhould have it promiſed, they reſolved to maintain by all poſſible means their begun Revolt.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK VII.

The Contents.

The Cities of Holland *which are up in Arms, endeavour to get* Amſterdam *to joyn with them: Which not being able to doe, they imploy force againſt it.* Frederick *of* Toledo *goes thither himſelf in perſon, and ſecures it from all danger. He ſeeks to be receeived into* Harlem, *and to put a garriſon into it. Thoſe of the Town ſeem at firſt to incline thereunto, and afterwards refuſe to doe it.* Frederick *layes ſiege unto the City. The ſituation of* Harlem. *A Fort is planted by thoſe of* Harlem *without the Town: 'tis taken by the* Spaniards, *who alſo cut off a ſuccour. They aſſault the Town in an impetuous, but diſorderly manner, and are repulſed with great loſs. Freſh aid is brought into the City. Extraordinary Cold and Froſt. The* Hollanders *extraordinary dexterouſneſs and agility upon the Ice. Great ſufferings amongſt the Kings men: They fear to be neceſſitated to retreat, but the Duke of* Alva *will not conſent thereunto. The Beſiegers make therefore the greater oppoſition, and the Beſieged the greater reſiſtance. Valiant actions both by ſea and land by both parties. A Naval battel, wherein the Kings men have the better. A ſore famine in* Harlem. *Succour ſent by* Orange, *but routed by the* Spaniards. *The City is ſurrendred: Severe puniſhments inflicted. New things happen this mean while in* Zealand. *The* Spaniards *mutiny in* Holland. *Their unfortuate ſiege of* Alkmar: *And no leſs unfortunate ſucceſs by Sea. The Duke of* Alva *and Duke* Medina-Celi *depart from* Flanders. Recheſens *the Commendador General of* Caſtile, *is made Governour of* Flanders.

IN the almoſt general Inſurrection of *Holland*, it is not to be believed how conſtant the City of *Amſterdam* kept in their obedience to the Church, and King. And her conſtancie is ſo much the more to be praiſed, for that all the reſt of the Cities that were up in Arms endeavoured by all means poſſible to draw her over to ſide with them. They firſt uſed fair means; and then betook themſelves to force. They infeſted her territories with armed men; and indammaging her more by ſea then by land, they had burnt many of her ſhips in the Port, and did as it were beſiege her with theirs on that ſide. *Frederick* removed

removed suddenly therefore from *Naerden* to *Amsterdam*, and secured the City on the Land-side. He endeavoured to do the like on that side which lay towards the Sea: he sent some men against the Enemies ships, hoping by means of the Ice to be able to assault them neer at hand, and to indammage them. But the Enemy breaking the Ice, and making as it were a Ditch about them for their defence, kept the Kings men aloof off, and preserved their ships free from any harm. So as *Frederick* highly commending those of *Amsterdam* for their loyalty, and satisfying the City by not putting any foreign Garrison into it, resolved to proceed in that Province as he had begun, by his forces. He would notwithstanding first use fair means, accompanied with threats. And to this purpose perswaded the City of *Amsterdam* to mediate with the rest. The nearest and chiefest of them was *Harlem*. And so far did this City exceed all the other Cities of *Holland* in Prerogatives, as in the new erection of Bishopricks the Episcopal See of that Province should have been placed there. Those of *Harlem* seemed to take in good part the *Amsterdammers* intercession, and sent some of their Inhabitants who were best affected to the Church and to the King, to treat with *Frederick* in *Amsterdam*. And the Treaty was already held to be as good as agreed on, wherein was contained, That they should receive a Spanish Garison. When the *Harlem* men suddenly changing their minds, would needs fall off and break the Treaty. The Sea is not so agitated with winds, as are the common people with passions. They are blind in their consultations, and more blind in their resolutions; and with incredible fickleness, on a sudden turn their love into hatred, and their hatred into love.

We told you before, that the Prince of *Orange* was come to settle himself in *Holland*, not only as in a Province wherein he had formerly been Governour, and wherein he was still acknowledged to be so, but as in the chief seat of his designs. And therefore he ceased not by all possible art to foment the troubles which were already begun there. Under him, Captain *Mibald Ripert* was Governor of *Harlem*, born in *Friesland*, and who depended upon *Orange* more by the subordination of his sense, then of his office. This man assembling the multitude together whilst they were hottest in concluding with the *Spaniards*, with a loud voice spake thus unto them.

Shall private Fraud be now thus falsly cloaked by publike Zeal? Shall the Tyranny exercised by the Duke of Alva *be thus adhered unto under pretence of Obedience due unto the King? And to shun the peril of a Siege, as is speciously pretended, shall we with greater danger receive* Spaniards *into this City? Which if we doe, who shall secure us of their truth? or rather why should not we by their usual customes assure our selves of their perfidiousness? The streets of* Malines, Zutfen, *and* Naerden *run yet with blood, their houses smoke yet with fire; and the groans occasioned by a thousand other hostile acts of theirs in those places, without regard either to articles agreed upon, or promises sworn unto, are yet every where heard? Why should not we of* Harlem *rather doe as they of* Amsterdam *have done? the Inhabitants whereof would not admit of a* Spanish *Garison, but will maintain their Loyalty to the King by their own proper Militia. It is best for us to doe so likewise; and so thinks the Prince of* Orange, *who is Governour of this Province, and so well affected to this City. The Prince of* Orange, *who after having run such grievous dangers, and suffered so much hardness for the common service of his Country, is at last come to fix himself here amongst us, to make our cause more his then his own; and by which he desires the King may be obeyed rather then by any other; but by the mildness of our own Laws, and not by the violence of Strangers. For if then the* Spaniards *will try their power by a Siege, and we shall endeavour to withstand them, and doe it more by the wals of our breasts then of our City, our cause will doubtlesly be so just, as we shall not doubt of the success. But come what will come, how much better will it be to die once in defence of our Liberty, then a thousand times every day in undergoing the miseries of an intolerable slavery?*

When *Ripert* had thus spoken, *Lancelot Brederode* stept forward, one of the most honorable men of the Province, and best esteemed of in that City; and seconded *Ripert* with equal efficacie. In kindling sedition, the forwardness of a few is sufficient against the lukewarmness of many: And thus it then fell out.

Some others who were openly of *Orange* his faction, followed these two Chieftains, and changing the resolution which was already almost agreed on, it was concluded that instead of a Spanish Garison, some Companies of a German Regiment, who by order from the Rebels in *Holland* were raised by Colonel *Mussler*, should be received into the City. Hereticks were not wanting within the walls, who growing bold upon such an occasion, flew suddenly to some Churches, and turn'd them to their own use. Nor did the rage of the seditious stop here: They would have those to be imprisoned who were gone to treat with the Spaniards, and not long after they cruelly put them to death; whereat *Orange* was not displeased, for that the Harlemists being thereby the *deeper dipt in Guilt*, they despair the more of pardon from the King. At the hearing of so unexpected an alteration, *Frederick* of *Tolledo* was highly incenst, and his father more highly, who had heard news thereof at *Brussels*. They made no long delay. *Frederick* moved at the same instant with the Kings Army towards *Harlem*, and with great resolution prepared to besiege it. *Harlem* lies in a large plain, devided every where into lovely medows; the ground in *Holland* being usually fitter for pasture then for seed. On the one side it hath a wood nigh at hand, which is but very little, and serves rather for pleasure then for firing. On another side the River *Sparen* runs within the Walls; which washing the walls on the outside with another branch, that presently joyns with the former, makes that part of the City an Iland. Towards the South, this River communicates with a great Lake called *Harlem Meer*, and towards the West with a large Gulf called *Ye*, which entring into other greater Gulfs, fals not into, but is rather incloſed by the Ocean. The City is provided of a good Ditch, and good Walls, not flanked according to the modern fashion, but with great Towers after the antient wont. The circuit thereof is great; it is very well peopled: and to the number of the Inhabitants, as well in private as in publick, doth the condition of the Edifices answer. Near this City, almost at equal distance within half a days journey, lie two of the chiefest Towns of *Holland*, *Amsterdam* on the East, and on the South *Leyden*. The later conspired with the others in the insurrection; and *Orange* was himself then in it, to the end that he might be nearer to assist the Harlemists, both with advice and forces. *Amsterdam* on the contrary, was wholly, as hath been said, for the King; as was likewise the contiguous Province of *Utricht*: and from that side therefore was the Spanish Camp to be furnished with all things necessary for the siege. *Frederick* endeavoured therefore first to secure the Passes on that side. One of which was of greater importance then the rest, and lay nearer *Harlem*, between two little Villages, betwixt which runs the river *Sparen*, and which by reason of the neighbourhood thereof, are called, the one *Sparendam*, the other *Sparenwoude*. In this place there was a Fort, built by the Rebels of *Holland*, which being lost, and again re-taken, was better munited by them then before. *Frederick* purposed to possess himself of this Fort; but as much as he desired to gain it, as much did the Harlemists strive to keep it from being lost. It was now about the beginning of *December*; and the cold falling out more early, and more bitter that year then usually, the waters were in all parts very hard frozen. This made much for the Spaniards in assaulting the Fort; for the water in the ditch being frozen over, and the earth hardened by the cold, which before was soft and spongy, they might therefore the easilyer draw near it. *Frederick* sought first notwithstanding to inform himself better of the Forts condition, and of the enemies intentions. To this end he sent forth *Roderigo Zappata* with a party of Harquebusiers. Which when the Harlemists saw, they forthwith sallied out couragiously, and made the Spaniards retreat: and in this action *Zappata* lost an arm.

This did not slacken, but did more inflame the Spaniards. They therefore soon after assaulted the Fort on two sides at once, and the Harlemists came forth the second time to defend it: But the number of the latter was neither equal to the others, nor yet their valour: so as they did rather yield then fight. And the Spaniards ceased not, till passing over the ditch upon the ice, and still pressing harder upon the Harlemists, they entred the Fort joyntly with them; where they slew many, and easily drove out the rest. The Spaniards incouraged hereby,

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drew near the City, and begirt it on sundry parts. The Kings Army consisted not of above 12000 foot, but all of them choice souldiers, and mightily puft up by their so many prosperous successes. There were about 6000 Spaniards, 3500 Germans, and the rest Walloons. They brought but 400 horse to the siege, part Lances, part Dragoons, which were as many as they needed, respect being had to the Country, and to the season. As *Frederick* advanced, and as he divided his quarters, he understood that *Lumay* came from *Leydens* side to bring a good succour to the City. He brought with him the remainder of the German Regiment which was raised by *Muller*, and some other Companies of French and English, which might make 3000 foot, with some pieces of Artillery, and some victuals. *Frederick* hearing this, hasted to meet the enemy: a thick cloud favoured both the parties, each of them thinking the better to conceal themselves by the obscurity thereof; and to fall upon the contrary party at unawares: But the event proved better for the Kings men. The encounter was near the Town of *Berchenrode*, where the business lasted not long; for the Kings men were so much the better both in numbers, valour and diligence, as the enemy were quickly routed. Many of them were slain, and the rest dispersst: they lost their Artillery, many Colours, all their Baggage, and all the provision which they brought. *Frederick* returning to order the siege, chose for his quarters a certain Hospital, with some few houses of a Burrough, which answered upon one of the Gates of the City called *de la Croce*, and kept with him all the Spaniards. On this side a great battery was soon prepared. But this situation which was the most commodious for quarter, was not so for battery; for the Gate was fenced by a good Ravelin, and the Wall was there also more defensable. On the side opposite to them, which looked towards *Leyden*, the rest were quartered, with little or no commodity of covert. But the Wall being weaker on that side, and worse flankt, therefore the oppugning on that side might be the easier. This error was rather despised then not known. The Spaniards could not perswade themselves but that the Harlemists would throw open their Gates at the very first thunder of their Canon, as they had done in other places which they had lately taken. And they were the more confirmed herein by their double good success of taking the Fort, and keeping back the relief. So as not observing the Military proceedings in sieges, and too scornfully neglecting to make their Trenches, so to draw near by degrees (as is usual) under their Rampires; they resolved to fall immediately to the battery of the said gate *de la Croce*, and of its Ravelin. They placed sixteen piece of great Canon against that side, and on the 18 of *December* began a very fierce Battery. So great was the first days rain, as they of *Harlem* could hardly work upon the Ravelin and the Gate. But the night following they did so well provide for all things necessary, as they manfully made good the defence; to the great praise in particular of Captain *Steinback*, *Mullers* Lieutenant, who had the custody of the Ravelin. They continued therefore to play more fiercely with their Canon from without. *Il Segnor della Cressoniera* commanded the Artillery, and Captain *Bartolomy Campi*, an Italian, was chief Ingenier of the Army; a man greatly esteemed in that profession. The souldiers seemed very desirous to proceed to the assault. They were eg'd on by anger, hatred, and desire of booty; but especially by finding so obstinate a resistance in the Harlemists. The Ingenier *Campi* made a portable bridg, and the ruines being still made greater by the Batteries, the *Tolledan* not contented with the commodity which the ice afforded him, commanded that the bridg should be thrown over the Ditch. Yet for the better discovery, he made Captain *Francisco Vargas* advance with 150 Harquebusiers, all Spaniards. The rest of the foot staid not to expect orders, but ere it was time to fall on, they advanced. Three could hardly march abrest upon the bridg, yet the souldiers striving who should enter first thereupon, and eagerness prevailing more with them then discipline, they came in such disorder, as one hindred another; and they could not advance, because the breach was not so great as that the bridg could reach unto it. This mean while a furious tempest of musquetshot, of fire, and of Canon powred down upon them from the City, they lying open with their squadrons upon the side of the ditch, and making themselves too near a mark for the wounds which they received. Yet were they so transported

with the fury of aſſaulting, as forgetting their obedience to their Commanders, they would not retreat. Inſomuch as the Camp-maſter *Romero*, who was both greatly beloved and feared by them, was forc'd to go to them, and bitterly chiding them, to ſay,

What raſhneſs, or rather what Frenſie is it that cauſeth you doe thus? Are theſe errors learnt in the Duke of Alva's *Military ſchool? Doe men go to aſſaults by the air? Will you ſuffer your ſelves thus to be ſlain, when you are not able to fight? being made a But, or rather a laughing-ſtock to theſe Rebels, who ſecure within their Rampiers, mock you whilſt they wound you? Shall you not have occaſions enough to puniſh their perfidiouſneſs? Lay aſide now then that violence wherewith you are blinded. I, who have ſo often ſhar'd with you in victory, will at this time ſhare willingly with you in loſs.*

Thus at laſt they retreated; but they left little leſs then 200 dead behind them, whereof one Captain and ſome Enſigns. The *Spaniards* by this ſucceſs found their error of their opinion touching the taking of *Harlem*: So as finding it now to be as hard, as they thought it eaſie before, they reſolved to forgo all manner of action, till they were largely provided of all things neceſſary to lead on the ſiege at leiſure. To this end ſuch orders as was requiſite were given in the neighbouring Cities of *Amſterdam* and *Utricht*: But it was not ſo eaſie to bring proviſions to the Camp, becauſe the Rebel *Hollanders* infeſting all the wayes, did all they could to hinder them. A moneths ſpace paſt over therefore, before the Kings men did any thing of conſideration concerning the ſiege. In which interim the *Harlemites* received a ſuccour of 800 French and Walloon Foot, who had been at the defence of *Mons*, led on by Signior *di Serras*, together with good ſtore of ammunition and victuals. The enemy grew ſo proud upon this ſucceſs, as becomeing rather inſolent then audacious, they appeared openly upon the walls, jeering and ſcoffing at the *Spaniards*. And joyning impiety to their inſolence, they cauſed themſelves to be ſeen in uſual places, as it were in Proceſſion, with Prieſts and Friars habits upon them, with Mitres and other Church-accoutrments, contending who could beſt expreſs their hatred to the Spaniſh Nation, or their deriſion to the Church and Catholick religion. And this their heretical frenſie grew to that height, as expoſing in that wicked Scene the ſacred Images, and chiefly ſuch as were moſt frequented in the Churches, they made them a mark to be ſhot at, and finally cut them all to peeces with their ſwords. This mean while the Kings men, when they had made neceſſary proviſions, deſirous to redeem the time they had loſt, they betook themſelves with all fervencie to the ſiege; intending notwithſtanding to purſue it, not with immature aſſaults, but with well ordered patience. Whereupon opening their Trenches, they diligently purſued them: The Battery followed; which they made not in the former place, but placed it againſt the Curtain which ran between the Gate *de la Croce*, and that of *Sil*, which lay neareſt the Camp on the right hand. They made a great breach therein; and yet thoſe within did ſo well repair it, as they without thought it not yet fit to fall to an aſſault. And becauſe the Curtain was too well fenced by the aforeſaid Ravelin, therefore 'twas thought abſolutely neceſſary to bereave the Defendants of ſo great an advantage. Leaving then the Battery for a while, they came in a ſhort time to the entrance of the Ditch: here their whole endeavour was againſt the Ravelin: For going the longeſt way about, but yet the moſt ſecure, they would advance by degrees with the pick-axe, ſpade, and mines, and thus drive the enemy from thence. At laſt they made themſelves maſters of it, but with no leſs expence of blood then of time; ſuch valour did they within ſhew, and plaid ſo often their parts rather of Aſſaulters then Aſſaulted. The *Harlemiſts* loſt not their courage, though they had loſt their Ravelin: But their diligence increaſing anſwerable to their danger, they ran ſuddenly from every place, women as well as men, to fortifie the gate *de la Croce*, which, the Ravelin being loſt, lay altogether open. They did the like to the Curtain which was already battered, and which ran as hath been ſaid toward the gate *Sill*. And fearing leſt the Kings men ſhould play likewiſe upon the other Curtain on the left hand, which joyned with the next gate called S. *Johns* gate, they fell induſtrionſly to repair that ſide alſo; not omitting any labour either in making of Ditches, Traverſes, Countermines, and other Inventions,

ventions, which are usually found out by the most industrious Defendant, against the most cunning Opposers. But they without lay at too much disadvantage in comparison of those that were within. The Kings men, by reason of the Enemies continual excursions, came hardly by their victuals: Great store of men were required to conduct them; the remainder were not able to maintain the siege well: And together with other hardships, being mightily tormented by the cold, their numbers lessened every day, by sickness, death, and running away. The *Harlemists*, on the contrary, did abound in warlike men; they were easily succoured with men and victuals; their houses saved them from the injuries of the weather; and the ice was not of greater use to the Kings Camp for ordering the Country, then it was to them by affording them means to bring all necessaries into the City. It is not to be said how dexterous the *Hollanders* are upon the ice. Their Country (as we have often said) is full of standing waters; which are usually frozen over every year, though they be not so excessive there as in other less humid and watry Countries. The waters doe therefore then lose their nature; and the use of Boats being changed into the like of Chariots, those Fields of ice, as if they were so much firm land, are travel'd on by men and horses. Their Chariots are usually little, and drawn but by one horse; they are not born upon wheels, but upon little joysts or rafters, according to those sledges which are used in *Lombardy*. Their men are likewise very ingenious in going a great pace, and yet very safe upon the ice: They harness the whole length of their feet with sleek and narrow irons, bowing a little outward in the part before; they govern themselves upon these, and upon these wings (if I may so call them) they rather flie then walk, their course being then so fast as it can hardly be followed by the eye. Nor is the use hereof less practised by women then by men nay, in contentions which have somtimes hapned herein between both sexes, the women have often had the better: The women there find no trouble at all in running upon the ice; but at the same time when they go fastest, do some one or other of their womanly works. By means then of these Chariots or Sledges, the *Harlemists* received whatsoever they needed: they came in troops upon that great neighbouring Lake call'd *Harlem-meer*. All that side is call'd by that name, which looks most upon the City, whereinto the River *Sparen* enters on that side. And because the same Lake comes almost as neer *Leyden* on another part, it is there called *Leyden-meer*. This communication between *Leyden* and *Harlem* by means of this Lake, furnished the besieged with all things necessary; who with frequent excursions received in their succours, and oft times made the Kings men repent the going about to hinder them. Nor did *Orange* forbear to bring in such aids into the City as he could by the usual land-way. But to secure the succours the better from those parts, he made a Fort be erected almost half way between *Leyden* and *Harlem*, whither bringing the provisions, he conveyed them the easilier from thence to the besieged. But the Kings men, though upon such disadvantagious terms, ceased not to pursue what they had begun: They pursued to batter the broken walls and to endeavour the undermining them; hoping thereby to make the breach more commodious, and consequently the assault more easie. On the contrary the Defendants were not less vigilant in using all possible means to obviate all the Enemies endeavours, and make them invalid. To Mines without they opposed Mines within, meeting thus with them, spoiling them and springing them: They repaired the walls where they were amiss. So as they no wayes feared the threats of being assaulted from without.

This mean while *December* ended, and the new year of 1573. began, which was remarkable in *Flanders*, particularly for this Siege which we now describe. It lasted above seven moneths; the accidents were as various, as the time was long; and they doubted oft-times most of the victory, who at last got it. We notwithstanding will only set down the chief accidents which hapned there; the dignity of the story it self so requiring it, and the worthiness of future things calling us with too much reason from observing every smaller accident. But to return to the Siege. As vigilant as the Kings men were in providing that victuals might be safely brought to the Camp, the Enemy were altogether as industrious in endeavouring to hinder them. To this purpose they sent a good number of souldiers *An.* 1573.

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to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the moſt important Paſſes towards *Naerden* and *Amſterdam*. And they were led on by one *Antonio Pittore*, who had the chief hand in the ſurpriſal of *Mons*, when Count *Lodovick* of *Naſſaw* entred it, as we then obſerved. But notice hereof being brought to *Amſterdam*, the Townſmen ſent forth ſouldiers enough to hinder the ſucceſs, who meeting with the enemy, routed them and ſlew many of them, in particular *Antonio Pittore* was there ſlain; and the Spaniards in ſcorn of his miſdeed, threw his head into the City, together with the head of another who was called the King, and who was much eſteemed of by the Harlemiſts. Who incenſt by this action, were not long in reſenting it. They choſe out twelve of thoſe priſoners which they had of the Kings Army, and cutting off their heads, they put them into a barrel, and rouling it down the walls, made it fall into the Spaniards Trenches, with this Inſcription upon it.

This Tribute of the tenth penny is ſent by the Harlemiſts to the Duke of Alva; *and foruſe-mony, they have ſent the twelfth.*

This cruel act was anſwered by another no leſs cruel from without; for ſome of their men were in their ſight hung up by the head and the heels, and they ſoon after ſerved ſome of the Kings men with the ſame ſauce. So much doth the fury of war inrage mens minds, eſpecially of ſuch war, where rebellion is puniſhed on one ſide, and maintained on the other. This mean while the number of ſouldiers within the City was mightily increaſed. Beſides the Townſmen, there were there 4000 foot, many of which were Germans, French and Engliſh. And *Orange* ceaſed not to labour hard in all the neighbouring Countries, the raiſing of ſo potent a ſuccour as by open force might make the Spaniards raiſe their ſiege. The beſieged growing therefore daily more jolly, made frequent excurſions: and made one ſo fierce againſt the German quarter of the Kings Camp, as they drove them from one houſe, wounded and ſlew many of them, and put all the reſt into great confuſion. They ſallied forth yet more furiouſly a few days after againſt the Spaniſh quarters, and indeavoured mainly to recover the Ravelin which they had loſt; and ſo far forward did their courage carry them, as they had almoſt nailed up the Canons mouths as they ſtood upon the battery. But being valiantly withſtood, they re-entred the City without reaping any advantage. The action was notwithſtanding very gallant, and coſt much bloud on both ſides. *Frederick* on the contrary ſtill incouraging his men the more, reſolved to raiſe the Ravelin which they had taken, ſo high as it might command, and hinder the Works within: and having cauſed much earth to be brought to that purpoſe, he planted two pieces of Artillery upon it. but the good did not anſwer expectation, ſo well did the beſieged behave themſelves on that behalf. The Kings men grew this mean while every day fewer by reaſon of their ſufferings. *Signor della Treſſoniera*, who had the charge of the Artillery was dead of ſickneſs. *Signor Norchermes* being wounded, could not have ſuch diligence uſed in his cure as was requiſite; many other Spaniſh Officers of quality were found miſſing, as alſo many of other Nations. And in fine, the affairs of the Army were reduced to ſuch terms, as the ſucceſs of the buſineſs began greatly to be feared. Yet the Duke of *Alva*'s inſtructions to his ſon were ſtill more peremptory: Though in caſe the ſiege ſhould draw out in length, he had written effectually to *Spain* to have two old Brigades of that Nation ſent him, who were then in *Italy*; and raiſed new men in the neighbouring County of *Burgundy*. *Frederick* delayed not then to make one tryal more before his men were conſumed. Reſolving therefore to give a fierce aſſault in divers places at once, againſt that ſide which ran from St *Johns* gate to that of *la Croce*, and to the other of *Sill*, on which ſide, as we have already ſaid, the Kings men had opened their Trenches, made Batteries, and wrought in the Ditches, the determination was thus put in execution. The three Spaniſh Camp-Maſters, *Roderigo de Tolledo*, *Julian Romero*, and *Conſalvo de Bracamonte* took upon them to aſſault with the ſouldiers of their Brigades, one of them the gate *de la Croce*, and the other two the two next ſides on the right hand, and on the left. *Signor de Bigli* with ſome Walloons of his Regiment, was appointed againſt a Work which fenced St *Johns* gate, and ſuch orders were given as were requiſite ſo to annoy thoſe within at once, both from the

the Ravelin, and the fitteſt places of the Ditch, as they ſhould not be able to hinder thoſe without, who were to get upon the Breach. All theſe directions were valiantly performed by the Kings men; but the beſieged ſhewed no leſs valour on their ſide, running with vigilancy and courage whether ſoever danger called them. So as it behoved the Kings men at laſt to fall off, with a conſiderable loſs, for above 300 of them were ſlain, and in particular many of *Bigli*'s men, who met with the greateſt difficulties, and moſt reſiſtance. In this aſſault *Roderigo de Tolledo* was ſorely wounded, and Captain *Lorenſo Berea* was ſlain, with ſome other inferiour Officers. It cannot be ſaid how afflicted the Kings Camp was at this unfortunate ſucceſs. And the affair growing every day more doubtfull, *Frederick* thought good to hear the opinion of the chief Commanders herein. Many of them ſhewed very little hopes of any good ſucceſs.

That the difficulties of the ſiege were now greater without then within. That the cold was very extream; and the ſeaſon a greater enemy then the enemie's ſelf. That they ſuffered all other greater ſtraits in their lodgings and in their victuals: That their men were but few, being more conſumed by ſufferings then by action. That on the contrary, there was great plenty of all things in the City; that they were every day ſtrengthened with new aids, and appeared ſtill more obſtinate in their defence; whence it was to be concluded, that either the ſiege was never to have an end, or if it were to have any, the conqueror would at laſt be greater loſers then the conquered. That it was then better to withdraw the Army as ſoon as they could, and wiſely to prevent greater neceſſities, leſt they might unfortunately be prevented to their ſhame.

But it was again alleadged on the contrary, *That upon the ſucceſs of this ſiege, the conſequences of future ſieges did depend. That it was not to be believed that the obſtinacy of the Rebels in* Holland *was to be allay'd by this alone. How much would other Cities be encouraged, if they ſhould ſee the ſiege baſely raiſed from before this? That the injuries of the ſeaſon were not eternal: that the worſt weather was ſucceeded by better. And that from the natural humidity of that Climat, it might be hoped that ſome one night the ice would be quite diſperſed. That new men would quickly come from Spain, and new Levies might be ſooner made in* Flanders: *That then the ſiege might be laid cloſer, and care to be had for the advancement of proviſions for the Camp. That ſuccours being cut off, the town would ſoon fall into their hands: neither could the Kings loſſes be ſo great upon this occaſion, but that they might be largely recompenced in future atchievements.*

Frederick repreſented theſe different opinions to the Duke his father, deſirous to know his opinion, which he would fully obſerve. The Duke quickly anſwered in terms which might make it doubtfull whether his paternal, or Military Authority ſwai'd him moſt.

That he ſhould be ſure to purſue and finiſh the ſiege, unleſs he would ſhew himſelf unworthy of Spaniſh bloud, unworthy of his bloud; and of having the Command of thoſe Forces which when they ſhould have reduced Holland, *would without any difficulty do the like to all the reſt of* Flanders. *That the hardeſt enterpriſes were always the moſt glorious. And that in great ſieges the number of days was not to be conſidered, but the advantagious conſequences. That he ſhould now endeavour that by Famine, which hitherto he could not effect by the ſword: and to this end he ſhould uſe all diligence to keep the town from being relieved from any part. That this might be done by new men who ſhould be ſuddenly ſent him. That all places muſt yield at laſt, if not ſuccoured; and that in ſuch a caſe the moſt obſtinate defendants become uſually the moſt abject. That the event of this ſiege would ſerve for an example to all the reſt of* Holland. *And that finally he ſhould ſet before him a victory, wherein it would be queſtionable, whether he ſhould have done more ſervice to God and to his King, or won more glory to himſelf and to his Family.*

Frederick finding himſelf as well ſhent, as admoniſhed by his Father, grew more hot then ever in the enterpriſe: And when the Dukes anſwer was made known to the Army, it cannot be ſaid how all their minds were inlivened *Frederick*, together with all the other Commanders, reſolved with redoubled diligence chiefly to ſtudy how to keep victuals from the City. And in the interim *Bernardino di Mendoſa* was diſpatched away into *Spain*, to procure Orders from the

the King to the Governour of *Milan*, to the end that the two old before mentioned Spanish Brigadoes which were in that State should be sent from thence, together with some Number of Horse, into *Flanders*, as soon as possibly might be. This is that *Mendoza* who did so nobly write the War of the *Low-Countries* in his own language, during all the time that he staid there; and who passing from the managing of Arms to the like of Civil affairs, was imployed by the King in Ambassies to *England* and *France*. The affairs of the Siege went on thus; when on a sudden about the midst of *February* the season grew more temperate, and the cold turning into moisture, the waters returned to their former being: and with the change of the weather, the whole order of the war began to change. At first the ice would not suffer the water to be distinguisht from the dry land; and therefore it might be said that all that was done then, was done by land: But the ice being thaw'd, the chiefest future actions were to be done by water; by reason of the commodiousness which the Enemy would receive of being relieved by the means of that great Lake before spoken of, and of the necessity the Kings men would be put to of hindring them by the same way. It was not long ere the events were seen on both sides. Hardly was the ice gone, when many Vessels might be seen to appear upon the *Leyden-meer*, which fell into the *Harlem-meer*, and entring from thence into the river of *Sparen*, brought good relief to the City. The River where it fals into the Lake, forms a little Island, wherein the *Harlemists* had wisely built a Fort, which was called the Fort of *Fico*; foreseeing how much it would avail them to be masters of that place. Here then as in a safe Haven they received those succours which came usually from *Leyden*, and from another Town not far from thence called *Sassene*. But the Kings men did not defer opposing them. Count *Bossu* prepared suddenly many Boats in *Amsterdam*, and quickly entred the Lake also with a good Naval strength. His ships, as likewise those of the Enemy, were not very deep in the bottom, by reason the Lake was shallow: Each of them had likewise built some in the form of Gallies, which being the easelier guided by Oars, were more serviceable to the rest which used only sails. Thus the whole balk of the Siege was brought to conflicts by water, and to endeavour that way interchangeably to bring in, or to keep out succour. At first they were but Parties; but at last when the Vessels on both sides were increased, they turn'd to Battels: fortune and valour making the successes alternate; sometimes the one side, sometimes the other getting the better. The Kings party did notwithstanding prevail for the most part; which being furnisht from *Amsterdam* with whatsoever *Bossu* could desire, and he performing his part gallantly, the *Harlemists* began to be in scarcity of victuals. *Bossu* had placed some Forts on the East side of the Lake, under the shelter whereof his ships might lie; they were not far from the little Island where the aforesaid Fort of *Fico* stood. Here did the skirmishes oftnest happen. But the Kings men could not so much hinder the Enemy, but that some of their ships stealing from the conflicts might get in safety under that Fort, and from thence might fall into the River, and come afterwards very safely to the City; to which purpose the *Harlemists* had fortified that side of the River which was nearest the Town, with other Works. The Kings men made then no longer delay; they likewise raised some works on the contrary side, the better to disturb the passage of the Enemies.

Soon after a new Battel fell out upon the Lake; and it was the last, and greater then any other that had preceded. The *Harlemists* Fleet consisted of 150 Sail; the Kings were not ful out one hundred: but the quality of these out-did the others quantity. The conflict was bloody, and the victory for a while doubtfull; which at last lean'd towards the Catholicks, to the great praise of *Bossu* in particular. The Rebels Naval forces were hereby so much weakned, as the Kings men met not afterwards with any resistance in the Lake. The Fort *de Fico* fell presently afterwards into the *Spaniards* hands; and thus the City was streightly besieged. But this mean while the other military actions by land ceased not. The *Harlemists* abounded in Souldiers, as hath been said: And therefore often annoying the Kings Camp with bold Sallies, they fiercely assaulted now one, now another Quarter; and made one so furious assault upon the German quarter, as entring by violence into their Fortifications, they slew many, and wounded more; and

bearing

Maximilian Hennin Count Bossu.
Governour of Holland and
Utrecht

104

bearing away with them ſome Colours, and ſome Peeces of Artillery, they returned in triumph to the City. Nor ſhewed they leſs valour in reſiſting the *Spaniards* on the other ſide; who continued their former labour with ſecure flowneſs, leſt they might fall again into fruitleſs impetuoſity. They endeavoured to annoy them within, and to hinder the Works which the *Harlemiſts* continually there made, from the Platform which (as hath been ſaid) they had made upon the Ravelin. But on the contrary, the *Harlemiſts* having planted ſome of their Artillery againſt the Platform, they much indammaged it, and ſlew the Enginier *Campi*, which was a very conſiderable loſs to the Kings Army. In fine it appear'd that the *Spaniards* had but ſmall hopes to doe any good by oppugning, though *Frederick* ordered all things as if he meant to end the Siege by a general aſſault. His principal care therefore was, to keep out all relief; in which he was ſtill more encouraged. He had already received a good recruit of men; for the Baron of *Cleveraw* had brought 1000 Foot unto the Camp, who were raiſed in *Burgony*; and ſome other *Walloons* were come thither out of *Bigly's* and *Mandragones* Regiments, and the two Spaniſh Brigadoes which were ſent for from *Italy* were already on their march for *Flanders*. But if the Kings men made more uſe of Famine then of the ſword to overcome, the *Harlemiſts* fought no leſs to famiſh them, and to overcome them with their own weapons. To this end they often tryed by reiterated endeavours to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the chief Paſſes by which victuals were brought to the Catholick Camp from *Utricht*; and one of their endeavours was likely to have ſucceeded, had not *John Baptiſta de Taſſis* made manly reſiſtance; who being caſually in *Utricht*, came forth againſt the Enemy, and forc'd them to retire. So as the Paſſes to the Catholick Camp continuing free as formerly, the Famine grew ſtill greater amongſt the *Harlemiſts*: who when they had well weighed their neceſſity, began to ſeek for remedy by deſperate reſolutions. They reſolved to cut the bank of the River which was towards the City in divers parts, and overflow all the ground even to the Lake, ſo as ſome relief of victuals might be brought into the Town, at leaſt by little Boats; and particularly ſome Gun-powder, which they very much wanted. At the firſt they received ſome aid by that way; but they were ſoon cut off from that. Afterwards they made two Camiſado's in the ſtilleſt hours of the night towards the *Germans* quarters, ſuch counterſigns being paſt as was requiſite between them and thoſe who were to conduct the victuals without. The bickerings were bloody, and the *Germans* recovered in theſe the honour which they had loſt in the former; for they behaved themſelves ſo valiantly to diſturb the ſuccour, fighting at once with the enemies without who came to introduce it, and with thoſe within who were come to receive it, as the enemy could get no good by theſe trials. The *Harlemiſts* being thus ſurrounded with unſupportable neceſſities on all ſides, their only hope lay in a ſuccour which the Prince of *Orange* was preparing to ſend with a great ſtrength of men. But they met herein with greater difficulties then the Rebels in *Holland* did imagine: For the Queen of *England* not willing to declare her ſelf an open Enemy to the King of *Spain*, did not what ſhe might have done in their behalf; and the Hereticks of *Germany* and of *France* finding themſelves buſied about their domeſtick neceſſities, they could not aſſiſt the troubles in *Flanders* as need required. This mean while the Famine was grown ſo great in *Harlem*, as they could brook no longer delay of remedy: Wanting all other ſort of nouriſhment, the Townſmen were reduced to feed on the baſeſt and uncleanneſt ſort of Animals, and at laſt upon Graſs, Leather, and on whatſoever deſpair in ſuch like caſes uſeth to ſuggeſt unto humane neceſſity. *Orange* was inform'd of this from the City; and the Town being now ſo ſtraightly beſieged, as no advertiſement could be given by the miniſtry of man, they uſed the way of Pidgeons. *Orange* made no delay. He had with him 2000 foreign Foot, conſiſting of French, Dutch, Walloons and Engliſh, and 3000 Hollanders, Zealanders and Flemings, and little leſs then 300 Horſe, mixt of all theſe ſeveral Nations. The Baron of *Battenburgh* marcht away with theſe men, who carried along with them great ſtore of Carts loaded with victuals; and the reſolution was, that as theſe ſhould appear without, thoſe within ſhould move at the ſame time, and ſo by a double fierce aſſault they ſhould either free the City from the Siege, or furniſh it

aboundantly with all things requisite to maintain it. But this last endeavour proved as unfortunate as the former: for those within, and those without, not having well adjusted their time of giving assault; and the Kings men having notice that the succour drew near, they fought them, and first routing their horse, which marched most of them in the front, and afterwards with the same force scattering the foot, they wholly discomfeited the enemy. The Spaniards who were already come from *Italy*, and were got but a little before to the siege, behaved themselves gallantly in this action: wherein 'twas said that about 2000 of the enemy were slain; amongst which *Batteburg* who commanded them, and divers other personages of quality. The Kings men got moreover many Colours, some Artillery, and almost all their victuals. This success put a period to the pride of the Harlemists; in so much as they sent to *Frederick* to treat of surrendring the Town upon Articles: But *Frederick* declared that he would not receive them but upon mercy. When this answer was brought back, the City were strangely astonished. Men, women, and children, ran up and down every where, with tears and outcries, deploring their miserable condition; whereupon Captain *Rypart*, who foresaw himself lost in the common ruine, taking a fit occasion spoke thus unto the multitude.

With how much cruelty of mind (most worthy Citizens) the Spaniards have begun, continued, and now ended this siege, their actions. Have too clearly demonstrated in their undertaking it, they made use of false pretences, desiring only that obedience from us to the King, which was grounded upon the arbitrary will of their own Forces. In the continuace thereof, you all know what their losses have been, what their sufferings, and how oft they have been at the point of being rather besieged then besieging: to such great straits have they been brought, by snow, frost, rain, want of victuals, want of men, and chiefly by our so many and so valiant excurtions, wherewith we have sometime more indamaged them in their quarters, then they us within our walls. But at last their rage hath prevailed more over us in overcoming all difficulties so to finish their siege, then the rage of earth and heaven (as it may be said) hath prevailed over them. Behold them therefore thirsting after our bloud, and already panting at our gates, and ready to enter our City, thirsting after our goods. And shall we expect any mercy at their hands? any favourable dealing? from them I say, whose rape (as it is every day seen) is not to be satisfied by women, their firings by houses, their plunder by goods, nor their bloud-thirstiness by all the people: We must then believe, that as soon as they shall be entred they will put us all to the sword, or to some more ignominious death, without respect of age, sex, or condition. The welfare of the miserable consist in the despairing of welfare. Why shall not we therefore endeavour (placing the weakest sex and weakest age amidst us) to make our way through our enemies with our swords in our hands? whether we yield, or whether we be overcome we must die. But if we must perish (as there is little hopes of doing otherwise) death will come the more welcome, when sought by our selves with undauntless valour, then when with scorn and disdain received from the pride our enemies of.

These words were of such force, and found their minds so ready to entertain any whatsoever desperate resolution, as they already spake of following *Ripardo's* councel, which came to *Fredericks* ear. Who better considering the danger, what despair might make so many valiant men do, and that by overcoming them, he should find the whole City consumed, he forthwith sent a Trumpet to the Town, to let the Harlemists know, that they might hope for better then they deserved. In particular, he promised to secure them from Plunder, and from all other licentious Military violence. That there were so many amongst them who knew there was no saveguard for them, as between their despair, and the others hope, it was often doubted whether the more fiercer or more mild resolution should prevail amongst them: at last the last prevailed; and thus the City about the beginning of *July* was surrendred to the mercy of the enemy. A Brigade of the Spanish foot forthwith entred the Town, and unarmed every one therein. They then fell to inflicting punishment. Captain *Rypart*, as chief head of the sedition, had his head immediately struck off; and *Lancelot Brederode* not long after received the like punishment. All the rest of the Harlemists who were thought most guilty either of Heresie or Rebellion, ended their lives either by

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the rope or ſword. And the like was without remiſſion done to all thoſe foreign ſouldiers who had been in *Mons*, or in any other place which the Spaniards had taken, and who had promiſed never to bear arms any more againſt the Kings party. Above 2000 were put to death; and the very executioners were either ſo weary, or ſo glutted, or ſo affrighted with the work, as for ſpeedier diſpatch, they drowned a great many of them in the River which ran through the City. The Inhabitants freed themſelves from plunder by the payment of 24000 pound ſterling, the Kings men raging and ſtorming to ſee their hopes ſo far deluded. This was the end of the ſiege of *Harlem*; Noble, for being ſo valiantly and ſo long both ſuſtained and proſecuted: Remarkable, for the variety of ſucceſſes both by land and ſea: but at laſt ſo horrid by the ſevere puniſhments inflicted by the vanquiſhers upon the vanquiſhed, as it was doubted, whether the faults committed by the one, or the puniſhments inflicted by the other, were the greater.

Whilſt affairs went thus in *Holland*, they were not quiet in *Zealand*; the chief Iſland whereof (as hath oft been ſaid) is *Walcheren*, wherein ſtands *Midleburg*, a little within land. This Town which is the chief not only of that Iſland, but of the whole Province, was the Kings, together with the little Caſtle of *Ramichins*, and the Town of *Ramua*, both of them ſituated on the ſea-ſide. *Ramichins* was of great concernment for the keeping of *Midleburg*. The rebels ſeeing the Kings forces ſo imployed about the taking of *Harlem*, did not let the occaſion ſlip, but applyed themſelves apace to the making themſelves Maſters of the whole Iſland of *Walcherin*. It made much for the ſuccouring of thoſe places that *Tergoes* was in the Kings hands, and chiefly for the gaining the ſpeedier paſſage in that branch which the River *Scheld* thruſts forth there. But howſoever, it was requiſite to have maritine forces to overcome the enemy, who freely ſailing over all thoſe Gulfs were much to their advantage, Maſters of them. Thus they kept *Midleburg* beſieged at a diſtance, though they did not ſeem to beſiege it. But little victuals were brought to the City, and it was known that if care were not had in that point ſpeedily, the City would ſoon fall into the rebels hands. *Seigneur de Beavoir*, a man who had witneſſed his valour and loyalty in the Kings ſervice, was Governour of the Province, and Colonel of a Regiment of Walloons. He acqnainted the Duke of *Alva* with the danger that theſe three places were in, and eſpecially *Midleburg*. Whereupon the Duke reſolved to relieve it. He gave the care hereof to *Sancio d' Avila*, Governour of *Antwerp* Caſtle; who having made ready ſome ſhipping, betook himſelf to the buſineſs. But he was not well advanced when he returned back, hearing for certain that the enemy were ſo ſtrong, as he ſhould have run manifeſt danger of being loſt. Having then with very great diligence made better proviſion then before, he went again to attempt the ſuccour. The enemy, who did no ways fear him, expected him with much reſolution. So they came to a ſea-fight in the Channel of *Fluſhing*; which was rather ſharp then long. For many ſhips fighting at once, the battel was for one hours ſpace very fierce on both ſides. But *Avila*'s ſhips being more rent, and his people ill treated, he was forced at laſt to yield the Victory to the enemy, not without great loſs both of ſouldiers and ſhips. He notwithſtanding landed, and brought ſome ſmall ſtore of victuals into *Midleburgh*, made it ſafer then it was before, and ſo returned to *Antwerp*. With him *Beavoir* came along, who was ſent for by the Duke of *Alva*, meaning to make uſe of his ſervice, in providing a great Fleet for thoſe parts, whereof he made him Commander, and to that purpoſe, made him Admiral of *Zealand*. But the rebels this mean while, incouraged by one ſucceſs to undertake another, betook themſelves to the taking of *Tolen*, a Town between the confines of *Brabant* and *Zealand*, intending if they ſhould ſucceed therein, to fall upon *Berghen ap Zoom*. Theſe two places lie not far from one another, but *Berghen* is a Town of great concernment out of thoſe reaſons that have formerly been ſpoken of. All the Country thereabouts lies very low, and is made habitable only by the banks; one of which of greater moment then the reſt, runs between the two aboveſaid Towns. The enemies came preſently upon this bank, led on by Colonel *Rollet*, Governour of *Canfer*, and endeavoured to make themſelves Maſters of it, to keep ſuccour from being ſent from *Berghen*

to T*olen*. *Chriſtopher Mandragone* was in theſe parts, being detained there by the Duke together with *Sancio Avila*, out of the need the Kings affairs in thoſe parts had of them. *Mandragone* made no delay, but ran preſently with ſuch of the Kings men as were in the neighbouring Gariſons, to diſturb their deſigne. And after divers skirmiſhes, in one of which he was wounded, he drove the enemy from the bank; overthrew a Fort which they had begun to build there; and ſecured both the aforeſaid Towns. But the enemy was not diſcouraged for all this, nor did they cool in their undertakings. But uſing ſtratagems where they could not uſe force, they ſoon after perfected a practiſe of great importance. As the *Moſel* approaches near the Ocean, ſhe enlargeth her Chanel, and extends it into ſeveral large branches. Upon the left ſide of the firſt, lies the Town of St *Getringburg*, belonging unto *Holland*; but ſo cloſe upon the Confines of *Brabant*, as it may be queſtioned whether her ſituation makes her more commodious for expeditions by land, or for ſuch as may be deſigned from thence by water. The rebels held hidden correſpondency either with the hereticks, or with the Malecontents every where, and chiefly in theſe parts. The deſigne being then ſecretly laid; they were received into St *Getringburg* by way of *Scalado* in the ſecret hours of night. The chief Author of this Plot, and of the putting it in execution was Captain *Poyeto*, a man of good eſteem amongſt them. Neither did the miſchief on the Kings behalf ceaſe here. This loſs was ſoon followed by another very great likewiſe, and not without ſuſpition of fraud; which was that of the *Ramechins*, by the obtaining whereof the rebels placed all their confidence of making themſelves ſhortly Maſters of *Midleburg*. *Bevoir* notwithſtanding being better provided of Naval Forces, try'd to bring ſuccour into the City, and with him was *Mandragone*. But the enemies Fleet lying at watch in all the chief Avenues, the Kings men could not come where to relieve the City, and that but in a very ſmall meaſure neither, unleſs it were by great circumferences, and ways far about. *Bevoir* returned to *Antwerp*, and *Mandragone* ſtaid to guard *Midleburg*. This was the condition of the affairs in *Zealand* and the adjacent parts when *Harlem* was taken. The ſiege whereof was not well at an end, when one of the greateſt evils happened which could befall the Catholick Camp. The Spaniſh ſouldiers of the old Brigades were much in arrears for pay; who ſtorming every day more and more to ſee themſelves deprived of the ſacking of *Harlem*, and that they had ſo bad reward for ſo long labour, more tranſported with ſelf-Intereſt, then withheld by obedience, they reſolved to mutiny. *Frederick*, and the reſt of the Commanders endeavoured to appeaſe them in ſome ſort, ſo as they might not loſe the opportunity of the ſeaſon, which was then very fair, to make further proceeding in *Holland*. But the greater the Kings need appeared to be, the more did the Spaniards contumacy increaſe. They threatned that they would have their whole pay: and quartering themſelves in *Harlem*, as it were by force, they began to draw Contributions from the City, and under the fair pretence of need and aſſiſtance, to uſe many of the moſt hatefull actions which plunder and ſacking are wont to produce. So as after the preceding miſeries, the City became more deplorable by this new affliction. The Duke of *Alva* was hereat mightily diſpleaſed; for he ſaw on one ſide the fruits of the Victory ſo baſely abuſed, and on the other ſide, the ſtrength of Diſcipline to be weakened in the Army by this example. But not being able to conſtrain theſe by greater forces, nor make ſuch uſe of ſharp means, but that they might at laſt prove prejudicial, he reſolved to remedy this diſorder as ſoon as he might by fair means. The Marquis of *Vitelli's* love in the Army was equal with his Authority, particularly amongſt the Spaniards. So as by his means being ſomewhat appeaſed, the mutinyers were contented to receive a donative of four payes, and ſome moneys in part of their arrears; that cruel rigour being laid aſide which was always uſed in all the other inſuing mutinies, which would never be ended before the mutinyers received their full pay. But howſoever, what through the difficulties the Duke found in raiſing of moneys, and in thoſe *Vitelli* met withall in bringing his endeavours to an end, the whole ſummer was almoſt ſpent; and the beſt ſeaſon to work in low and watry Countries was loſt: ſo as *Holland* was incumbered on all ſides. Nor did the Rebels let ſlip this ſo favourable conjuncture. In the moſt Northern part of the

Province

Province of *Waterlant*, there are many good Towns, of which *Alkmar* is one of the chiefeſt. Here a Treaty which the hereticks within the Town held firſt ſecretly, and afterwards more manifeſtly, with the rebels who were without, the effect at laſt inſued. The one of them at unawares poſſeſt themſelves of one of the Gates, and the others ſent men preſently to make themſelves Maſters of the whole Town. On the other ſide, the Catholicks, taking up arms, ſaiſed likewiſe on another gate, which lay the fitteſt for the receiving of ſuccour; and diſpatcht away meſſengers to the Kings Camp with their earneſt deſires: but this availed but a little: For whilſt they were conſulting whilſt things were defer'd, and that intreaties were rather to be uſed then commands with the yet obedient ſouldiers, who were notwithſtanding ill paid, the rebels ſent preſently to aid their confederates, and made themſelves Maſters of the Town. *Alkmar* being loſt, the Spaniards had not any thing at all in *Waterlant*, for all the reſt of the Towns there joyned in rebellion} with the reſt of the Province. Which made them reſolve to endeavour the regaining of it by all poſſible means. *Alkmar* is not ſtrong, ſave only by ſituation; lying, as do all other Towns in that Country, drowned amidſt water and mud. It is within five hours journey of *Harlem*. It may be ſaid to be the gate whereby to enter by land into *Waterlant*: For that ſide of the Province being ſhut up on one part by the Sea, on another by the Gulf of *Zuderſee*, and almoſt all the reſt by other waters and channels, and making the ſhape of a *Peninſula*, it leaves but a very narrow ſpace for entrance by land, and there a little within, ſtands *Alkmar*. That therefore they might be ſure to enter in that part, and becauſe without the poſſeſſion of that Town, they could not hope to get the reſt on that coaſt, the Spaniards reſolved, without more delay to beſiege it. Of the reſt, *Enchuſen* and *Horn* are the beſt, which are both of them ſeated upon the Sea. The firſt upon the very mouth of the Gulf of *Zuderſee*, and the ſecond within the Gulf, not far from the other, and upon the ſame ſide: both of them very famous for building of ſhips, and verſed in affairs of Merchandiſe. Neceſſary proviſions to maintain the ſiege were forthwith ſent to *Alkmar* from theſe two Towns, and from all the others of *Waterlant*. As ſoon as the Kings Army was encamped about it, their firſt action was to take a little Fort from the enemy which they had built upon a Channel, which not far from the Town enters into one of thoſe neighbouring Pools, and whereby ſuccour might eaſilyeſt be brought from without. The defendants made ſome reſiſtance at firſt: but upon ſecond aſſaults, they were driven from the Fort by the Spaniards. Here *Frederick* ordered batteries on two ſides, both which were effected with furious ſtorms of ſhot: and a no leſs furious aſſault was prepared from both thoſe ſides. The deſigne was to fall on, on both ſides at once, to the end that the Enemy being doubly aſſailed, might neither have conrage nor force to ſuſtain it. But they met with many difficulties in the execution thereof: for the Town being invironed by a large and deep ditch, it was requiſite to have bridges in both parts to paſs it over, and when they ſhould have paſſed it, the enemy was well provided of inworks to hold the aſſaylants play. When they came to the aſſault, the event proved very unfortunante: They were to have a ſigne by fire, to adjuſt their motion at one and the ſame time; which was not accordingly executed. They had made two bridges to paſs over the ditch, and to mount the breach, and theſe likewiſe had various defects: ſo as the one of them moved ſome hours before the other, whereby the enemy might the more eaſily reſiſt them both. And the Kings men found afterwards ſuch difficulties in the bridges, and in the breach, as becoming for a good while a mark for their enemies to ſhoot at, they were forced at laſt to retreat, many of them being wounded, and leaving full out 150 of their men dead behind them. 'Twas ſaid in the Army that the two Camp-maſters, *Julian Romero*, and *Franciſco Valdes*, who were to lead on the reſt to the aſſauſt, on the two appointed ſides, having ſome private grudge between themſelves, to the publick prejudice of that action, did not correſpond in the execution according as it was agreed on between them. This ſo ſinrſter ſucceſs took from them all hopes of having any better in that enterpriſe. And the rain and uſual moiſture of the climat began to fall in great aboundance earlyer then they had wont to do: ſo as the Army began to ſuffer very much in that low ſituation, and were likely to

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ſuffer every day more, if they ſhould not ſuddenly riſe from thence. They therefore reſolved to give over the ſiege for that time; and to ſee whether the froſt would invite them to return upon better terms. But another expedition by ſea, at the ſame time, had no leſs unhappy event. Count *Boſſu* could not make uſe of thoſe Naval Forces, which in the ſiege of *Harlem* had ſerved the Kings party upon that Lake, whereof we then ſpoke, in the other waters, which by reaſon of their depth required much greater Veſſels. And therefore the enemy having gotten a great Fleet of ſhips upon the Gulf of *Zuderſee*, they fell from thence into the Channel of *Amſterdam*, and did in a ſort beſiege it. The City was much prejudiced hereby, and conſequently the Kings party. Wherefore the Duke of *Alva* going thither in perſon, made divers ſhips be put in order, much greater then uſual, and paticularly one which was called the Admiral, and was of an exceſſive greatneſs. But the time being ſhort, and the expence very great, only twelve of them could be finiſhied. With this Fleet, (the quantity whereof was thought ſufficient to ſupply the want in numbers) *Boſſu* came out of *Amſterdam*, and with him were ſome foot-companies imbarked, which were taken out of his own German Regiment, five other of the Spaniſh Companies, and one of the Walloons. This Fleet being come forth, the enemy left the Channel of *Amſterdam* free; and retreated towards their neareſt Havens of *Enchuſen* and *Horn*; and haſtened likewiſe greater proviſion of ſhips on their ſide, hoping to get the upper-hand by their ſuperiority in numbers. Thoſe of *Enchuſen* exceeded all the reſt of the Inhabitants in thoſe parts, not only in numbers of ſhips, but in Maritine skill; and therefore the enemies Fleet was ſoon increaſed by them, in ſo much as their number did very far exceed the number of the Spaniſh ſhips. *Boſſu* being this mean while entred with his into the Gulf of *Zuderſee*, he hovered thereupon, being much in doubt whether he ſhould provoke or ſhun the combate. His Orders from the Duke were to fight as ſoon as might be; for it greatly imported the King that the enemies Forces by ſea ſhould be abated, his affairs in *Flanders* ſuffering moſt thereby. And the ſecuring of ſo gallant an Arſenal as was *Amſterdam*, did too much import his ſervice. On the contrary, *Boſſu* conſidered the ſmall number of his veſſels; what preparation the enemy had made; and that inforced fights are ſeldom fortunate. He therefore kept in the deepeſt part of the Gulf, where his ſhips by reaſon of their greatneſs had the advantage over the enemy, and hoped to find it ſo in their fight. Some skirmiſhes had already been had between the two Fleets, and ſo there did dayly: but the adverſaries ſhips were afraid to come to any greater ingagement in that place. The Duke the meane while preſt the combate very much; wherefore *Boſſu* delayed no longer: but falling down nearer land where the Gulf was more ſhallow, he with much reſolution ſet upon the enemy, who kept there ſafe together, as in the beſt place for them. They did not refuſe the combate, but gladſomely accepted of it, and fell to work with the Kings ſhips. *Boſſu* did manfully incourage his, and ſo did all the Captains of the other ſhips: in ſo much as the battel was at the firſt very bloudy on both ſides. But ere long the day began to lean towards the enemy. The bickering was not between ſhip and ſhip, or between ſouldier and ſouldier, upon equal terms, ſo as it was not valour which was to give the victory. The enemies ſhips did too far exceed the Kings in number, who could not, as did the others, ſupply one ſhip when it was battered, with another, nor the wounded with freſh men; ſo as in a ſhort ſpace every one of the Kings ſhips were inviron-ed by the enemy; and the conflict laſted not long. Except it were the Admiral, with which the Vice-Admiral kept always company, all the reſt of the Kings ſhips gave over fighting, and betook themſelves to ſundry parts, one of them being ſunk, and the reſt ſorely ſhattered. The Admiral ſtood like a ſtately Caſtle in the ſea; of ſuch a vaſtneſs was her body, having ſo many ſails, ſo many marriners, and ſuch a number of ſouldiers and guns. *Boſſu* could not indure to ſee himſelf thus loſt. He had with him, beſides his own Germans, a hundred choice Spaniards, together with their Captain *Corvera*. They were all of the ſame mind, and had already turned valour into deſpair: ſo as the battel growing more bloudy then ever, the ſucceſs hung long in doubt; till ſuch time as Fortune favouring the enemy likewiſe, and cauſing the wind to ceaſe, the Spaniſh ſhips ran on

ground.

Lodovico Requesenes, Great Comendador
of Castile Governour of ye Low countreys

111

ground, where *Arfuz* was at last inforced to yield, and all the rest that were alive with him, without very few. He was taken, and imprisoned in the Town of *Huy*, where he was detained little less then four years. At the news hereof the Duke of *Alva* retired to *Brussels*, whether his son *Frederick* came soon after to find him out; having first distributed his men into those parts of *Holland* which remained yet unto the the King, and which, except *Harlem*, were almost all of them open places. All such places about *Leyden* as were though fittest to besiege it, were till then possest by the Spaniards; for the Duke was resolved to do his utmost to take that Town. But the siege thereof, which was afterwards likewise very memorable, was reserved for his successour. For the Duke was not well gotten to *Brussels*, when Letters came from *Spain* with leave for him to quit the Government of *Flanders*. He had often earnestly desired it, as had the Duke of *Medina-Celi* done also, to the end that he might not be burthened with that Government. The King having granted both their requests, chose *Lodovico di Recheſens*, the Commendador, *di Castiglia*, who was one of the chief Lords of *Spain*, and who was then Governour of *Milan*, to be Governour of the Low-Countries. The King among all his other Subjects of *Spain*, pitcht upon him, for that seeing how the Flemish did abhor the Duke of *Alva*'s severity, he would have him succeeded by one more mildly given, who in his Authority might, as much as might be, decline severity. Such a one he took *Recheſens* to be; and such were the directions which the King sent him from *Spain*. He departed from *Milan* about the end of *October* 1573. and went through *Savoy*, *Burgundy* and *Lorain*, taking no other Militia with him save only two Companies of horse, one of them launces, other Harquebuliers. Being come to *Brussels*, the Duke of *Alva* soon delivered up the Government unto him; and together with his son *Frederick*, took the same way by land, because he would return by *Italy*, and go by sea from *Genua* to *Spain*. The Duke of *Medina-Celi* took shipping upon the coast of *Flanders*, and went back the same way as he came, by sea.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS.

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK VIII.

The Contents.

The Commendador-Major resolves to succour Midleburg, *to this purpose he disposes of two Fleets in several parts: but had ill success therein; the one being routed by the enemy whilst he himself looked on, and the others indeavours proving vain.* Midleburg *is therefore surrendred.* Count Lodovick *in* Germany *moves to enter with an Army again into* Flanders. Orange *makes great preparations, and conspires with him to that purpose. Incitements used by him to this end. The Commendadors perplexities and dangers.* Lodovick *comes into* Flanders. *Draws near* Mastrick, *and hopes to win it: but the Royalists secure the Town. Their forces oppose the enemy; various successes and incounters between the two Armies. A battel insues. The Royalists get the victory. The Spaniards presently mutiny. Things best worth knowledg in matter of mutinies. The mutiners go to* Antwerp. *The City is in great dread of them. They are at last pacified, and joyn with the rest of the Camp-Royal. A great loss of many of the Kings ships.* Orange *his proceedings: against whom* Vitelli *is sent by the Commendador. A new general pardon publisht in* Antwerp *in the Kings name. An indeavour of accommodation with the Rebels; but in vain. The siege and description of* Leyden. *Divers difficulties in the prosecution, and in the maintaining thereof. Actions which succeed thereupon. Those of* Leyden *are in a desperate condition. More desperate resolutions taken by the Rebels to relieve the Town. Which is at last succoured, with great slaughter and prejudice of the Spaniards.*

WHen the Government was in the Commendador, he applyed himself with all his might to relieve *Midleburg*. *Mandragone* was (as hath been said) at the defence of that City, and had continually prest very much for speedy succour: and turning his desires into protestations, he declared that unless he were reliev'd within very few days, he should be constrained to put the City into the Rebels hands. He wanted all sort of victuals, not only of the better sort, but even of the most vile. The Commendador gave order then, that two Fleets should with all diligence be prepared, the easilyer to relieve the Town by

by two wayes upon the *Scheld*. The one Fleet were of leſſer Barks, to be ſent by that narrower and lower branch, which parts not far from *Berghen ap Zome*, and which (as we have ſaid) retains the name of the River; The other conſiſted of greater Veſſels, which were to paſs through the *Honte*, the *Scheld* being ſo called in her other larger and deeper branch.

The Commendador added his own diligence to that of others. Going therefore himſelf in perſon to *Antwerp*, he did ſo haſten the preparation of both the Fleets, as about the end of *January* both of them put to Sea, to effect the intended ſuccour. *Bevoir*, the Admiral of *Zealand*, was then fallen ſick, who was to have had the chief charge thereof: So as Signior *de Glimes* was appointed to be his Vice-admiral. *Sancio d'Avila* commanded the greater ſhips, and *Glimes* the leſſer with whom the Camp-maſter *Romero* went, as chief Commander of all the Souldiers that were aboard; who in both the Fleets were either *Spaniards* or *Walloons*, but the greateſt part were *Spaniards*. *Avila* put from *Antwerp*, and ſail'd before upon the *Honte*. The other Fleet put from *Berghen ap Zome*, in ſight of the Commendador himſelf, who followed it upon the *Schelds* bank, till he came to a Village called *Schacherlo*, which is over againſt *Romerſwal*, a Town ſeated on the other ſide. Here *Glimes* and *Romero* ſtaid, expecting a more favourable Tide, that they might the eaſelyer free themſelves, and get rid of thoſe Sands which occaſion many Shelfs in that branch. The Enemies were very well acquainted with the deſign, preparations, and proceedings of the Royaliſts, by reaſon of the intelligence held between the Flemiſh, and eſpecially in that maritine part, where the people did exceedingly favour *Orange*. Nay, it was held for certain, that many of the chief Pylots who ſerved the *Spaniards*, were wrought upon by him; and that this Fleet of the leſſer ſhips was unluckily loſt (as we ſhall relate) rather by fraud then fortune. A much greater proviſion of ſhipping being made by the contrary part, the Enemies Fleet which was commanded by *Lewis de Boiſot* Admiral of *Holland*, made ſtraight towards *Romarſwal* to hinder the Kings ſhips from going any further. The Vice-admiral would not have fought, knowing the great diſadvantage which was on his ſide: The enemies ſhips were much bigger built, and very much more in number. But *Romero*, were it either that his courage did tranſport him, or for his want of skill in maritime affairs, or rather that he was neceſſitated to adventure, becauſe ſuccour could ſuffer no longer delay, and that this Fleet carried much the greateſt part of the victuals, was of a contrary opinion, and would by all means fight. Hereupon the Vice-admiral together with all the reſt made towards the Enemy: but whether it were chance, or fraud (as it was doubted) the Vice-admiral ran on ground, as did likewiſe ſome other ſhips which were neareſt her. The Enemies were not ſlack in ſetting upon them on all ſides: A ſhowre of Musket-ſhot poured down upon them from their taller ſhips, and the great Guns thundred apace. But a tempeſt of artificial fires proved moſt prejudicial, which the Enemies ſhips hurl'd into thoſe of the Kings: the Viceadmiral ſuffered moſt of all hereby; for the fire burſting forth in her in ſundry places, and continuing pertinaciouſly to do ſo, ſhe ſunk at laſt; it being queſtionable whether the fire or water wrought moſt in ſwallowing her up. *Romero* made ſpeedily towards them with his Admiral, and ſome other ſhips; but his courage was greater then the help he gave; for he partook ſo deeply of the others danger, as he threw himſelf into the water, and ſo ſaved himſelf by ſwimming. Divers others of the Kings ſhips ran the ſame fortune of being either conſumed by fire, or ſunk in the river; and all the reſt fell into the enemies hands, who triumphed very much in the victory. And that their joy might be the greater, the Commendador himſelf was upon the aboveſaid bank of *Shacherlo*, and ſaw with his own eyes this ſo unhappy misfortune: which made him foreſee others of no leſs conſequence, which were of neceſſity to be ſhortly expected. *Glimes* was ſlain, together with many Spaniſh and Walloon Officers, and about 800 common ſouldiers. This defeat being given, *Avila* thought only how to retreat, and ſave his ſhips: but being purſued by thoſe which the Enemy had ſevered from the others, which *Boiſot* commanded, he had much adoe to get into *Tergoes*, and at laſt brought his Fleet ſafe to *Antwerp*. This was the end of the relief. So as *Mandragone* having neither time to expect ſuccour, nor hope to get any; and having firſt made good

Conditions to march himself with all his men safe and freely out of *Middleburgh*, he presently surrendred the Town to the Enemy. *Ramua* fell likewise into their hands, which till then had kept its obedience to the King. And thus they were possest of the whole intire Island of *Walcherin*, which they had so much desired; and were puft up with hopes, that they should shortly be masters of the whole Province.

The new year of 1574. was now begun: when the Commendador had not well received this blow by Sea, but that other novelties were heard of, and of greater danger to the Kings affairs, more within land. We told you before how that Count *Dodovick*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, after the loss of *Mons*, leaving his brother in *Holland*, was gone to *Germany*: where he was not idle; but being eg'd on by his own courage, and more by that of the Prince his brother, he had there occasioned divers practises, that he might again enter *Flanders* with the Forces of that Nation. The unhappy success of the two Brothers taking np Arms against the Duke of *Alva*, had made them be rather commiserated then scorned by the *Germans*. And the Spanish Forces in *Flanders* being by such success become more formidable to all their neighbours, the suspition thereof grew daily every where greater. *Orange* in all those parts made alternate use of the instigations of Fear and Hope: representing sometimes what danger *Holland* & *Zealand* were in; sometimes what advantages he had there, and the hopes of their daily increase, not only in those two Provinces, but in all the rest, if some Foreign aid might be added to the Domestick forces of the Country. The *Spaniards* mutiny falling out afterwards; and the Kings expeditions by land at *Alckmar*, and by Sea under *Bossu*, proving so very bad; and finally the Duke of *Alva* being gone from *Flanders*, he had so much the more set on fire the minds of his partakers both within and without *Flanders*, to favour the new preparation which his brother was contriving.

That at last the Duke of Alva *was gone: but that* Recheſens *was chosen by the King in his place,* Medina-Celi *having refused to accept it. That the one and the other of them were* Spaniards; *and that both of them, as likewise the Duke of* Alva, *were reduced to such a condition of fortune, as the* Flemish *had reason to be scandalized at such a choice. That the Kings neglect of the affairs of* Flanders *did clearly appear, and that he did intend to introduce by violence the Government of* Spain *into those Provinces. That then the person rather then the intention was chang'd in the new Governour. That this man had a more pleasing aspect and more benigne appearance; but in his soul the like pride, and the same resolutions in his thoughts. That the allurement of words were to be esteemed treacherous, while the force of Arms continued: Nor could the* Flemish *ever confide, till they saw their Country free of Foreigners, their Cities free of Citadels, their goods of paying Tributes, their Consciences of oppression, and the Laws of their Country free from that violation which had been occasioned in them by Forein Laws. That to compass so just an end,* Holland *and* Zealand *had at last taken up Arms: That their success had been alternately various; but that yet the greatest part of both these Provinces were in the hands of their own inhabitants. That the new Governour was not acquainted with his Souldiers, nor his Souldiers with him: That his experience in war was not great: That he found the* Spaniards *in mutiny, the others but ill satisfied, and that monies were very scarce to give them satisfaction. That the Empire of* Spain, *by reason of the too great division and largeness of its bulk, was so incumbred within it self, as it could not furnish* Flanders *with sufficient Forces to maintain war long. Then let the Flemish once resolve to joyn in one, and those their neighbours with them, who were most interessed in their cause. That thus the Country would be soon restor'd to her antient form of Government, and her present miseries be turn'd into her formerly enjoy'd Felicity. Otherwise, how could it be hoped for, but that the Flemish divided at home within themselves, and forsaken by their friends abroad, were shortly to receive all hardest and proudest Laws from the* Spaniards.

Orange gave abroad these conceits, as well to incense the *Flemish* still more against the Government of *Spain*, as also to make the neighbours the more ready to joyn with his brother in his aforesaid endeavours. But these practises were chiefly had in *Germany*, and were, as usually, fomented by the Heretick party of

England

England and *France*. The design of the *Nussaw* Brethren was, That *Lodovick* should enter *Flanders* from the side of *Germany* with all the Forces he could assemble together; and that *Orange* at the same time coming out of *Holland* should endeavour to joyn those which he had mustered in the Country with the Forreiners. To this end very close intelligence was held by both of them in sundry parts of *Flanders*, and by *Lodovick* particularly in some Cities which were most commodious for him for his passage over the Rivers: but of all others he covered to be master of *Mastrick*, a very fitting place towards the Frontiers of *Germany*, there being a bridge there over the *Mosa*, as hath been formerly shewn. When *Lodovick* had got all things necessary for the body of an Army, he marches from those parts about the beginning of *February*, not valuing the threats of the season, that so he might not lose the opportunity of the Crisis. He knew in what straits the new Governour was, by reason of the difficulties which were raised against him by *Orange* and his partakers. Having therefore past the *Rhine* and *Mosel*, he drew near *Gheldertland*, intending, as might be conjectured, to pass over the *Maus*, and get into *Brabant*, where his brother was to joyn with him. 'Twas said that he had in his Army 7000 Foot & 3000 Horse, gathered out of the neighbouring Nations; and that his greatest strength lay, as it had done formerly, in *German* Souldiers. These, and all the rest came with great opinion of good success, which would prove so advantagious to them, as might make abundant satisfaction, yea with use, for their last unfortunate losses. *Lodovick* had with all industry strove to nurse them up in this belief, shewing all which made for his advantage and his Brothers in the affairs of *Flanders*, which might most confirm hope in them both of making large Conquests, and of getting the Victory with ease. This expedition of *Lodovicks* was so speedy, as the Commendador heard of the effects thereof, before he heard of the preparation. So as very much troubled at the news, and meeting with difficulties on all sides, he knew not what resolution to take. He saw the Kings men were mightily decreased in their numbers; that to muster them together, and march towards *Lodovick* to defend the Land frontiers, was to leave all the Sea-side in prey to *Orange*; that to divide his Forces, were not to have sufficient to break their designs as it behoved on both sides; that to draw them out of the garrisons, was not without danger, because peradventure they would not be drawn out without receiving their pay, at least in some proportion; that howsoever it was requisite to make other great Levies shortly, which would cost great sums of money; that the provisions from *Spain* were not sufficient to furnish requisite monies for so many affairs, and that *Flanders* was every day more backward then other in contributing thereunto. When *Rhechesens* had advised upon all these difficulties, with all the chief of the Army, the resolution which was taken, was, That he and the Marquis *Vitelli* should not go far from *Antwerp*, where *Orange*'s secret practises did threaten most: That leaving a sufficient number of Souldiers in *Holland* to keep what they had gotten, they should only stand upon their defence on that Frontier; and that all the rest of the Army being assembled together, *Sancio d'Avila* should lead them towards the *Mause* to secure the Kings Towns thereabouts, and to hinder *Lodovick* from passing over that River. This being resolved upon, it was suddenly put in execution: Necessary orders were speedily given forth for the making of great Levies of new men in the neighbouring Catholick parts of *Germany*, *Burgony*, and the *Walloon* Provinces of *Flanders*. But because they were straitned in time, they betook themselves to draw the old Souldiers out of the garrisons, using all the means they could to satisfie them with hopes, since they could not doe in effect. This mean while *Lodovick* still advanced; and halting with his Camp near *Mastrick*, he staid expecting whether he might, according to his hopes, steal into the City by way of Intelligencer. The Commendador fearing this, dispatcht away *Bernardino di Mendoza* suddenly thither with some Troops of horse, to which he afterwards added some Foot-companies: And the Royalists flocking thither from all parts to make it their rendezvous, *Sancio d'Avila* came thither likewise about the beginning of *March*, who was to be the chief Commander there. Thus that City was secured in its obedience to the King; and *Lodovick* was likewise kept from passing over the River on that part. He took up his quarters neat the Castle

of *Walchemburg*, little more then two leagues from *Maestrick*, in divers Villages thereabouts. *Avila* had likewise disposed of the Kings men, towards that side accordingly as they came to the rendezvous. And in the interim, the more to encourage his men, and to discover the Enemies courage the better, went forth Skirmishes almost every day; in one of which, which proved more bloody then the rest, *Francisco de Medina* who was Commissary-General of the Kings horse, was slain, the remainder of the loss being equal on both sides. But *Avila*, taking his advantage another time, took a number of selected *Spaniards* and *Wallons*, and set upon the village of *Bemelen*, wherein divers Companies of the Enemies German Foot lay, and slew above 200 of them; the rest sorely confused flying for safety into their neighbours quarters. *Lodovick*, being out of all hope of getting into *Maestrick* by fraud, or of being able to pass the *Mosel* there, he resolved to follow the course of the river, and to go towards *Ruremond*; hoping likewise to get into that City by the way of Treaty: wherein if he should fail, his determination was to continue his march still on, and between the *Mause* and *Vahal* to joyn with *Orange*, who to that purpose was to march that wayes and joyn with him. When he was come near *Ruremond*, he lost all hopes of being received in there by way of underhand dealing; either for that the Kings men had discovered his plot, or for that his partakers had not courage enough to perform covenants. He therefore marched suddenly from thence; and keeping along the River side, he marched towards *Nimmighen*, the chief City of all *Gheldersland*, situated upon the *Vahalle*: where he and *Orange* had many adherents, who gave them hopes of making them be received in by surprise: which would have been much for their advantage, as well by reason of the wealth of the Town, as by its situation. But *Avila*, who had already either suspected or discovered these designs, followed him apace on this side the River, to keep him from passing over, and from joyning with his brother. The Kings Army was this mean while more recruited both with Horse & Foot: the Campmaster *Bracamont* was in particular come from *Holland* with 2000 old Spanish Foot; and almost all the other Spanish Campmasters, and those of other Nations were with *Avila*: the Army till then not being above 4000 Foot and 800 Horse. *Avila* being ascertained of *Lodovicks* last intent, after his vain attempt upon *Ruremond*, which was, not to pass over on this side, but to joyn with *Orange* on the other side; he likewise increased his diligence and made his men mend their march. And all the Towns upon the *Mause* which were convenient for passage being in the Kings hands, *Avila* sent therefore such Scouts forth as were requisite, to scour the contrary shore, and to learn continual news of the Enemy, that he might the better know how to govern his affairs on this side. It appeared at last, that the greatest advantage lay in making haste, and in the preventing of one another: So as the Kings men passing the *Mause*, might hinder the Enemies Camp from advancing further; or the other hastning his march, might prevent the passing over of the Kings men, and so joyn as he intended with *Orange*. But the difference was too great between the Souldiers of the two Armies: The Kings men being trained up under accomplisht Commanders, might be said to know their orders before they received them; and obedience being as readily given as was Command, all things were quickly understood, and readily executed: whereas on the contrary, the Enemies Souldiers being tumultuously gathered together, all of them almost new men, divers Princes subjects, and who were not incited either by punishment or by reward in the service of their own Prince, they had no other sense of military affairs save only Prey and Plunder; and what by difficulty of victuals, and incumbrance of baggage depending oftentimes more upon necessity then choice, they could not advance so fast as occasion required; and some disorders were already grown amongst them. Therefore those hopes failing which *Lodovick* had very confidently built upon; and finding the Towns upon that Frontier ready to keep him out, which he thought would have willingly received him; and the scarcity of victuals and difficulty of lodging being hereunto added: Out of these reasons a great many of the Enemies Horse were already disbanded, and their Foot lessened every day; and the Captains authority availed very little, the Souldiers not caring much to obey them to whom they had no natural obligation. The Kings Army

advancing

advancing then with ſpeedy march, it came to *Graves*, before *Lodovick* could get over againſt it with his men. The Town of *Graves* is ſeated upon the *Mauſe* on the left ſide: and *Avila* having given formerly order for the throwing a bridge of Boats over it, his Army without loſs of time paſt over to the other ſide and quartered there. Monſieur *de Hierges* came ſoon thither from *Nimmighen*, having firſt made that Town ſure for the King, and brought with him 300 *Spaniards*. And ſoon after came two other Spaniſh Companies, and one of Burgonians, which were a good recruit for the Army. The Enemy marched likewiſe a great pace; when being come to the village of *Mouch*, they underſtood by their Scouts that the Kings men were on that ſide the River, and not above a league off. Hereupon they muſt either retreat, or fight. To retrat, was dangerous: For to boot that retreating bears always fears with it, the enemy had neither proviſion of victuals, nor any place of ſafety to ſtay in on that ſide. And to hazard a battel againſt old Souldiers, though fewer in number, appear'd to be too doubtful a buſineſs. But at laſt they muſt go on, though they cut the way through with their ſwords. Wherefore ſtaying in *Mouch*, they preſently raiſed a Trench on the ſide where they feared moſt to be ſet upon by the Kings men, the better to fence their Foot: Their greateſt hopes lay in their Horſe, though they were not above 2000 in number, yet were they more then the Kings Horſe; who were notwithſtanding more favour'd by the ſituation, which was ſomwhat narrow, by reaſon of certain hils which ſtood not far from the riven, and allowed but a ſmall ſpace for the Horſe to exerciſe in. The Kings men haying the Enemy on the Front, prepared with much reſolution for combat. And becauſe either the preſervation or the loſs of the Low-Countries in the Kings behalf lay almoſt wholly on the ſucceſs of this Battel, it is not to belicv'd how the Royaliſts encouraged each other: And *Avila*, before he gave out his orders, did rather by reaſon, then by words, in a military manner exhort them thus to fight. *Our reward is to be meaſured by the ſervice which we ſhal this day do our King: who doubts but that if we overcome, theſe countries will by our ſwords be preſerved unto his crown? He hath not many other forces in theſe parts, then what are now with us; then conſequently the merit of ſo important an action will be wholly ours: And as the King is to acknowledge it from us alone, ſo is it not to be doubted but that he will royally reward it. And whatgreaterſecurity can we have of obtaining the victory now, then the ſo many which we have already won. This very* Lodovick *had not the better before in* Frieſland: *'twas we who through too much eagerneſs of fighting did force him to overcom. How ſoon were we afterwards quit with him at* Gimingen? *where that river ſaved him peradventure that he might periſh the more unworthily upon this: all the ingagements in fine, which either he or his brother through their perfidiouſneſs have undertaken againſt theſe countries, have always had the ſame end; they have not ſo ſoon been entred but they have been beaten out, to their ſlaughter and ſhame, and to our everlaſting glory and honour. And upon all theſe occaſions experience hath ſufficiently ſhewn how much valour exceeds numbers, order before confuſion; and what advantage they have who fight out of the zeal of honour, over thoſe who bear arms only for rapines ſake. The ſame will certainly be ſeen in this preſent conflict, ſince our conditions, and the conditions of our enemies are not the ſame: Ours, by being bred ſo many years in the wars, and the knowledg how to defend a good cauſe, being added to the favour of the cauſe which we defend; and that of the Enemy, in bringing new men to all military actions, and in baſely maintaining wicked cauſes under rebelliousCaptains. The narrownes of the place makes much for our advantage, which will not ſuffer their Horſe which are more then ours, to have too much the better of us; and yet ours ſhalbe ſo well fenced by Foot, as that advantage ſhall ſupply the other default. And that weak Trench which the Enemy have raiſed for defence of their Foot, what doth it argue but an abject fear in them, & an evident deſire rather of flight then of fight? We on the contrary ſhall aſſault them with our wonted reſolution and undauntedneſs; & ſhall aſſuredly have the like ſucceſs as formerlyin overcoming, and they in ruining away.*

This Speech of *Avila's* was received with great acclamations by the ſouldiers, Whereupon he with the other field-Officers diſpoſed their orders thus: For the more ſafety-ſake he placed the foot towards the River, on the right hand, and divided them into proportionable ſquadrons, lining the Pikes with ſhot where it was moſt convenient. He divided the horſe likewiſe on the left ſide into divers ſquadrons, and munited them toward the field-ſide, with a good wing of Spaniſh and Walloon musketiers, the better to break the enemies greateſt force, which was to be expected on that part. The Camp-maſters, *Conſalvo di Bracamonte*, *Fernando*

Fernando di Tolledo, and *Christopher Mandragone*, who had brought with him his Walloon Regiment; which did remarkable service that day, had the chief command of the foot. And the chief places in the Cavalry were supplyed by *Bernardino di Mendoza*, and *John Baptista de Marchesi del Monte*, with whom were other Captains of try'd valour. The German Harquebusiers under *Schinck*, were placed in the front, together with those of other Nations: and after them the Lanciers, which made up the greatest body of the horse, and this was so executed as if the enemies Rutters should charge upon the Harquebusiers, the Lanciers might charge them. To boot that the wing of Musketiers which flankt the Kings horse on the outside, might be of great use to break their first violence, as hath been said. The enemy this mean while had not omitted any thing which might make for their advantage in the battel. *Lodovick* had his brother *Henry* with him, who had likewise a warlike spirit. But *Christopher*, one of the sons of the Prince Elector Palatine, was of great preeminence in their Army. He commanded all the horse, and the whole Government of the Camp was almost equally had between him and *Lodovick*. They left some foot-companies to defend the Trench which hath been spoken of, and which lay nearer the river on the left hand. On the right hand they composed a great squadron of the other foot in good order, and extended their horse towards the hill, as far as the narrowness of the place would permit them; and made thereof one choice squadron apart, wherein were the two Generals, and Count *Henry*. Which made it be doubted whether they did this, to be in that part of the battel where victory was most to be hoped for; or in case they should be worsted, so to make their way sooner through the enemy, and joyn with *Orange*, who was already come with great forces to *Nimmighen*. The two Generals, as they ordered their squadrons, were not wanting in encouraging their souldiers.

They affirmed that this was the day which must free the Flemish from slavery, the Germans from jealousies, and which would throw a thousand rewards upon them the souldiers for obtaining the victory, of which no doubt was to be made. That the new Spanish Governour trusting little in himself, and peradventure less in his men, would not be in person where the greatest danger was. That he was constrained to draw his people out of their Garisons almost by force: who howsoever came rather with a mind to mutiny then to fight; ; and were so lessened in their numbers, as they were able to make but a very weak body of an Army. How much did they exceed the enemy, especially in horse? And how great would their storm be? That when the victory should be got on this side, it would the more safely be had on the other side: where the foot would notwithstanding so signalize themselves, as they needed no other to assist them in overcoming. That the enemy being routed, and made to fly, Flanders *was to be wholly at their disposal: And what Laws would not she be ready to receive, having the Prince of* Orange *with his forces on one side, theirs on the other; or when they should be all joyned together?* Holland *and* Zealand, *invincible Provinces in the defence of their Country, would certainly share in the fruits of so happy a success; as also every other Province which would cordially joyn with them in the same Cause. That in such Provinces as would prove refractory, the sword should do, what fair means could not effect: and as they should be joyfully received by those, so should they find rich pillage in these. That every souldier should therefore enter the combate with firm resolution of being victorious. And that adding one incitement to another, every one of them should think they were looked upon by the eyes of both the* Germanies; *which expected by means of their valour that day, the one to recover what she had lost; the other to keep what she had feared to lose.*

When both Armies were ordered in manner aforesaid, they bega to skirmish. *Avila* advanced 300 foot, part Spaniards, part Walloons, against those who guarded the Trenches on the other side: who coming forth with a proportionable number, received the Kings men with much stoutness: but these, as being more experienced, began to get advantage over the others, driving them back into their Trenches, and endeavouring to fall in with them. Here the fray grew hotter; and each side received new courage accordingly as they received new succours. But the Kings men still prevailing they at last got upon the Trenches, and of them Captain *Diego di Montesdock* was one of the first that was slain. Then the chief

squadron

ſquadron of the enemies foot began to move. Whereupon the others making a ſtand, who before began to give back, they fell all again a fighting, and for a while did manfully withſtand the Kings men; whoſe ſquadrons being likewiſe come up, had brought the whole burthen of the war on that part hither; but the hereticks ſtill giving ground, they at laſt began to run. The buſineſs was better diſputed between the horſe of both ſides, the Kings horſe Harquebuſiers were ſo furiouſly aſſaulted by *Lodovicks* Rutters, and eſpecially the Germans led on by *Schinck* who ſtood forwardeſt, as being firſt broken, and then totally diſordered, they did not only forſake the place, but running away to the next neighbouring Towns, they gave out every where that the enemy had won the day. The Rutters having diſcharged their firſt Volly of ſhot, wheeled about to charge again, and make a ſecond more furious aſſault; but the Kings Lanciers afforded them not time, who fell on with ſuch violence, and did ſo vigorouſly charge them on divers ſides, as breaking their orders, they forced them back, and opened them. In this the foot-wing played their part miraculouſly; by whom the Rutters being gauled on their flank, were put yet into greater diſorder. *Lodovick* and the Palatine couragiouſly endeavoured to re-order them, and incouraged them by their own examples acting the parts rather of common ſouldiers then of Commanders in chief. But the Kings horſe ſtill more inheartned, both by the apparent victory of the foot, and by the advantage which they themſelves continually got; did ſo cloſely purſue the Rutters, as not being able longer to be withheld, and fear getting the upper hand of ſhame, they turned their backs, and at laſt ran directly away. Fortune would likewiſe have her ſhare in this battel, as uſually ſhe hath in all. For juſt as the Rutters began to give back, three Company of Lanciers came up to the Catholicks, led on by *Nicholas Baſti*, by *George Macuca*, and by *Peter Taſſis*, all of them Captains, and this new inforcement finiſht the buſineſs, ſo as inſtead of fighting they fell to execution. The Kings men being maſters of the field, ſlaughtered the enemy horribly in all places; and it was commonly believed that above 4000 of them periſht. About 200 of the Kings men were miſſing. This ſucceſs was particularly innobled by the death of the two brothers of *Naſſaw*, and of the Palatine, which being all of them joyntly reſolved either to make their way by their ſwords, or by indeavouring to do ſo, to loſe their lives, were ſlain fighting valiantly. The Kings forces got great advantage and reputation by this victory. For though the battel was not between numerous Armies, yet the chief conſequences of *Flanders* lay at ſtake on both ſides. And thoſe which concerned the King being particularly conſidered, 'tis no doubt but if the enemy had got the better of the day, their Forces being joyned with thoſe of the Prince of *Orange*, would have overrun the Country every where, and would have made the Stanſheſt raiſe new rebellions.

But this ſo important victory was not well gotten, when they who had been the chief Authors of it, ſpoyled the effect thereof. Inſtead of expecting their reward from the King the Spaniards to the great diſſervice of his Majeſty, would be their own pay-maſters. The very night after the day of battel and upon the very place where the battel was fought, they reſolved to mutiny. And the effect thereof was ſeen, before the thing it ſelf could be imagined. It began at firſt to be whiſpered by a few, afterwards it was put in practiſe by many, and at laſt it was fully conſented unto by all. They complained, and ſeemed much incenſed to ſee their labours ſo ill rewarded.

'Twas their hands and their bodies by which Towns were taken, Battels won, and all other actions of greateſt danger done. The honour and advantage redounded to the Commanders; their reward was only wounds and poverty. That their bare pay was given them rather as a reward, then as of due. Which yet being ſo far in arrear, they could not fully receive. How could ſo miſerable a condition be longer tollerated? that it was in their own power to ſatisfie themſelves for the monies which were every day promiſed them, and never paid. And that therefore they were now rather to have it at their command, then to wait for it any longer, and that perhaps in vain.

They made no long delay; they in a great hurly-burly flew to their arms; and violently laying aſide their former Officers, they choſe new ones. This being done, they went immediately from *Mouch*, and marched towards *Antwerp*, intending

tending to enter the City, and there with all ſafety and commodiouſneſs to cauſe their whole pay to be given them. *Sancio d'Avila*, and all the Camp-maſters uſed all poſſible diligence to remedy ſo great and ſo unexpected a diſorder: but they could do nothing that would prevail. And becauſe after this mutiny, ſo many others of the like nature inſued in the progreſs of this war, whereby the Kings affairs in *Flanders* were more prejudiced by the arms of his own ſouldiers, then by thoſe of his enemies. It will not be amiſs to relate here anticipately, with as much brevity as may be, what is beſt worthy knowledg in a buſineſs which we ſhall ſo often have occaſion to treat of. An Army in the field is a great moveable City, governed by Military Laws, within walls of Iron: this City is diſtinguiſhed into perſonages of divers qualities. The chiefeſt place is poſſeſt by the Captain-General, who hath ſupream Authority in the Government thereof. The other chiefeſt Commanders follow after him, and after them the leſſer. And in the laſt place remains the inferior order of common Souldiers, who having no ſhare in Command, are only to obey. In this popular order of the Army (if I may term it ſo) do mutinies fall out: the uſual cauſe whereof is the want of pay. In the meaner ſort of ſouldiers, Intereſt prevails more then Honour; wherefore being unpayed, firſt they complain, then they grow angry, and at laſt mutiny. In long Wars this is oftner ſeen, by reaſon of the exceſſive expences which they occaſion. This length of time makes ſouldiers marry, whereby they have children: and in that reſpect grow ſtill more neceſſitous: and this neceſſity at laſt turning into corruption, they mutiny many times rather becauſe they will do ſo, then that they have any juſt occaſion to do it. The Laws of obedience being then broken, this popular order riſeth up againſt their Superiors, and out of their body, do tumultuarily chuſe new Officers. This happens uſually when the Armys are in the field, becauſe it would be almoſt impoſſible to compaſs it with ſecurity in Gariſons. In the change of Government, 'tis commonly ſeen that we degenerate from the better to the worſe. And thus it happens upon this occaſion. The ſupreme Command of one only, paſſeth then into the whole multitude, which being compoſed of horſe and foot, makes a body of each of them, which they call the Squadron of the incenſed, ſo to ſhun the always ignominious title of mutiners. The Authority conſiſts then in the Squadron, and all the command in the united body thereof. This tumultuous Commonwealth will notwithſtanding have a head, who is called the Elect. Next him it will alſo have ſome others of greater imployment, and theſe they call Councellors. The foot and horſe are likewiſe diſtributed under two chiefer Heads. They call the head of the horſe Governour, and him of the foot Sergeant Major. The Captains and uſual Officers follow in either ſort of theſe men; and divers other places are diſtributed according to occaſion. The Offices are diſtributed by votes allowed; and in the like ſort all other reſolutions are taken. The Squadrons firſt intention is to poſſeſs it ſelf of ſome good Town or City; and here to fortifie it ſelf ſo as it cannot be forced. From thence it takes in all the Country thereabouts; which to ſhun greater damage, is brought to pay equal Contributions. The Office of the Elect is barely to propound what upon all occaſions is to be reſolved on, the buſineſſes being firſt well weighed in the Councel. He therefore dwels in the beſt *Piazza*, or Market-place of the Town poſſeſt; and out of a window makes his Propoſitions to the ſquadron which meets there to that purpoſe. The multitude grumble often at thoſe which they like not; and being born away by rage, inſtead of ſhewing their negative by the uſual way of votes, they many time witneſs their gainſaying by a peal of musket-ſhot. They are hereunto chiefly induced through the jealouſies which reigne amongſt them. One ſouldier fears to be betrayed by another; and they eaſily grow to diſtruſt their heads wherein they did at firſt impoſe their chiefeſt truſt. The Elect is therefore never left without one particular ſentinel; he can neither receive nor write any Letters without the knowledg of the ſquadron: and thus in all things elſe, his voice is as well bound up as his hands, unleſs the impediment be firſt taken away by the ſquadron. The Miniſtry of his Councellors is bounded in like manner. Amongſt the other ſouldiers all ſeparate commerce is abſolutely forbidden; it being their pleaſure that by irretractable rigour as the ſquadron makes but one body, ſo it have but one will.

Their

Their diſcipline in all other things is very ſevere: ſo as it may be doubted whether it were introduced with ſtraiter laws, or executed with more ſevere: And no fault in point of execution is pardoned. Never did diſobedience beget better obedience. The Squadron in withdrawing it ſelf from the command of its firſt Commanders, doth with ſo much rigor bereave it ſelf of all liberty in ſubmi ting to ſecond heads; though (as hath been ſaid) it keeps the ſupreme authority in it ſelf, and will ever and anon make it appear by horrid examples. It therefore often puniſheth great faults with its own hands; making thoſe who according to their laws have deſerved it, ſometimes paſs the pikes, and ſometimes be ſhot to death. Their laws offend for the moſt part on the more ſevere ſide; but many of them are ſo well regulated, as better cannot be deſired in whatſoever compleat Commonwealth. Theft, play, blaſpheming, drunkenneſs, diſhoneſt women, all brawls, running in debt further then men are able to pay, and many other ſuch like exceſſes are forbidden upon heavy penalties; which in the form of all good Governments are born withall, ſince they can never be fully irrradicated. In this their chief reſpect is, to avoid all occaſion of contention or diſcord, which may diſunite the Squadron. Of ſo much greater force with men is ſervice done to themſelves, then when to others. And ſo much prevails the uniform conſent of many, though of differing births, cuſtoms, and language. For, in the war of *Flanders* divers Nations have been ſeen to mutiny together, and all of them to make but one body, and lead to one end, as if they were but one onely people. Generals and other Warriors have ſometimes endeavoured to break and puniſh Mutinies; but they have ſeldom hit in their deſigns: For the better ſort are oft-times won over to ſide with the worſt, and the remedy is turn'd into a greater malady. It is therefore beſt to agree the divided Souldiery; which is done by delivering up ſome principal Perſonage into their hands for a Pledge, till full ſatisfaction be given: And we in our time have ſeen the Duke of *Oſſuna*, a Grandee of *Spain*, given up for an Hoſtage. This in brief is the form of Government obſerved by Mutiniers. When they have received their Pay, they ſoon return to their former obedience, and there is no ſign left of any ſuch peſtilence: For ſo may all Mutinies which happen in Armies be called, ſince ſo great a part of their body is infected thereby, the union thereof is broken, the government diſturbed; their forces then rendred weakeſt, when they ſhould be ſtrongeſt; and thoſe advantages are either loſt, or thoſe evils cauſed by their own Forces, which the Enemy could never have effected.

Now to reaſſume the thread of our diſcourſe. The *Spaniards* when they had formed this Mutinie, took their way ſuddenly towards *Antwerp*, paſſing over the *Mauſe* at *Grave*. *Sancio d'Avila* gave ſpeedy advertiſement of this to the Commendador: who forthwith went himſelf in perſon to that City, to keep the Mutiniers from entring thereinto; which if he could not doe, then at leaſt to keep them from ſacking it. Of one ſide of the City the wall met not by a good ſpace with the Ditch of the Citadel, and that open place was only ſhut up with certain Paliſadoes. Towards this part did the Mutiniers march in ſuch diligence, and preſented themſelves before it with ſuch reſolution, as neither the Inhabitants of the Town, nor yet the Garriſon, which were ſome German Companies, durſt withſtand them. They might have been beſt reſiſted by the Spaniſh Garriſon which was in the Citadel: but theſe, not being very well pleaſed neither, did rather incline to joyn with them; nor had the Governour thereof *Sancio d'Avila* little to doe in keeping them from ſo doing. At their entrance into the *Piazza*, the Mutiniers put themſelves in order, and made the Citizens ſorely afraid that they would have plundred the City. Here the Commendador came before them on horſe-back, and with fair words endeavoured to reduce them to their obedience, aſſuring them that they ſhould very ſhortly receive full ſatisfaction with advantage. But neither were his intreaties of validity, nor did his Authority prevail: yet they aſſured him, that ſet their preſent maintenance aſide, the City ſhould not ſuffer any prejudice, provided always that they did receive ſpeedy ſatisfaction. They then took up their quarters in houſes in the Town, having firſt made the German garriſon which was in *Antwerp*, under *Frederick Perenotto* Lord of *Champigni*, and brother to Cardinal *Granville*, withdraw out of the City. But

were it either for ſome particular diſtaſte which they had taken againſt him, or that they could not well moderate their own heat, they could not forbear plundring his houſe, together with ſome other houſes, where either their jollity or hatred did moſt tranſport them. After this, all poſſible diligence was taken to give them ſatisfaction: Neither did they let ſlip any occaſion of haſtening the effects thereof by way of terror, and eſpecially of Plunder. So as threatening it every day, and the *Antwerpians* every day fearing it, they were ſo much affected therewithall, as they were reſolved to contribute whatſoever monies were requiſite to free themſelves as ſoon as might be from ſo dreadful a danger. The Mutiniers were notwithſtanding contented to receive ſix payes in Cloth and other Draperies which the City furniſht them withall; they were paid the reſt in mony. And having obtained a large Pardon from the Commendador in the Kings name, upon ſolemn oath in the greateſt Church, they at laſt went out of *Antwerp*, and return'd to joyn with the reſt of the Army, which had already re-entred *Holland*, and had begun to beſiege *Leyden*. Amongſt other prejudices which the Kings affairs received by this mutiny, one of the greateſt was, the loſs of many ſhips which the Commendador had prepared upon the ſhore of *Antwerp*, for new deſigns upon *Zealand*. In *Glimes* his place, who was ſlain in the former related Sea-fight, was *Adolphus Hanſteede* put: Who fearing leſt the Mutiniers might fall upon the Navy which he had the charge of, and would have it in their power, for their better ſecurity of getting their pretended ſatisfaction; reſolved to launch forth with it into the deepeſt part of the *Scheld*, and there ſecure himſelf from that fear. But by ſhunning this danger, he ran into a greater. The *Zealanders* had quickly notice hereof, and would not loſe the opportunity. They came unexpectedly with many armed Veſſels, and without much adoe took moſt of the Kings ſhips, which what great, what little, were about forty, and almoſt all of them well provided of Artillery and all Naval preparations; and the reſt they either burnt, or ſunk, or ſhatter'd them ſo, as they were for no more ſervice. The deſign was to aſſault *Zealand* with this the Kings Fleet, by the Rivers and Gulfs which inviron it within, and which cannot receive great Veſſels; and at the ſame time to doe the ſame with another Fleet of greater ſhips on the outſide, which ſhips were with all ſpeed preparing in *Spain*: intending chiefly to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome good Haven, and ſtil to ſtreighten that maritine Tract the more, and to endeavour by all means poſſible to poſſeſs themſelves of that Province, without which the King could never hope to keep *Flanders* firm in his obedience. And although the ſame deſign was continued in *Spain*, after the unfortunate ſucceſs of the Navy in *Flanders*; yet ſo many difficulties aroſe on all ſides, as it was impoſſible afterwards to effect it.

The Prince of *Orange* was this mean with many Forces about *Nimínghen*, whither he was come to joyn with his brother *Lodovick*, as we have ſaid: whoſe defeat, and death enſuing, and inſtantly thereupon the *Spaniards* Mutiny, he ſtaid ſtill in thoſe parts; and failed not to make his advantage of the diſorders hapned in the Kings Camp. But ſeeing the Enemies forces hindred by the ſaid mutiny within themſelves, he made many incurſions into thoſe parts, hoping to make ſome conſiderable progreſs. He was poſſeſt of the Town of *Bomel*, a ſtrong place, and which gives the name to a large Iſland, made by the *Mauſe* and *Wahale*. Here *Orange* ſtaid, as in a place naturally very advantagious; and annoy'd the neighbouring parts which were ſtill in obedience to the King. And becauſe *Balduke*, which is one of the chiefeſt Cities of all *Brabant*, was in greateſt danger, the Commendador ſent men ſuddenly to ſecure it, and fortified the chiefeſt Paſſes thereabouts. The Mutiny being afterwards accommodated, he diſpatched away the Marquis *Vitelli* with a good ſtrength, to diſturb *Orange* in all his deſigns. With him went *John Baptiſta*, and *Camillo*, brothers to the Marquis *del Monte*, and *Vitelli* his Nephews by the ſiſters ſide: Each of them commanded a Company of Lances, but came to much greater preferment afterwards in the continuation of the war, and won therein a great eſteem of valour. The greateſt weight of the military affairs in *Flanders* lay then upon *Vitelli*; as well in regard of his place of Campmaſter-General, which was the chiefeſt charge in the whole Army next to the ſupreme command of Governour; as for his long experience in war, which

which appeared yet more after the Duke of *Alva*'s departure, so cry'd up a Commander, and of so great reputation: of the Italian Nobility which were then in the Army of *Flanders*, *Rafell Barberino* was in great esteem, and was much imployed in many weighty actions. He was very well skill'd in particular in matter of Fortification; and therefore his advice was asked; and his opinion followed upon all occasions of that nature. He was as well esteemed in treating of businesses as in Military imployments, and therefore having been formerly sent into *England* by the Duke of *Alva*, the Commendador continued to make good use of him in divers negotiations which were then in hand, to breed, if it were possible, a better intelligence and correspondency between that Queen and the King of *Spain* in the occurrences of *Flanders*. This *Rafell* was Uncle by the Fathers side to *Maffeo Barberino*, which our age hath seen pass through all the chiefest degrees of Prelatship with much applause in the Apostolick See, and who by his worth becoming afterward Cardinal, and lastly Pope, precedes now in the universal Government of Christs flock, by the name of *Urban* the eight: A Prince, who amidst his so many sublime vertues, leaves it in doubt which of them merits more praise; and in whom it is no less questionable which of his Principalities becomes him best, or that which the Church gives him over men, or that which he by his learning hath acquired over knowledge.

Vitelli being then gone towards the Island of *Bomell*, he reduced many Towns thereabouts to the Kings devotion, and built two Forts there the better to curb the enemies in those parts. The chief Towns which he took were, *Leerdam*, *Aspe-ren*, and *Huechelen*, all of them seated upon the River *Linga*, which runs through *Holland*. He hoped likewise to surprise the Town of *Bomell*: but were it that his practises were discovered, or not well managed, he could not effect his hopes. From hence *Vitelli* returned to *Antwerp*, and of the people which he had with him, a Regiment of Swissers were dismist, which the Commendador had lately raised, and the rest marched more inwards into *Holland*, to joyn with those of the Kings men who were in that Province. A new general pardon was at this time publisht by the Commendador-general in the Kings name, like that which was formerly in the Duke of *Alva*'s time came forth with such solemnity. And because the other had begot more fear then trust, by reason of the so many exceptive clauses which were in it; therefore in this the King inlarged his clemency goodnesse and to all such as would enjoy the fruit thereof, except such as were guilty of the most heynous offences; and he thereunto added also the Ecclesiastical Authority touching such faults as were committed in matter of Religion. But neither did the one or the other Indulgence avail any thing; nay this latter met with less of faith in the Flemish then the former had done; by how much they were more alienated from the Church and King, since the coming forth of the former. The Commendador had at this time some little hopes of reducing the Rebels to some pacification. *Philip Marnice*, Lord of *Aldegonda* was made the Instrument herein: who in some Military action had formerly been taken, and was then prisoner in *Utricht*. This was one of *Orange* his chief Councellors, a man of great courage and abilities in whatsoever imployment. And to him were attributed chiefly many of those actions which had occasioned the first tumults in *Flanders*, particularly the drawing up of that Covenant of which we have formerly spoken. He gave some hopes, that he would bring *Orange* to such conditions as the King should be satisfied withall. Whereupon by the Commendadors order, *il Signior de Champigni*, who was Governor of *Antwerp*. and *Gunio di Jongen*, entred into Treaty with him for certain days; but it quickly appeared that the Treaty was commenc'd either out of fraud or vain glory. For the propoials on *Marnice*'s behalf, bore conditions which were impossible to effect. He first proposed, That all foreigners should be made to quit the Country, indeavouring by sundry wayes to honest the motion. And for what concerned Religion, he represented what had so often been proposed by *Orange*: to wit, That the States General might be called, and that they should maturely consider, what means were best to be used, as a remedy therein: so this Treaty of agreement was quickly broken off, for the Commendador would not have it to continue any longer: judging that Religion and the King should suffer too much prejudice by only listening to such Propositions.

Now follows the siege of *Leyden*, which was particularly memorable, for the condition of the succour, which so altered the order of affairs, as the besiegers became besieged; and look what unhappy success the assailed expected, the Assailant made trial of the very same. *Leyden* is one of the chief Towns of *Holland*; it is seated low, amongst, as may be said, a labyrinth of channels, part of which are running, part standing waters, and which cut through the Territories thereof on al sides. The *Rhine* runs through it with one of its branches, which now is the weakest, but hath formerly been the most frequented; though this retain its antient name, whereas the rest, as they draw near the sea, change it into that of other Rivers. So many other channels are derived from this branch within the Town it self in several parts, as the space which is there broken off by the Islands, is in a sort larger then what is united to the Continent. But if it be divided by so many channels, it is re-joyned by many more bridges. Of which there are about 150. where they may serve either for use or ornament; and the most of them are of stone. The Town is well peopled, her streets are large, buildings well polished; it is well flankt round about; her ditch is every where deep; and in fine, she is in all circumstances of such condition, as the Kings men had good reason to use all endeavour to gain her, as also the Rebels to keep possession of her. The Towns of *Delf*, *Roterdam* and *Gouda*, are much about half a days journey distant from *Leyden*, the Noblest and best peopled Towns in all *Holland*. The *Hague* is likewise within two leagues of it, an open Village; but which for beautious situation, for number of Inhabitants, and gallant buildings, may compare with many of the best walled Towns of that Province. Yet is not this Village watred, or cut through by any river. The Town of *Delf* lies upon a river which joynes upon the *Mause*; *Roterdam* upon the *Roter*, from whence it hath its name: and *Gouda* upon the *Gowe*, from whence it hath also its nomination, where it joynes with the *Issell*, and together therewith falls afterwards into the *Mause*. To these rivers many other channels cut by hand, are annext; so as there is no Village thereabouts near which there is not either running or standing waters in divers places. The *Holland* Rebels knew long before, that the Spaniards intended to besiege *Leyden*: and that the Duke of *Alva* after the taking of *Harlem*, had declared his intention therein, by possessing himself of al those places aloof off, which in the winter season were most opportune to effect it. The Duke being gone *Rechesens* had continued the same resolution. Wherefore the Rebels to prevent the danger, intended to fortifie those Passes which were of greatest importance, either to impede the Rebels, or to bring succour to the Town. Two Villages amongst the rest, were most considerable for this purpose; the one toward *Gouda*, called *Alfen*, which is seated upon a channel over which there is a bridge, which according to the Custom of that Country, opens and shuts in the passage of the water with sluces, or floudgates. The other towards *Delf*, which is called *Masen*-sluce, and which commands one of the chiefest passes upon the way to *Leyden*. In these two places the enemies had fortified themselves, and especially in that of *Alfen*, in respect of the bridg which they guarded by a particular Fort. When then the Kings side had resolved to besiege *Leyden*, it was thought necessary before all other things to possess themselves of both these passes. The Commendador had given the chief care of the siege to the Camp-master *Valdes*; who to this purpose having assembled together a good many Spaniards, and joyned some Germans and Walloons with them, was gone towards *Leyden*. His first designe in approaching it, was to assault the Village of *Alfen*, and to bereave the enemy of the abovesaid bridg. Wherefore picking out some of the stoutest souldiers, they assaulted the enemy so furiously, as after a bloudy fight they won the fort which was built to defend the bridg. And following those with the same violence who retreated, they entred together with them into their fortifications, wherewith the Town was munited, and slew many of them rather in their flight, then in their making resistance; so made themselves Masters of that place, and quartered there. As much as the Kings men were hereby incouraged, the Rebels were as much discouraged; which made the taking of the other fort of *Masen*-sluce more easie to the Royalist: and thus these two places fell within a few days into their hands, who by so favourable a beginning, hoped very much in a no less

prosperous

prosperons end of the Siege. They then betook themselves with diligence to be masters of all other Avenues whereby succour might be kept from the Town. The parts thereabouts (as hath been said) are full of Channels and Rivers: wherefore 'twas thought necessary to block up all passages with sundry Forts, by which the City might be come to, either by land or water; so as ere long there were little less then 60 Forts built round about it, whereby almost all possibility of relieving it was taken away. The *Leydenists* this mean while were not wanting on their parts in preparing for defence. And judging that the Royalists intended rather to take the Town by Famine then by the sword, they thought it not convenient to receive many foregin Souldiers into the City; as well the longer to preserve their victuals, as for that they hoped they had men enough of their own to maintain and defend it.

There hapned therefore but few skirmishes on either side; though those within sallied out sometimes to keep the Kings men as far off the City as they might, and especially on those sides where they found greater disturbance or danger by the Assailants approach; who amongst the rest had raised one Fort which they called *Lamsfort*, and which was neareſt *Leyden*. The *Leydenists* found themselves much incommodiated by this Fort, for it troubled divers of their pasture grounds wherein they fed much Cattel, and put the City into other great straits. Provoked therefore by anger, and inforced by necessity, they sallied out one day against those that kept it, and assaulted it with such resolution, as it was long doubtful which side had the better: But at last the Royalists prevailed, and the Fort continued still in their possession, which they fortified better then before, that they might not any more fear the loss thereof, nor those within hope to get it. The *Leydenists* cooled not notwithstanding in their making resistance: But fearing by reason of the Royalists still nearer approach unto the City, that they would hasten the end of the Siege also by an Assault, they omitted not to provide for all things necessary upon such an occasion. They wrought upon the walls night and day, the women wrought as well as the men; every one lessened their own victuals, to furnish the publike longer therewithall: And they encouraged each other on all sides to maintain the defence; concluding that it was better to suffer any how hard conditions soever, and even death it self, then to undergoe such punishments as they had not long before seen inflicted upon the *Harlemists*. *John Douza*, a famous Latine Poet in those dayes, very nobly born, and of other high deserts, had the chief government of the affairs of the City. He failed not in acting his part well; he still encouraged the *Leydenists*, and fed them with hopes that the other Cities would speedily joyn with them, and relieve them. In confirmation of this, sometimes Letters, sometimes Messages came from without, and some News was cunningly raised within the Town it self: Though it were very true, that *Orange* and the rest of the Rebels in that Province labour'd nothing more, then how to keep a place of such consequence still at their devotion. 'Twas now the month of *August*: and the *Leydenists* began already to suffer want of victuals. Therefore the States of the Country met to treat of so weighty a business, and to find out some way whereby the City might be relieved: And this affair began to be mightily canvest. The Deputies differ'd in their opinions. Some thought that the Town might be easeliest got into by making a gallant assault by Land; others held, it might better be relieved by some River or Channel; but the greatest part concluded that there was small hopes of doing it either one way or other, the Kings men having so strongly fortified themselves every where. *Lewis Boisot*, Admiral of *Holland*, chanced to be at this meeting; A man very expert in maritime affairs, of a manlike spirit, and good at execution; and one who was very well esteemed of over all the Province. He, whilst they were hottest in the variety of their opinion s, stept forth to propound his, and began to speak thus:

I wish that our own misfortunes did not too deplorably teach us, how perverse the fury of the Sea proves sometimes to our Countries. Who sees not how we are daily inforst to oppose our industry to the threats thereof? Nor hath our mountainous banks been sufficient so to curb the tempest of her waves, but that some time she hath swallowed up whole Islands on some sides, and caused miserable and unheard of ruines in

other

other parts. Wee are now to seeke for remedy in this our present necessitie, from these evills which doe so often afflict us. Let Nature worke the same effect to day for our good, which she useth upon so many other occasions to doe for our hurt. And by those weapons wherewith she makes War against us, let us by her example make War upon our enemies. Every one knows that at the two Equinoxials of the year, the Ocean swels extraordinary high upon our Coasts; and by the season of the year, we are shortly to expect the effects thereof. My Councel shall therefore be, that we may immediately at the high tides begin to let the waters loose into the neighbouring grounds of Leyden: *greater tides will hereafter follow. And thus, turning the siege upon the Besiegers, we may hope to destroy our enemies within their own works, and at the same time to free the City from all danger. It may be thought impossible to relieve it by land, or by the ordinary way of channels and rivers; whereas by the way which I have prescribed, we may believe that our enterprise will be smiled on by success. It will be in our power to let in the Inundation where we please. We shall see the enemy strangely astonished and confused, between the shame of abandoning the siege, and the horror of continuing it. But being forced at last to fly, we shall see our own weapons, and those of nature conspire together in slaughtering them on all sides; and shall see that punishment justly transfer'd on them, which they with open violence prepared for the innocent. The Country which shall be drowned will doubtlesly be somewhat indamaged thereby; but who would not bear with such an inconvenience, whereby their Country shall receive so great a benefit? On the contrary, whose hair will not stand on end to think that after the loss of* Harlem, *and of* Leyden, *all the whole Province will shortly remain at the cruel will of the Spaniards? we must sometimes be wicked to be good. How oft do we cut off some one member for the welfare and safeguard of the rest of the body? yet this evil will not prove finally so great, but that it will in time be paid with great usury. Some worldly actions prove so memorable, as they strike envy dumb, and add new tongues to fame. This of ours will certainly be such, and will be every where highly celebrated. I who so boldly give the advice, do as confidently pronounce the augury; and hope that the event will crown both of them with fortunate success.*

At the hearing of so strange a proposition, the Deputies were much confused whether they should accept of it, or reject it. But it is oft-times seen that need passing into necessity, necessity passeth luckily into desparation. And thus it proved in what we shall now relate. For all of them joyning at last in opinion that *Leyden* was not to be freed by any other way, then by what *Boisot* had propounded, 'twas resolved that at all adventures they would follow his advice. The chief banks or ditches of the *Mause* and *Isel*, between *Roterdam* and *Tergowe* were presently cut in divers places. And at the high-tide the waters began to break in every where, and overflow all the grounds which lie between *Tergowe*, *Roterdam*, *Delf* and *Leyden*. At the sight of this unlooked for inundation, the Spaniards were at first much astonished, but they were soon aware of the enemies designe. The Kings Forts were very many, as we have said; and divers of them were seated in the lowest places. These the inundation did quickly reach, and therefore they were quickly forsaken, and those who kept them, went to joyn with those who kept the chiefest Forts, which were so placed as they might be more easily maintained. This mean while, when once the enemy had pitched upon the aforesaid resolution, they applyed themselves apace to get together great store of vessels, which should be fitting to relieve *Leyden*. They were very careful to build them with shallow bottoms, to the end that they might pass over such grounds where the waters were shalloweſt: the greatest part of them were built in *Roterdam* by reason of the nearness and oportunity of its situation. Whole *Holland* was in great expectation what the success would prove, and therefore people flockt from all parts to help to build boats: many of which were to be in the form of Gallies with oars, to the end that they might the easilyer get by the passes, and assault the Forts which were yet in the Royalists possession. These boats were therefore furnished with many peeces of Artillery, and such people as were judged fit to fight. Whilst they were making this preparation, the Admiral of *Holland* indeavoured with some ships prepared for that purpose, to force certain passes, and to bring some succour into *Leyden*; for the besieged suffered very much for want

of

of victuals, and did very earneſtly ſollicite ſuccour. But his deſign did not at that time take effect: For the waters were not yet ſo far increaſed, as that his Veſſels could come near *Leyden*. All *Holland* joyned therefore in their prayers, That the Sea might ſuddenly ſwell higher; and that the Province, by raiſing the Siege of *Leyden*, might receive ſo deſired a misfortune. On the other ſide, the Kings men were not wanting in ſecuring their Forts, and repairing them with earth, hay, and whatſoever elſe they could come by of moſt commodious. And hoping that the waters would ſwell no higher, they perſwaded themſelves that they ſhould within a few dayes finiſh their buſineſs. They very well knew the Townſmens neceſſities; and that all their victuals being already ſpent, the affairs within were drawing to great extremity. Whilſt both ſides were in theſe fears and hopes, the time came wherein Nature by way of her hidden cauſes was likewiſe to work her effects. About the end of *September* the Sea began to ſwell exceedingly, according as ſhe uſeth to doe in that ſeaſon of the year: And pouring in at the high Tides no longer waves, but even mountains of waters into the moſt inward channels and rivers, made ſo great an inundation, as all the Country about *Leyden* ſeemed to be turned into a Sea. It cannot be ſaid how much the Rebels were hereby incouraged, and the Kings men diſcouraged. The former came preſently forth with their Fleet, which conſiſted of about 150 Bottoms, a great part whereof were made like Gallies; and to theſe were added many other Boats, which ſerved only to carry victuals. The whole Fleet was thus aſſembled together about the beginning of *October*, and put to water in good order to execute ther deſigned relief: the Gallies went on the outſides; the other greater Veſſels, which if need ſhould be were to play upon the Forts, in the midſt; and thoſe which bore the victuals, in the rear. But there was no occaſion of any great contention: For the Kings men having valiantly defended themſelves in ſundry places, conſidering that they were not now to fight with men, but with the Elements, thought rather how to withdraw themſelves into places of ſafety, then raſhly to oppoſe the enemy. Yet they could not forgoe their Fortifications neither ſo ſoon, nor in ſo good order, but that many of them remained a prey either to the ſword or to the water. And truly it was a miſerable ſpectacle to behold from all parts, one ſlain, another drowned; and many endeavour to ſave themſelves in the higheſt places, where when they were freed from the waters, they were inexorably ſlain by the Enemy. 'Tis ſaid that above 1500 of the Kings men periſht thus, and moſt of them *Spaniards*, as thoſe who were chiefly imployed in ordering the Siege, and who deſirous to bear away the greateſt glory, fell into the greateſt misfortune. Thus was *Leyden* at laſt relieved, after five moneths ſiege, to the exceeding great joy of the Rebels, and all that favoured them. But howſoever the memory of this ſiege remained a long time very ſorrowfull in the City: for about 10000 dyed within the town of hunger & other ſufferings; and all the moſt unclean & vileſt nouriſhment was already ſo conſumed when the relief was brought in, and the beſieged reſolving rather to die then to yield, nothing was expected but that the City ſhould give up her laſt breath, and remaining a miſerable carkaſs ſhould be buried within her own wals and houſes.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO*.

BOOK IX.

The Contents.

The Emperour endeavours to procure the Peace of Flanders, *and ſends an Ambaſſador to this purpoſe. The Commiſſioners for the King and for the Rebels meet, and confer at* Breda. *Difficulties met with in the Treaty, not to be overcome. The Treaty is ſoon diſſolved, and all hopes of Agreement vaniſh. Arms are reaſſumed on all ſides. The Catholicks progreſs in* Holland, *and in* Zealand, *and with what deſign. Deſcription of the Iſlands which lie on the Eaſt-ſide of* Zealand. *To take them, it is propounded to wade through a large Channel, the difficulties whereof are held very great. The Commendador reſolves to make tryal, and hath happy ſucceſs therein. The Kings men take divers Forts.* Qurickſea *is beſieged: the Town begirt, and great reſiſtance made, but at laſt thoſe within yield. The Commendador this mean while dyes, and the Government paſſeth into the hands of the Councel of State. The* Spaniards *mutiny again; who are therefore declared Rebels, and are ſet on on all ſides by the* Flemiſh. *Divers hoſtilities between them. The States cauſe the Caſtles of* Antwerp *and of* Gaunt *to be beſieged. The mutinous* Spaniards *run to relieve that of* Antwerp; *and having ſecured it, ſack the City in revenge. A General Aſſembly of the Deputies of the Catholick Provinces, and of thoſe of* Holland *and* Zealand *which are infected with Hereſie. Peace and Union inſues thereupon; and the thing chiefly reſolved on, is, that all Foreiners ſhall be expelled the Country.*

Anno 1575.

FLANDERS was thus conſumed with the flames of war, when the Emperor imployed his authority to reduce thoſe Provinces to peace. *Maximilian* the 2. was then Emperor: To boot with the common *Auſtrian* tye, he and the King of *Spain* could not be more nearly joyned in their own perſons; for the Emperors wife was Siſter to the King, and the King had taken to wife a Daughter of the Emperors. Wherefore *Ceſar* valued the Kings affairs in *Flanders* as his own. And on the other ſide, that fire ſo near *Germany*, to foment the which the Heretical Faction of the Empire had been ſo ready, kept his thoughts greatly agitated; fearing leſt the fire being redoubled by paſſing likewiſe

likewise into the German Provinces, his house might thereby be set on fire, as was the King of *Spains* in the Low-Countries. He therefore well weighing in his Councel what (the condition of the affair considered) was best to be done; and having adjusted what was most necessary for the Catholick Kings interest and honour, sent an Ambassador to procure a Treaty concerning it in *Flanders*. This Ambassador was Count *Suarzemburg*; one of the ancientest Counts of *Germany*, and who was no less esteemed of in those parts for his wisdom, then for his bloud. He came into *Holland* about the beginning of the year 1575. he staid some days in *Dort*, whether *Orange* and some of the Deputies of *Holland* and of *Zealand* came to meet him. The Ambassador negotiated with him in particular in the name of *Cesar*, and gave unto him a Letter from his Imperial Majesty, wherein mingling authority with intreaties, he exhorted him to be a means of facilitating the Ambassadors negotiation. After this private Treaty, they came to the publick management in *Breda*, a Town situated upon the uttermost bounds of *Brabant* towards *Holland*, and therefore very fit for the intervening of the people on both sides. *Orange* was master of that Town before the troubles began in *Flanders*; but being afterwards forfeited to the King, 'twas kept as one of the Kings *Garisons*, as we shewed in the beginning. Here then met the Deputies on both sides in *March* following for the King, there was Monsieur *de Rassenghien*, the Conat *Della-Rocca*, *Arnold Sasbout*, *Charis Suys*, and *Albertus Leonino*; and for the Rebels, *James Vanderdoes*, *Philip Bernice*, *Bharls Boisot*, *Arnold Dorp*, and *Junius de Giunge*. And for their security whilst they were to stay in a Town garded by the Kings Forces, the Camp-master *Julius Romero*, and *Christopher Mandragon*, together with *Mibell Cruiglias*, and *Mibell Allentor*, all four Spaniards, were committed into particular custody in *Dort*, as Hostages. In the opening of the Treaty, the Ambassador in a very grave and gracious manner, exhorted the Deputies on both sides, that they would set their whole minds and endeavours to procure a happy issue of this Treaty: and he laboured the Rebels Deputies apart, giving them a Letter which the Emperour had writ to the States of their Provinces. They then fell to Treat.

We told you in the former book, that in that Treaty of peace which was then indeavoured to be introduced, the Rebels Propositions were chiefly reduced to two heads: The first, That all the Spaniards, together with all other foreign souldiers should be made to leave the Country; and that then, the General States being assembled, Religion, and the peace of the Provinces should be established as they should think best.

The Rebels Commissioners made the same Propositions at *Breda*. As for the first Head, the Kings Deputies answered,

That the Vassals of the same Prince were not to account one another strangers; That indeed the Germans, French, and English were such, of which the Rebels made use; and that notwithstanding as soon as Flanders *should be reduced to peace, the King would forthwith cause the Spaniards, and all those others that they called foreigners, leave the Country. As for the convocation of the States General, they answered, That the whole body of the Provinces, which by the troubles of War were now so divided, was likewise first to be re-united by peace. Which being done, the King would willingly and suddenly call such an Assembly, would hear their opinions, and would agree unto whatsoever they should think fitting. After this, the Kings Deputies fell to propound such conditions, as they thought fittest to effect the desired concord. Which were these, That in the first place, all past offences should for ever be forgotten: That the revolted Cities and Towns should be restored to their Priviledges; and every other person to their former Honours and possessions. That all the Towns, Cities, strong Holds, Artillery, Warlike Ammunition, and Arms which were now in the Rebels possession, should return into the Kings hands. That the Catholick Religion should be restored in all places, without the permitting of any other Sect. That notwithstanding the King would out of his clemency and goodness, permit all those that had followed Heresie, to go freely out of the Country, and would allow them time to sell such goods as they could not carry with them.*

All business between the Commissioners, was transacted in writing. The Rebels Commissioners having seen the Propositions proposed by the Kings side; answered

ſwered fully on their behalfs; but in ſo bitter words, and in ſo contrary a ſenſe, as it was eaſie to be ſeen, how little hope there was of bringing the begun negotiation to a happy iſſue. The Papers which were propounded were very prolix; and therefore to avoid tediouſneſs, we will give you here only a breviat of them. The Rebels Deputies, in the r anſwers, made firſt rather a long Invective, then any complaint againſt the Spaniards; exagerating that they had been the chief cauſe of all the evils that had befaln thoſe Provinces. Then reaſſuming the head concerning foreigners, they repeated the ſame things over again more at large. They ſaid,

That the Spaniards, and all the reſt which were not native Flemiſh, were not (as ſtrangers) any ways to participate of that Government. That thoſe foreigners which they on their ſides were forced to make uſe of, were meer mercenaries. But that the Spaniards contrary to the immunities and priviledges of the Provinces, were by violence brought thither, and there by violence eſtabliſhed. That the Government of Cities, keeping of Forts, chief Commands in the Army, were in their hands: And that it was they who according to their arbitrary will, gave now the Laws. That if the King when he went from Flanders *was pleaſed to take away thoſe who were then there, he ought much more be induced to do the like now, when it was ſeen by evident proofs, how prejudicial their ſtay there was.*

Touching the Convocation of the States General, they ſtood ſtiff to their firſt principles. Saying,

That in making ſuch a peace as might be beſt for Flanders, *the King could not be better adviſed then by thoſe who were beſt acquainted with her malladies, and who knew beſt what were the fitteſt remedies for her cure: Wherefore recourſe muſt needs be had to that Aſſembly. For what remained, they ſaid, That they would never relinquiſh thoſe Cities ſtrong Holds, Munitions, and Arms, wherein their ſafety did conſiſt, till they ſaw a ſetled peace in the form by them propoſed. That they held their reformed Religion to be good, and that they would not for ſuch an occaſion abandon their Goods, Parents, and Country, nor leave the two Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *made deſolate by the excluding from thence ſo many who profeſt the ſame Religion, which would redound very much to the Kings diſſervice, by his loſing ſo many Subjects, and by the too much impoveriſhing of both the Provinces in the leſning of their Commerce and Merchandiſe.*

The Kings Commiſſioners ſaw very well by this opiniatracy of the adverſe party, that no reply which they could make would be to any purpoſe. Yet more to juſtifie the King in his proceedings, then out of any hope of good ſucceſs, they reſolved to preſent another paper, whereby to confute the oppoſitions made by the contrary party. They ſaid,

That to ſpeak in that manner againſt the Spaniards, and the reſt of the Kings ſubjects, ſhewed they had no mind to a reconciliation, but that they were ſtill more radicated in their enmity. And yet the end of this Treaty was only to take away all miſunderſtandings, and to eſtabliſh peace and concord. That they again replyed, when peace ſhould be once made, the King would not ſtick at removing the Spaniards, and all thoſe that they termed ſtrangers, out of thoſe Countries. That to do this before, were for the King to lay down his arms before his time, contrary to his dignity, contrary to all reaſon of War, and contrary to all right of juſtice. That as the King did not pretend this at firſt in reſpect of thoſe men who did ſerve the Rebels, and who were indeed all of them ſtrangers; ſo when peace ſhould be made, he would on his part agree that all that ſort of ſouldiery ſhould depart the Country. As for the aſſembling of the States General, they ſhewed how that it would require too long time, and that the Treaty being to paſs through their hands, would cauſe a much longer expence of time. That ſuch Treaties were never known to be handled by the States General. That this would be to make the Subjects authority greater then the Kings, and to make them the Law-givers, whereas they were with all moderation to receive them. That therefore when the peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, the King would ſuddenly call the States: And in the re-ordering the affairs of Flanders, *would follow whatſoever was convenient, and which had been formerly practiſed by his predeceſſors, thoſe Councels and Records which upon like occaſion, ſhould be given him by them. Concerning the reſtitution of Towns, Munitions and Arms, they ſaid that no more reaſonable*

demand

demand could be made: That in all reaſon, when the alienated Provinces ſhould return to the Kings obedience, the Towns and Arms thereof ſhould likewiſe return into his hands as formerly: That this was practiſed in the making of every Peace between Prince and Prince; then much more ought it to be ſo between Princes and Subjects. Touching the point of Religion, they replied again, That the King would not in any the leaſt degree alter his reſolution taken therein, and which they had declared: That to change Religion was not in the power of Princes, much leſs of Subjects: That the Apoſtolick Roman Religion had for ſo many Ages, and with ſo much piety been the onely Faith profeſt in Flanders: *That at the Kings taking poſſeſſion of thoſe Provinces, the King and People had reciprocally ſworn to defend and preſerve that alone: That by the departure of thoſe that were infected with Hereſie,* Holland *and* Zealand *would not ſuffer any conſiderable diminution of people, much leſs would they be left deſolate, for they were not ſo many; nay, if the Heretick Preachers were driven from thence, who had brought with them, and upheld that infection, the Catholick Religion would ſoon return to flouriſh there again: That notwithſtanding the King would ſuffer ſuch as would continue pertinaciouſly in their Sects, to tranſport their goods in form aforeſaid. And to be ſure that whatſoever was promiſed ſhould be performed, the King would to that purpoſe pledg his Royal Faith in the moſt ample manner, and would thereunto adde (if the adverſe party ſhould ſo require) the like of the Emperor, by whoſe authority, through his expreſs Ambaſſador, this Treaty which was now in hand was introduced.*

When this Paper, which was very long, and ſpoke home, was preſented by the Kings ſide, the adverſe part took time to anſwer, ſhewing that they muſt fully communicate the whole to the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and therefore they the Commiſſioners were inforced to goe themſelves in perſon into thoſe parts. Count *Zuarſemburgh* endeavoured very much to keep them from going from the Conference, fearing (as indeed it fell out) that the Treaty, if once interrupted, would hardly ever be reaſſumed. But they would by no means be perſwaded, and therefore at the ſame time the Hoſtages were ſet at liberty. It was a good while ere the Anſwer came: which was at laſt ſent in a long paper; and repeating the ſame things yet more bitterly againſt the *Spaniards*, and againſt the Kings demands, did conclude,

That they ſtood firm to the Conditions propounded by them concerning Peace: that they thought them altogether neceſſary, and that they would never accept of any other Accommodation.

When this Anſwer was made known to the Ambaſſador and the Kings Commiſſioners, the Treaty forthwith broke, and the Ambaſſador ſoon after returned for *Germany*. In fine, the buſineſs between the King and the Rebels was grown to too great a diffidence. The Publike Faith is ſufficient between King and King; and to this Tribunal it is that recourſe is had for Juſtice in differences which ariſe betwixt them: But the Rebels more conſidered the Kings Forces then his Faith; for the Treaty being betwixt Prince and Subjects, they were ſtill afraid, and therefore demanded ſuch terms for their ſecurity, which they neither ought to ask, nor the King to give. The Prince of *Orange* was ſole Arbitror and Moderator of whatſoever was treated of by the Rebels; and 'twas he who fill'd them with ſo continual ſuſpitions. It was every day more clearly ſeen, that amidſt the revolutions of the Country, he hoped to reap good advantage for himſelf; and therefore he choſe rather to hazard the Common intereſt in Wars, then to ſee his own deſigns quite overthrown by Peace and quiet. Nor did the Heretical Faction in *Germany France* and *England*, for the conformity of their ends, deſire the continuance of the troubles in the Low-Countries leſs then he. 'Tis therefore not to be imagined with how much induſtry all thoſe of that party did ſtrive to hinder the proceedings of that accommodation which was introduced by *Ceſars* means; and how much afterwards they laboured to make the Ambaſſadors endeavours ſubject to ſuſpition, and much more the like of the Kings Commiſſioners, to overcome the difficulties which aroſe.

The Treaty of Peace being thus vaniſht, all ſides fell eagerly again to the reaſſuming of war. The Commendador having miſcarried in his deſign upon *Leyden*, made all the Kings men that were at the Siege tarry in *Holland*. It was clear-

ly seen, that his intentions were totally to subdue that Province, and to set himself with all his might against the other of *Zealand*, that he might get that opportunity of reception which was necessary for the ships of *Spain*; towards which the Sea of *Zealand* opens, and affords the best Havens that are to be desired in all the maritime coast of the Low-Countries. *Egidius di Barlemonte*, Lord of *Hierges*, was Governour of *Holland*; a man of known zeal to the Kings service, and of approved skill in military profession. The Commendador commanded him to gather together as many of the Kings men as were in that Province, and to execute those Orders he should receive. The first was, to take the Town of *Buren* from the Rebels. *Hierges* prepared therefore for this design: And that he might the sooner succeed therein, he seemed as if he matched elsewhere, and afterwards bent suddenly thitherward. The Town belonged to *Orange*, and he possest it in right of his first wifes portion, who was daughter and heir to *Maximilian Agemont* Count of *Buren*. This place lies very opportunely to molest *Brabant* and *Ghelderland*; and to this end *Orange* had furnisht it with men, who making incursions into all those Confines, hindred much provision which was brought from those two Provinces to the Kings Camp in *Holland*. For what remains, the Town is seated upon a mean River, built about with an ancient Wall, and without any Bulwark; it hath an ancient Castle; the greatest strength which they within had, was a large and deep Ditch. *Hierges* coming thither unexpectedly, threatned the Townsmen with all severe hostility, if they did not immediately surrender the Town. He had with him about 6000 Foot and 400 Horse, all choise men, and long trained up in discipline. They within seemed little to fear the threats from without; but their actions did not correspond: For *Hierges* having made a great Battery, and in despight of them thrown a bridge over the Ditch, did with his men assault the Town so furiously, as the Defendants thinking rather how to save themselves, then how to fight, retreated into the Castle, where neither did they make any greater resistance. *Hierges* encouraged by his first success, redoubled his former threats: whereupon the Defendants courage failing them, they quickly articled to surrender, contenting themselves basely with the bare safeguard of their lives, and came forth without either Arms or Colours. The Castle and Town were both of them sackt; and *Hierges* presently went from thence, having first secured the Town. He from this Angle re-entred the Province; and receiving a new recruit of *Germans* and *Walloons*, besieged the Town of *Oudwater*: A place considerable in it self, and much more for the way it made for the taking of others of greater importance. The *Issel* runs on the one side, and it is incompassed every where else with a great Ditch; and the ground all about it is so low and spongie, as there is no coming to the Town but upon Banks, nor any getting in but by Channels. This kind of situation made the Siege more difficult; for the place was of it self weak, and had no strong works. The Kings Army lay chiefly upon the banks, and their greatest battery was placed upon one of the greatest of them, which for want of earth was inlarged by a great mass of old Nets, with flax and hemp, with which the Country thereabouts doth infinitely abound, and with the same materials they provided to pass over the Ditch. Those of the Town seemed very resolute to defend themselves; and making necessity yield to industry, they likewise instead of Rampiers had fortified their wals where it was most needful with such like materials as the besiegers had made use of. The Townsmen had received a recruit of a good many *Dutch* and *English*, and *Orange* promised them to send another succour speedily. Here began the oppugning and the defence, which continued not long: Those within having at first made some resistance against the batteries, the Kings men return'd with such fury again to the assault, as mixing themselves with the defendants in the breach, they entred together with them into the Town, and putting all to fire and sword, they in a short time did quite destroy it, and laid it desolate; nor did *Hierges* any wayes hinder his Souldiers heat. He went immediately from this Siege to another, and sate down before *Sconoven*, a little Town, but considerable, and not above a league from *Oudwater*. These two Towns are situated much alike. *Schonoven* stands upon the *Lech*, and is surrounded on every side with mire and water; it hath a large Ditch about it; and some Companies of *Dutch* and *French* were

entred

entred thereinto. But the Townſmen, deſirous rather to return to the Kings obedience, then to remain under that of the Rebels, inſtead of incouraging, diſcouraged thoſe that were come from without. *Orange* therefore laboured to ſend a good ſuccour thither by the river, it being then a very high tide. Which danger *Hierges* being willing to prevent, he croſſed the river over where he thought the greateſt danger lay, with a bridg of great boats, and munited them on the ſame ſide with pieces of maſts, ſo faſtned together as they might be an obſtacle to the enemies ſhips if they ſhould ſet upon the bridg on that ſide. This being done, he placed his Battery on the higheſt part, and began to play upon the Town. The Townſmen murmured againſt the Gariſon, fearing their Town would fare like *Oudwater*: which *Orange* being advertiſed of, he reſolved to ſend three ſhips laden with men, Artillery, and other proviſions to relieve and ſuccour the beſieged. They were led on by the Maſter of the French Guard, who was mightily favoured by the flowing tide. The Kings men diſcovering the deſigne, ran from all parts to the banks to fruſtrate the effect. Here began a fierce bickering; for the guns playing from all ſides, and each ſide endeavouring to overcome the other, many fell on both parts, and the victory was a good while doubtfull. But Fortune ſeemed at laſt as if ſhe would make the ſucceſſes equal. The enemies ſhips broke the bridg, and the Maſter of the Guard paſſed over it with his ſhip, fighting ſtill couragiouſly; but the other two were loſt, and the bridg ſuddenly made up again: ſo the Town was more narrowly beſieged then before. Here *Hierges* renewed his Batteries, and threw down above three hundred yards of wall; whereat thoſe within being ſtil more terrified; and the gariſon fearing more the Townſmen threats then thoſe of the Kings men, a Parly was ſoon had, and the Town was ſurrendred with good conditions to the Inhabitants, and with ſafety of perſons and goods to the ſouldiers. *Oudwater* and *Scown* being taken, *Hierges* quickly took two Forts upon a point of land called *Crimpen*: which being ſurrendred, and the parts thereabouts munited, *Hierges* returned to *Utricht*, expecting new Commiſſions from *Recheſens*. At this ſame time *Chriſtopher Mandragone* made another conſiderable atchievement in *Holland*, on another ſide towards *Brabant*, where the *Mauſe* doth moſt inlarge it ſelf, and joyns with many other rivers, all of them falling ſoon after into the ſea. Amongſt divers little Iſlands which lie on the Weſt ſide, there is one of a very narrow compaſs, but conſiderable for its ſituation, called *Finaert*: here the enemy had fortified themſelves, and had there ſome ſhips for their ſafety and guard. This Iſland is parted from *Brabant*, by a Channel not above three quarters of a mile over. *Mandragone* cauſed diligent ſearch be made for a Ford over it, at a low ſea; and found that with ſome hazard it might be paſt over. He was not troubled, but rather incouraged at the danger, which was no new thing to him, who had overcome a much greater in his ſo famous relieving of *Tergoes*. He choſe a thouſand Walloons out of his Regiment, and 300 Spaniards; and furniſhing every ſouldier juſt as he had done at the aforeſaid relief, they marched very ſecretly to the Channel, that they might take the enemy at unawares, and effect the paſſage the more eaſily. Nor was he deceived in his deſigne. Stepping himſelf firſt into the water, he met with no difficulty ſave in paſſing through it: for the enemies being of themſelves very weak, and greatly diſheartned by this ſudden ſucceſs, withdrew their ſhips, and not making any reſiſtance, abandoned the place, ſtudying only how to ſave themſelves. Theſe were the proceedings of the Kings Forces then in *Holland*: but there was no leſs need of them in *Zealand*. The King, amongſt other reſolutions, intended to ſend a great Fleet ſuddenly into *Flanders*, which was to this end preparing in *Spain*: knowing too well what advantage the Rebels had over him in their Flemiſh ſhips. And conſidering likewiſe very well, that as their Rebellion was chiefly begun, and continued by ſea, ſo muſt it likewiſe by the ſame way be allay'd and extinguiſhed. He had therefore ſtraitly commanded the Commendador, that he ſhould by all means indeavour to get footing in *Zealand*, as the place fitteſt for receiving aid by ſea from *Spain*: Wherefore *Recheſens* without any delay apply'd himſelf thereunto. He ſent word to *Hyerges* that he ſhould forbear indeavouring any thing more in *Holland*; and that detaining only ſo many ſouldiers as were requiſite for thoſe parts, he

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ſhould ſend the reſt into *Brabant*. He himſelf was this mean while gon, together with the Marquis *Vitelli* and other Spaniſh Commanders to *Antwerp*, and had there with all diligence prepared a Fleet of divers ſhips, which might ſerve for the ſeveral Channels and Gulfs, which do on ſo many parts divide, and ſurround *Zealand*. Many were likewiſe prepared to ſerve with Oars, and in the ſhape of ſmall Gallies, to the end that the ſpeed of the fleeteſt, might ſupply the ſlowneſs of the more ſluggiſh. Hereupon they began better to conſider upon what was to be done. The two aboveſaid places which *Mandragone* had ſo luckily taken, made them believe that they might have the ſame ſucceſs in the other channels and Gulfs of *Zealand*. To this purpoſe ſome places were obſerved by experienced perſonages, which were herein moſt hopefull. In the Eaſt ſide of *Zealand*, many Iſlands lie upon the ſea, one in purſuit of another, which are diſtinguiſhed by divers channels, and lie at ſeveral diſtances one from another. But three of theſe are the chiefeſt: that of *Tolen*, which is the firſt that is ſevered from the Continent; that of *Dwellant*, which lies next it; and the laſt called *Scown*. Other little Iſlands lie near to theſe, which are almoſt nameleſs, as being almoſt unhusbanded. The leaſt of theſe is called *Filiſlant*, which ſtands on the left ſide of *Tolen*, towards *Scown*. The Iſland of *Tolen*, as likewiſe that of *Zuitbeveland*, by the ſuccour which was given to *Tergoes*, were yet in the Kings poſſeſſion; and therefore the Spaniards deſired to get the other two, *Scown* and *Dwellant*, out of hopes that they might afterwards eaſilyer come by that of *Walcherin*, which is the greateſt Iſland of all *Zealand*, and wherein ſtands *Midleburg* and *Flaſhing*, the moſt important places of the Province, and which lie neareſt *Spain*. By theſe ſucceſſes the whole Province would fall into the Kings hands; and he would likewiſe the ſooner have got all that maritine Tract; eſpecially by thoſe aids which were the mean time to be ſent from *Spain* to *Flanders*. The fleet which the Commendador had got together, was not thought ſufficient to take the two aforeſaid Eaſtern Iſlands, becauſe the enemies forces in that part were much greater. There was then no hope left but to wade over ſome of thoſe waters at the low ebb, and by that way to get footing on land: and it was affirmed by divers well experienced people, that from the Iſland of *Filiſlant*, the channel which runs from thence to *Dwellant*, being about four miles over, might be waded through, The Commendador and all the reſt of his Councel of War, were greatly perplext what to reſolve upon in this point. They doubted leſt the enemy might already have dived into this deſigne; for their Navy was mightily increaſed, and eſpecially in little barks, that they might the better (as it was gueſt) approach the Kings men, and offend them if they ſhould at any time venture to wade over any of the aforeſaid channels. The Councel differed therefore in their opinions touching this. The Propoſal by one ſide was withſtood; alleadging,

'That the Enterpriſe was now to be eſteemed quite another thing from what 'thoſe other two were which *Mandragone* had been ſo fortunate in. That in that 'which was the chiefeſt, the relief of *Tergoes*, the waters were principally to be 'fought with, and the victory lay in every ſouldiers overcoming himſelf by bea'ring the trouble of ſo large a paſſage. But that in doing it they had not been 'withſtood by any adverſe Fleet, by any Artillery which might thunder upon 'them from afar off; by any muskets, nor other weapons which might wound 'them near hand. That the beſiegers being taken at unawares, fled ſuddenly of 'their own accord: And in brief, that that buſineſs being well weighed, very 'much of it was certainly to be aſcribed to valour, but no leſs alſo to Fortune. 'That now they were to meet with a channel of almoſt the ſame breadth, where'in the way was alike blind, and the dangers of the voyage no leſs uncertain; to 'which if you will add the oppoſite Fleet as our men ſhall be on their paſſage, 'and armed enemies to entertain them at their coming to land, how could ſuch 'an undertaking be thought feaſable? That unfortunate events follow unfortu'nate advices. That then 'twere better to take ſome other courſe; and that the 'beſt would be, to expect till the maritine forces which were preparing in *Spain*, 'were come. The which when they ſhould be joyned to thoſe of *Flanders*, the 'buſineſſe though it might be ſomewhat ſlower, would certainly be more 'ſecure.

But

But on the other side, many of the chief Commanders were altogether for trying the new passage, saying,

'That give the safety of the passage for granted, there was little else to be 'doubted. That the more to facilitate the success, they were to chuse the quietest 'hours of night, under a faithful Guide well practised therein. What damage 'was to be feared in the dark from rash and blind shooting? That the difficulty 'would rest in coming to land, wherein the Kings mens greatest danger lay, and 'the Enemies greatest advantage. That notwithstanding when they should be 'brought face to face, why should not the like success be looked for from them 'both? The Kings men, according to their wonted resolution, would assuredly 'either overcome or dye, especially when they should know they had no third 'choice to make, having the Enemy on their face, and upon their backs so great a 'water. But on the contrary, the Enemies, who were for the most part mercenary, cowardly-minded, and greater cowards of their hands, thinking rather 'how to flie then how to fight, would long for nothing more then to forsake the 'firm land, and to retire into their close holes, when they should have fearfully 'abandoned the open fields. That this mean while the Fleet would play her 'part, and landing the men by another way who were destin'd to the enterprise, 'they could meet with no other disturbance. That when they should have got 'good footing thus in *Zealand*, the maritime Forces which were to be sent from '*Spain* would have the easier entrance; that this must needs precede that, and 'the one be guided by the other. That fortune did for the most part rather favour bold resolutions, then such as were too cautelous. And so it was to be hoped 'for now: The rather, for that her favour would be accompanied with the justice 'of the Kings forces tending to so good an end, and by the Souldiers valour in 'making use of them upon so worthy an occasion.

'Twas evidently seen, that to make this passage would prove very dangerous; yet the Commendador, after having been again well assured of the ford, resolved to try it; being very desirous, and also full of hopes to get the aforesaid Eastern Islands, and especially that of *Scown* which lay nearest the Sea; which was very considerable in it self, and very proper to secure those ships the better which were shortly expected from *Spain*. Within it is the Town of *Ziricsee*, the greatest Town in all those Eastern Islands, and where the Commendador chiefly intended to establish the Kings Forces on that side. He then without delay put 3000 Souldiers into the Island of *Tolen*, which lies nearest *Brabant*, as hath been said, and composed them of Spaniards, Dutch, and Walloons in equal numbers; and went himself thither afterwards, the more to encourage the expedition by his presence. He made *Sancio d'Avila* Admiral of the Navy which was assembled thereabouts, and resolved to imbarque half his men in it, which when they should be landed were to be commanded by *Christopher Mandragone*. The other half, composed likewise equally of the abovesaid three Nations, were destin'd for the passage which was to be taken from the furthermost point of *Fishland*, where the Channel was broadest: For there at the low ebb the ground was highest; so as though the passage were the longer, it was the more easie. With the 1500 Foot were 200 Pioniers, to the end that those together with these might the sooner fortifie themselves when they should be come to land. They imbarked all of them first in the Island of *Tolen*, that afterwards they might divide themselves in *Filisland* in such order as hath been said. At their imbarking the Commendador presented himself before the Souldiers, and especially before those who were to wade over the Channel; and in a grave manner did thus encourage them. He said,

That the hardest enterprises were most familiar to them: that many of these very men had been in the two precedent actions; that therefore they went to dangers which they had formerly experienced: that they should remember this was the same cause, that they served the same King, and that they were to meet with the same enemies: that therefore they could not doubt but that they were to be seconded by Divine favor, by Princely reward, and by that advantage which they had always had over those who were Rebels to the Church and King. That they were such against whom they now were to fight: that the Foreiners who were joyned with them, were of more mercenary

souls

souls then hands; so as all instigation to fight ceasing in them, they would strive who should run fastest away.

At these words they all chearfully imbarked themselves, that were to tarry in the ships, and the rest went in little Boats to the Island of *Filisant*. Here the Fleet staid, till the rest had passed over the Channel. *John Osserio d'Ulon*, a Spaniard, one of the valiantest Captains of that Nation, and one who of all the rest did most counsel that enterprise, led on the men, and would himself make the passage. They waited the coming of the night, which was *Michaelmas*-Eve: and upon the beginning of the ebb, *Osorio* entred the water the very next after the Guides, and was followed first by the *Spaniards*, next by the *Dutch*, and then the *Walloons*; after them came the Pioners; and Captain *Paralta*, a Spaniard, closed up the Files with a Company of the same Nation. The Files consisted not of above two or three Souldiers at the most a-breast; to the end that being so strait or narrow, and walking upon the highest shelves, the Adversaries might have the greater difficulty in encountring them, and hindring their passage. The Enemy stood this mean while upon their watch, having already clearly pry'd into the *Spaniards* design. Wherefore when they knew they had begun to wade, they ordered their Boats likewise in long Files, especially the least, both on the one and the other part against the *Spaniards* Flank: they then began to play upon them a good distance off with their Artillery, and nearer hand with their Muskets, but did them but little hurt, by reason of the obscurity of the night. The success altered with the change of the Tide: the Enemies Boats were not able to come near the Spaniards whilst the Ebb was low; but when the Flood began, and that as the Tide rise, the Enemies Boats drew nearer, the Kings men were then divers times in great straits; for they were at one and the same time to hasten their passage, to keep their Files in order, to contend against and to overcome the waters, and chiefly to resist the Enemies assaults, who were not content to gaul them with their Muskets and Harquebuses, but they annoyed them nearer hand with Iron-hooks, and struck and molested them with other instruments which they had provided for that purpose; endeavouring by all means possible to hinder, at least to disorder their passage. Yet the Kings mens courage increasing as did their danger, they marched on in good order, and made resistance at the same time, turning their Pikes upon the assailants, and shewing most courage where most danger lay. Indeed the Night made very much for them; for the Enemy could go but blindly to work, and with great disorder in the dark; which made them guide all their actions more by chance then by advice. The Kings men then, having still kept their order, and made manfull resistance where it was needfull, past over the Channel in such a space of time, as they were not to receive any other disturbance neither from the increasing of the Tide, nor from the Enemies Barks. Having escaped this danger, they thought to have met with a much greater in getting to land: For the Enemies, who were all of them almost Mercenaries, and of the aforesaid Nations stood upon the shore ready to oppose them. But scarcely staying the first assault made by the Royalists, they basely ran away, and shamefully forsaking the shore retreated to some parts more inward in the Island, where some of them had fortified themselves. Yet this action of the Royalists was accompanied with some misfortune; for the Pioners being overtaken with the Tide, not being able to go further on, nor yet to go back time enough, were almost all of them drowned. And for the same reason Captain *Peralta* with his Spanish Company could not enjoy the commodity of the passage, but was forced to return to the Navy. Of the rest who made the passage, Captain *Isador Paecco* was slain, together with some Souldiers of lesser account; and some other that were wounded perisht in the water. For what remains, the Enterprise all the circumstances considered, was certainly one of the most memorable that ever the war of *Flanders* produced; and such a one as deserved indeed rather to have been beheld by day-light, then to have the lustre thereof lost by the obscurity of the night. *John Rivas*, a Spaniard, who in the time of our being in *Flanders* was Governour of the Castle and Citadel of *Cambray*, was in this action of *Zirickse*, as also in that other of *Tergoes*, as we touched upon in that place. He hath not only often related both these passages to me, but comparing them together, he con-

concluded, that in his opinion that of *Tergoes* was in one consideration more to be preferr'd, as being a novelty never before tryed; and this last in another respect, as having met with much greater difficulties. When the Kings men were past over, they forthwith gave the appointed signe to their ships, which without any considerable opposition put also to shore, and the men being landed went presently to joyn with the rest, and without any difficulty drive the Enemy out of the whole Island of *Dwellant*. The Channel which divides this from the other Island of *Scowen*, was yet to be waded over, where their chief intention of getting footing was, that they might come by *Zurichsee*. That Channel is almost a league over, and therefore required new resolutions and courage for the passing through it, especially for that the Enemy stood on the contrary bank in a posture of opposition. *Mandragone* would needs make one here, as also *Sancio d'Avila*, who was with him. Whereupon the Royalists being encouraged by the example of two such Commanders, with their wonted daring overcame all the difficulties of the passage; and the Enemy in their endeavouring to withstand them, shewed likewise their accustomed cowardliness. Running basely away, they retired to *Zurickzee*, and there joyned with the Townsmen to sustain the Siege which they expected. The town of *Zurickzee* stands not far from the aforesaid Channel which divides the Island of *Scowen* from the other of *Dwellant*. On that side, a lesser Channel cut by hand enters into the greater, and so the Town enjoyes the Sea as it were within its own bosom. The ground about it is very low; and by the cutting of some banks, it may easily be overflown on all sides: the walls thereof are but weak, and the Ditch very ordinary. The Inhabitants hoped much in the relief which *Orange* had promised them, as also in that which they expected from the season of the year; which drawing towards winter, made them believe that the Royalists would not be wel able to bear with the bitterness thereof. The enemy had fortified themselves in three other places upon the shore-side; and on the North, in the Villages of *Brouwersaven* and *Bommene*, in each of which there was a commodious Haven; and on the South, upon a certain point of land which lies between the Village of *Borendam* and the Town of *Zuricsee*. The Kings men would first make themselves masters of these Forts. They found no resistance in that of *Brouwersaven*; from whence they went to the other upon the aforesaid point of land: and falling to the Assault more out of eagerness then good advice, they lost 60. *Spaniards*; amongst which Captain *Penalta* was slain; and some other Dutch and Walloons. Irritated therefore by Anger, and no less by shame, they prepared to make a more orderly assault. But the Defendants not staying for it, forsook the Fort; and setting it on fire, went to *Zurickzee*. *Bommene* yet remained, which was the best munited, and according to appearance ought to have been the best guarded. Captain *Lye*, a French-man, a stout souldier, commanded within: He had with him the Flower of all the Foreigners, who all of them shewed equal resolution with him to defend themselves, and to recover the honour lost in the last actions. The Fort was inexpugnable at high Sea, because the Sea-water came then into the Ditch, and likewise into a Channel which cut through a good part of the Fort on the other side: so as at that time the Enemies ships might both greatly assist those within, and molest as much those without. When the Kings men came near it, they advanced with their Trenches, and set up a great Battery near unto it, from whence they plaid for two whole dayes against the Fort: Then at the next Ebb they made a fierce assault, which the besieged did as couragiously withstand, and made the oppugners retreat at last with much loss; for above 150 of them were slain, and twice as many hurt. The Kings men, angry to be beaten back with so great a loss, resolved to fall upon the Fort the next day on sundry parts at once: but the like resolution was found in the assailed as was in the assailants, both of them resolving either to die or to overcome. The Kings men at the Ebb set upon the Fort in divers parts; and those within, running to all places, and shewing much undauntedness, were not wanting in defending themselves manfully on all side. Equal fear and hope did both encourage and discourage both of them, but with contrary effects: the Royalists feared the coming of the new tide, and hoped to force the Fort first; the Defendants on the contrary hoped to defend themselves till

the tide should come, and feared to be first forced by the Royalists. Wherefore the conflict proved exceeding bloody, great numbers falling on both sides, and worth and fortune varying the success a long time. They fought thus for six hours together; when the Kings men perceived that the Tide began to come, which brought them to their last endeavours; which was such, as those within not being able longer to hold out, were forced to give back, whilst they still defended themselvs valiantly, til they were in so doing all cut in pieces: there were slain about 200 of the Kings men, and the number of the wounded was much greater. The chief of each Nation wan much renown in this conflict: and amongst other *Italians*, the two Brothers of *Monte*, Nephews to the Marquis of *Vitelli*, *Raphael Barberino* and *Curtio Martinengo*; each of which playing the part of a Common Souldier, exposed themselves to each common danger. After the reducing of the Forts, the whole body of the Kings forces betook themselves to doe the like to the Town of *Zuricsee*: the greatest difficulty lay in bereaving them of the succour which might be brought by the abovesaid greater Channel, and by the lesser which comes (as we have said) into the Town. *Signor di Borp* was the Governour thereof; a vigilant and stout man. For the better securing of the concourse of the lesser Channel with the greater, he had fortified the banks thereof on both sides to where it joyned with the other; he likewise from the very first caused all the fields round about to be overflown. So as the Kings men had no hopes of taking the Town by the wonted way of Trenches, Batteries, and Assaults. Succour was easily conveyed thereinto; nor was the Kings Fleet, though disposed of in the most convenient places, and assisted by the Boats made like Gallies, able to hinder them. Wherefore the Siege drew on in length, and the cold weather was already come; yet was it so favourable this year, as it did never hinder the passage of the Boats upon those Channels. The chief care of the Siege lay upon *Mandragone*, who was not wanting in using all means possible to shut up all passages whereby relief might be brought to the town. He planted a great Palisado at the mouth of the lesser Channel, and placed some big Barks there to hinder the entrance. But to work in that place, cost both time and blood: for Musket shot hail'd down continually from the fortified banks, and much harm was done likewise by the Artillery. Two little Islands of very small circuit lay on that side at the entry of the greater Channel, the one near the other. Towards that which lay most inward, and where the Channel grew narrower, *Mandragone* caused also another Palisado to be planted on both sides, and sought to block up the passage on that side also by great chains of iron. He likewise raised a Fort upon the Bank neer *Doveland*, the more to hinder that succour. And lastly he resolved to inclose the two fortified Banks of the Channel which leads to the Town, planting a Fort upon both sides of the chief Bank, the better to impede all entrance on that side. *Raphael Barberino* was author of this last advice, which proved to very good purpose. The Marquis *Vitelli* held particular correspondencie with him; who not being able to be himself in person at that enterprise, he reposed very much upon *Raphael* in all the most weighty affairs both by sea and land.

The enemy were brought thus every day into greater streight; yet their vigilancie still increasing, they provided for succour one way or other, so as the Kings forces were not able to disturb them. Count *Hollac* brought in a very considerable succour in the beginning of *February*. But *Mandragone* did so secure the Traverse which lay at the mouth of the Channel which leads to the City, and did so well shut up that passage on all sides, as the Enemy could come to the Town no more by that way. They had cut many gaps in the chief Bank, as hath been said, to overflow the ground about the town, the largest part whereof was towards the village *Dreischer*, lying in the midst of the Channel. The Enemy endeavoured to enter into the little Island by this gap, and so into the Town; from whence divers little Boats were to be sent out, the better to receive such provisions as should be brought, which could not be brought in by greater Barks at a low Ebb. Count *Hollac* endeavoured to relieve the Town by this way: but the Kings men who for want of high situation elsewhere had placed themselves chiefly upon the said greatest bank, and did very well guard it in all parts, did so behave themselves, as the enemy failed in their design. This bad success moved *Orange* the more to try a greater by the same way again; for it was thought impossible to bring relief by any other way. To this purpose the Rebels assembled together as great a strength of Boats, men, and victuals as possibly they could. *Orange* would be present himself at this succour, and *Lewis Boisot* Admiral of *Holland* had the chief care thereof. But the preparation was not answerable to the need, nor did the success answer the hopes. *Orange*, by the advantage of the high tide, came about the end of *March* to the above-

aboveſaid Gap of *Dreiſcher*, he aſſaulted the Kings men, and at firſt put them into ſome diſorder; ſlew ſome of them, and took ſome of their Canon from off the banks. But their courage increaſing together with their danger, and the ebb being by this time come, they drove the enemy away from all parts; many of which were ſlain, many drowned, and amongſt the reſt, the Admiral *Boiſots* ſelf; for his ſhip running upon the ſands which were very deep, neither the ſhip, nor any of the ſouldiers that were in it could be ſaved. This laſt indeavour of the rebels proving vain, they diſpaired of ever relieving the Town; which notwithſtanding under the ſufferings of a lingring ſiege, which laſted almoſt eight months, did ſtill hold out, till it was at laſt ſurrendred about the latter end of *June*, which we have thought good to relate here, ſo not to break off the thread of this ſucceſs, with other narrations.

This mean while many other important affairs hapned, which we ſhall now ſet down. For the better incouragement of the ſiege, Marquis *Vitelli* was come in the midſt of Winter into the Iſland of *Scown*; great were the moyſtures in theſe low ſeats, eſpecially this year the cold not being ſo very bitter as uſual. Here he who was already well ſtricken in years, were it either by reaſon of the air, or other diſaccommodations, fell dangerouſly ſick, and taking a boat that he might be carried to *Antwerp* to be cured, his mallady ſo increaſed as he died by the way before he could get thither. His loſs proved very prejudicial to the King affairs; for upon him at that time lay (as we have often ſaid) the greateſt weight of the military adminiſtration. And indeed he was a Commander of very great renown; who to his honour won firſt in the Wars in *Italy*, had made the like correſpond which he did purchaſe in the wars of *Flanders*. But this loſs was added unto by another of much greater importance, which inſued within a few days after; to wit, the death of *Recheſens*, the Commendador; who about the beginning of *March* falling ſuddenly into a violent feaver, died within five days at *Bruſſels*. His bodily ſickneſs was preceded by a great malady of mind: for being brought into a very great ſtreight for want of mony, he was not furniſht with any from *Spain*; neither was *Flanders* any ways able to ſupply him therewithall. In ſo much as a little before his death, a part of the Spaniſh horſe mutinyed, to the Countries great indignation: for which he was forced to ſuffer the people to reaſſume their arms, which were formerly taken from them by the Duke of *Alva*: knowing that they would have done ſo of themſelves, though he had not given them leave. Four ordinary ſhips were at this time only come from *Spain* with ſome few ſouldiers: the maritine preparation from thence not any ways anſwering expectation. By reaſon of all which obſtructions the Commendador had reaſon to fear that the ſiege of *Zurickzee* would end unfortunately, and that other ſiniſter events would befall the Kings affairs in *Flanders*. Whilſt thus agitated in mind: he fell ſick, and died, with a reputation rather of great goodneſs, then of great valour; and of being fitter for peacefull imployments then for thoſe of War: in the manageing whereof, ſo great a Paragon as was the Duke of *Alva*, proved (to ſay the truth) too diſadvantagious to him. Many, and eſpecially the wiſer ſort of Spaniards, thought that a mixture of them both might have done well; if joyned together, the one had been wholly imployed in Military, the other in Civil affairs. Here inſued one of the greateſt and moſt tempeſtuous agitations that ever *Flanders* felt in the whole purſuit of the war which we will now deſcribe.

You ſhall ſee a Government without Government; the whole Country about to revolt: the Kings Forces at enmity within themſelves; and his cauſe more oppugned then defended by them: More Governours then one bear his name at once in *Flanders*, and uſe his Authority: the Provinces of various ſences, and no leſs differing Councels: Neighbouring Princes manifeſtly aſpiring to the Government thereof. A new introduction of foreign Forces: No publick, nor no private faith obſerved. Cruel ſacking on one ſide, fatal ſieges on the other: More then hoſtile violence and fury every where: and in fine, the ſucceſſes in theſe revolutions of affairs will prove ſuch and ſo ſtrange, as will doubtleſly move great curioſity here in the expectation of them, but much greater compaſſion towards *Flanders* hereafter, when they ſhall be come and ſeen. One of the greateſt miſ-

chiefs which the affairs of *Flanders* ſuffered by the death of *Recheſens* was, that he died without declaring who ſhould ſucceed him in his Government: He had a Patent from the King to that purpoſe, with a blank left for the name. But he was ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed with the violence of his ſickneſs, as he could not do it. It was notwithſtanding diſcovered by ſome appearances, that he would have left the Military Government to Count *Peter Ernestus Mansfield*, and the Civil Government to Count *Barlemonte*, which two, of all the Lords in the Country, were thoſe the King did moſt confide in, and from whoſe valour and wiſdom moſt might be expected. The Commendador failing thus, the Councel of State took upon them the Government, who preſently diſpatched away an expreſs to *Spain*, to give the King an account of what had happened, and to repreſent unto him at full the preſent condition of the affairs of *Flanders*.

The King approved of the Proviſional reſolution taken by the Councel, and declared therewithall that he would forthwith ſend a new Governor, and ſuch a one as ſhould be fully to the mind of thoſe Provinces. The adminiſtration this mean while began by the hands of the Flemiſh themſelves. But nothing is more to be deſpiſed in Government, then wavering and divided Authority. Nor doth any thing hurt more then intereſſed and diſagreeing Councels. And it is ſeen in the Government of Kingdoms, that State-Miniſters by their private paſſions do uſually ruine the common Cauſe. The Councel of State had no ſooner taken upon them the Government, but great troubles began to be ſeen in all things; for their orders were not obſerved as they ought to have been; and the orders themſelves were given with apparent diſcord, which appeared much more in their minds then in their Votes. *Philip de Croy*, Duke of *Ariſcot*, Governor of the Province of *Flanders*, did for his Nobility, riches and adherence, hold the chief place amongſt thoſe of the Councel. And with him the greateſt part of the Councel did go along in their Votes. All theſe leaned towards the Liberty of the Country; as well out of their own nature, as out of a particular alienation which they had to the Spaniards. *Orange* was not this mean while idle neither; but ſeconding by his lively wit the favourable conjuncture, from the very day that the Commendador died, he incited all his followers in all the parts of the Country, to imprint ſuch opinions in the people as might draw them moſt to be of his mind. Alleadging,

That this was the time to reunite all Flanders *in one will. That by fortune, and more by juſtice, the Government was now in the hands of the native Flemiſh, and therefore it was not to be ſuffered to paſs any more into the Spaniards hands. That the yoke of ſo ſore a ſervitude had laſted too long already; impriſonments, confiſcations, deaths, ſackings, firings, and ſo many other deplorable calamities, too long. That Liberty would notwithſtanding be ſo much the more welcome, by how much it was formerly more deſired. Then let the Flemiſh reſolve unanimouſly to recover it, and ſo to enjoy it with the greater contentment. That the Cauſe could not be juſter in it ſelf, nor of greater applauſe both within the Provinces, and in all other places. Finally, to what worſer end could affairs be brought? ſince though the deſigne ſhould not ſucceed, the preſent miſeries were ſo great, as greater were not at any time to be expected.*

Theſe paſſions of the Prince of *Orange* were eaſily kindled in the minds of others, nor was it long ere immence troubles burſt forth every where. And to make them ariſe the ſooner, the Spaniards themſelves gave ſuch an occaſion by a new mutiny of theirs, as thoſe very Flemiſh who till then had ſhewed themſelves better addicted to the Kings ſervice, did at laſt concur thereunto. Part of the Cavalry, as we told you before, were mutinyed during the life of the Commendador, but they were quickly quieted; as well for that horſe cannot eſtabliſh a mutiny without foot; as for that the Commendador had quickly procured them ſatisfaction. The Town of *Zirickzee* being afterwards taken, and having compounded for 200co *l.* to ſave it ſelf from being ſackt, it is not to be believed how much the Spaniards were moved hereat; who for default of their pay, and in recompence of their pains, had in their hopes ſwallowed up the plunder of that place: or at leaſt expected that the whole compoſition ſhould be theirs. Nor were they long in ſhewing their reſentment. Without any regard either to their

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Philip Croy Duke of Areschot,
Kt. of the Golden Fleece,
Governour of Flanders.

own danger, or to the peril they occaſioned to the Kings affairs in ſuch a conjuncture of time, all delay laid aſide, they preſently ran to their arms, and in manner as we have before fully deſcribed, mutinyed: and depoſing their former Commanders, choſe new ones, and an Elect above them all. They forthwith forſook *Zealand*, and re-entred into *Brabant*, intending to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome good Town or City, and there to fortifie themſelves; that they might afterwards with large conſideration receive ſatisfaction for their pretended labours. They firſt endeavoured to enter *Bruſſels*; but could not get thereinto, as neither into *Malines*. Count *Mansfield* ſpake and treated with them as they were upon their march, in the Councel of States name, to bring them to ſome agreement. And to this purpoſe he offered them 10000 pound of that 20000 which the town of *Zirricksee* was to pay, and three paies of the firſt monies that were to be ſent from *Spain*; but this did no good, nor any other future Treaty. Still more incenſed with anger and rage, not being able to prevail in *Brabant*, they turned to the very Province of *Flanders*, and on the ſudden took the Town of *Alſt*, one of the beſt in all that Province. The place is rather convenient then ſtrong; it lies in the midſt as it were between *Bruſſels* and *Gaunt*, and much at the ſame diſtance from *Antwerp*. No ſooner was the Colours of this new mutiny diſplayed, but almoſt all the reſt of the Spaniards came in unto it from all places. They fell with all diligence to fortifie *Alſt*, and began to treat thoſe of the Town bitterly, and with like cruelty to overrun the Territories thereof, and all the neighbouring Country, to get the greater contribution. The Councel of State much ſcandalized hereat, gave order that the people ſhould arm themſelves every where, and imployed many men to hinder the incurſions of the mutiners. *Jerolimo Rhodes*, a Spaniſh Lawyer, was Preſident of the particular Councel or Committee for Mutinies, which was inſtituted by the Duke of *Alva*, and was therefore the more deteſted by the Flemiſh. His very perſon made the Office be the more hated, and the Office his perſon. Which occaſioned ſo great a commotion in *Bruſſels* by reaſon of the mutiny, as that a great tumult aroſe inevitably amongſt the people, againſt the ſaid *Rhodes*, againſt *Julian Romero*, the Camp-maſter, and againſt *Alonzo Vargas*, who commanded the Kings horſe: in ſo much as they were all three in great danger, and had much adoe to ſave themſelves in the Kings Palace; and notwithſtanding *Rhodes* had a ſon ſlain in that popular uproar, and he himſelf was afterwards made priſoner. The Spaniards on the contrary, finding ſo univerſal an abhorition againſt them in the Country, they likewiſe reſolved to do what they could for their own ſafeties. *Sancio d' Avila* was the chiefeſt amongſt them, by the prerogative of his years, places, and their opinions: he therefore deferred no longer: but aſſembling ſome other Commanders, particularly ſome German Colonels, fell to conſider what was beſt to be done for their men, and for the Kings ſervice; and reſolved to muſter all their ſouldiers in one body, before they ſhould be hindred by thoſe which the States gathered together. The whole Flemiſh Militia which took up arms againſt the Spaniards was called by this name of States. And on the contrary they were termed Spaniards, not only who really were ſo, but all thoſe who appeared for them againſt the Flemiſh. The ſpetious name of the Kings ſervice did equally reſound on all ſides, and each party would attribute unto themſelves greateſt fidelity. A uſual confuſion in civil wars, which affords matter to honeſt the worſt cauſe as well as the better; and which very often makes the falſe pretences of the one, prevail over the juſt reaſons of the other. Great difficulty was met withall in effecting the reſolution taken by the Spaniſh and German Commanders: for a great part both of their horſe and foot were diſtributed in divers quarters and gariſons, much remote one from another. They were not to deprive the Towns of them; and therefore their men being to be reduced into a very ſmall number, and to march divided before they could meet, this doubtleſly aſſiſted the Flemiſh much to hinder their meeting. The Caſtles of *Antwerp*, *Gaunt*, *Valentiennes*, *Utricht*, and ſome other leſs conſiderable were in the Spaniards hands. That of *Antwerp* was in the cuſtody of *Sancio d' Avila*, and that of *Gaunt* in *Chriſtopher Mandragones*, who was then in *Zealand*. *Julian Romero* kept in *Lier*, a Town of very great conſequence in the very heart of *Brabant*: and in *Maſtrike* (a place of ſuch moment

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as hath been experienced upon ſo many ſeveral occaſions) ſome German Compa-nies of Foot were in garriſon. The *Spaniards* did notwithſtanding draw out as many men as they could from out the reſt; and their deſign was, when they ſhould have made a ſtrong body of them, to bring them into *Antwerp*, and to ſecure that City chiefly, which was ſo conveniently ſituated, ſo rich, and ſo great. They hoped to receive powerful Forces there from *Spain*; and by the way of *Maſtrick*, good ſuccours from *Germany* and *Italy*. But all theſe proviſions re-quired time. The States were likewiſe in the ſame ſtraits: So as both ſides ſtrove to gain it. To this end Letters paſt between the Councel of State and *Sancio d'Avila*, equally complaining of the preſent Mutiny, and ſeeming deſirous to come to ſome accommodation. They met to this purpoſe in the Village of *Villebruck*, two leagues diſtant from *Bruſſels*; ſome of the Councel of State on one part, and *Sancio d'Avila*, together with the aboveſaid German Colonels on the other. But their reſolutions came not to much: Only *Gerollemo Rhodes* was ſet at liberty, and *Romero* and *Vargas* were likewiſe ſuffered to go free out of *Bruſſels*. Jealouſies increaſing thus rather then diminiſhing on all ſides, the States haſtned their proviſions every day more and more: which they might much ea-ſilier doe then the *Spaniards*; for all the Provinces, except it were that of *Lucem-burg* did already openly joyn in one and the ſame ſenſe, which was, Not to ſuffer any *Spaniards* or other Foreigners to tarry amongſt them. Signior *Campigni*, a Burgonian, brother to Cardinal *Granville*, was Governour of *Antwerp*; and the Baron of *Erbeſtine*, a German Colonel, was there in garriſon with his Regi-ment. The States wrought ſo, as they drew them both privately over to be at their command; though in publike both of them were bound to *Sancio d'Avila* and the other German Colonels, not to admit any of the States ſouldiers into *Antwerp*, as *Avila* was likewiſe bound to call in no more *Spaniards* thither. By another ſecret intelligence they had likewiſe gained over the Captains of the other German Companies which were in *Maſtrick*, who likewiſe were of *Er-beſteins* Regiment. Having theſe advantages, the Councel of State reſolved to temporiſe no longer. As ſoon as they had placed good ſtore of Horſe and Foot near *Bruſſels*, they treated of proclaiming all the *Spaniards* which were in *Flanders* Rebels, and to purſue them every where with their Arms as ſuch. The two Counts of *Mansfield* and *Barlemont* appeared mightily againſt this; and *Vighlio* yet more, who was Preſident of the Councel; A man, who as he did ad-vance in yeares, ſo did his zeale for the good of *Flanders* ſtill increaſe. He ſaid,

Out of what fault ſhall we declare this Rebellion? If the Spaniards *have fallen thereinto by mutinying, this is not the firſt time they have done ſo, nor will it per adventure be the laſt. War cauſeth expence; Expence, want of Pay; Want of Pay, the Souldiers anger; and the Souldiers anger, Mutiny. As long as the wars conti-nue, theſe diſorders will fall out: other Countries have had experience of it, as well as ours hath now. But when was it ever heard that in ſuch a caſe the Mutiniers were eſteemed Rebels? aay, how often have whole Armies rather commended then condem-ned their cauſe? inſomuch as at laſt it hath been thought the beſt courſe to ſuffer ſome-thing in accommodating them, then to run hazard of greater dangers by going about to puniſh them too ſeverely. I heartily wiſh that in the like caſes, as alſo in divers others of the world. Neceſſity prevailed not too much above Reaſon. Kingdoms give way, and Empires bow to this force: To this we muſt now likewiſe ſubmit. The* Spaniards *are too much incenſed to ſee* Flanders *every where ſo hatefully bent againſt them: they ſtorm already for being declared Enemies; how much more will they doe ſo when they ſhall be declared Rebels? The other* Spaniards *will flock to defend the Mutiniers, and will make this a common intereſt. And with whom is it that we ſhall contend? What Nation is there to be found which hath been longer trained up in Arms, more acquainted with blood, and more accuſtomed to fight and overcome? To what a rage will deſpair carry them? I therefore am of opinion, that this wound is to be cured by the accuſtomed ways. Armies, as well as humane bodies, are liable to infirmities: And if this may be eaſily cured, we ought not by danger of ſo great an impairment make it our ſelves incurable.*

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The Reasons alleadged by *Vighlio*, and divers others other Considerations offered by the two Counts, did no whit avail to alter the opinion of the opposite part of the Councel, which was the more numerous, and the more powerfull. But these accusing the other of perfidiousness, injuriously said that they were *Spaniards*, and no longer *Flemings*, and broke forth into open threats against them. Nor were they long in putting them in execution, taking new pretences, and still palliating the appearances thereof the more, they imprisoned the three above-named Councellors, as also Signior *d' Asonville*, and made the Duke of *Arischot* President of the Councel. They then proclaimed an Edict of Rebellion against the *Spaniards*, the Contents whereof was in substance this.

That all the mischiefs of Flanders *had proceeded from the* Spaniards. *That to have the totall domination thereof, they had taken away the government from the Dutchess of* Parma, *and given it to the Duke of* Alva. *That from that time forward the Country was oppress in all parts by sad and fatal chances: Amongst which that of Mutinies was to be accounted among the most fatal. That one of these was now on foot in the very heart of the Provinces; and that under pretence of having their Pay, the* Spaniards *design was generally to devoure the substances, and to drink the blood of all the* Flemish. *That therefore the Councel of State, which by order from the King did now govern, judging it necessary to withstand with Arms this threatening ruine, had therefore put on the most convenient resolutions. That notwithstanding in this so great necessity, there were some Councellors who shewed themselves averse to the common good, so as the rest had thought fit to secure them. That the* Spaniards *desired now more then ever to bring in the Inquisition into* Flanders. *That out of their zeal to the Kings service, the Councel of State had published this Edict, whereby the aforenamed* Spaniards *were declared Rebels to the King, and whereby it was ordered that they should be pursued every where and slain as Enemies. The Edict concluded with an invitation to all the Provinces to joyn in the same sense and opinion, since the same was the cause amongst them all.*

It is not to be believed how much the minds of the *Flemish* were moved after this publication; and how, as if the Edict had been a general Trumpet which had summoned them, they strove who should shew themselves readiest to goe against the *Spaniards*, and drive them out of the Country. The Councel of States chief intention was, to call together the States Generall; to the end that the resolutions which they had already taken might be of greater authority, as also those which they should hereafter take. Nor was there need of any great trouble herein. At the very first invitation, every Province (except that of *Luxenburg*, as hath been said) shewed themselves willing to meet in this General Assembly, either by expres Deputies, or by open consent. In Governments where the Kings Prerogative and the Subjects Priviledge doe interfere, the one side is usually glad to get the advantage of the other. And therefore in *Flanders*, Princes have alwayes been unwilling to have the Generall Assembly of the Provinces meet, it being a time wherein they pretend rather to give Laws then to receive them: And on the contrary the Provinces have always imbraced such occasions, wherein by the meeting of their whole body together they might keep the power of Princes within its precincts. And the *Flemish* did this now the more readily, for that they thought it a fit conjuncture of time, having no Kingly Governour amongst them who might oppose them, or at least be over them. When then the Edict against the *Spaniards* was published, and the convocation of the States Generall made, Hostility began suddenly on all sides: The chief design of the States was, to have *Mastrick*, and the Citadels of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt* in their possession; hoping that by their examples the other Castles would soon doe the like. On the other side, the *Spaniards* studied chiefly how to keep all the aforesaid strong Holds and Towns, but especially *Mastrick* and the Citadel of *Antwerp*, for the reasons above mentioned. Many Souldiers were mustered together in *Gaunt* to besiege that Castle; and a greater number were gathered together in *Antwerp*, because they thought that would prove the harder work. The Governour *Champigny* and Colonel *Erbestine* had already discovered themselves to be for the States, and received all that came into the City, who were sent from them. But the States chief endeavour was, to keep the *Spaniards*, and also such *Germans* as adhered

adhered to them, from meeting together. The Walloons, as natives of the Country, did already intirely obey the orders of the Flemish. Nay after the surrender of *Zirickse*, those Walloons who were at the taking thereof, seased upon their Colonel *Mandragone*, and kept him forth-coming. The Flemish Commanders did then to the aforementioned end, shut up all the Passes, and fortified them, and placed many men about them in sundry parts. The Spaniards on the contrary were very diligent in getting together as many of their Forces as they could, and to quarter themselves in some of the most commodious parts in *Brabant*. From this opposition of designes, they came quickly to the like of arms: and the first effect thereof fell out about *Lovain*. The Spaniards had assembled together a good strength of horse in the parts about *Mastrike*, towards the Country of *Liege*; and came towards *Lovain*, that they might get to *Alst*, and by new endeavours, try whether they could get the mutiners from thence or no, and make them joyn with the other Spaniards. Which they refused to do till they should have received their full pretended pay. The Councel of State had notice of this their moving, and speedily dispatched away the *Seignior de Glimes*, with 2000 foot and 600 horse to hinder them. The Spaniards had 800 horse, but came without any foot at all. Both parties met in the Village of *Visenack*, not far from *Lovain*. The Spaniards, whose chief Commander was *Vargas*, endeavoured first to pass friendly by, which they signified by a Trumpet to the contrary party. Who being more in number, returned a negative answer, and forced the Spaniards to open their way with their swords. They were all choice men; where as the others horse consisted most of the old Companies of *Flanders*, and usually but little exercised; and amongst their foot there were many new souldiers but then raised by the Councels Authority. The Spaniards, seeing a necessity of fighting, supplyed their want of foot, by putting a Company of Burgonian horse on foot, and took the best advantage they could of place, whereby they might receive the less offence from the adverse foot. Here they came to blows. The Flemish charged violently at first; but the Spaniards knew so well both how to evade them, and how to stand them, as turning furiously upon the Flemish, they easily broak them, and cut almost all their foot in peeces. The horse suffered but little harm; for not intending to fight, they soon ran all away. Those Burgonians who were on foot behaved themselves gallantly: with whom *John Baptista del Monte*, leaving his Company of Lanciers, and fighting on foot, gave great testimony of his courage and stoutness in that action. Amongst the other Captains of Lanciers, *George Basti*, *Barnerdine Mendosa*, and *Peter Tassis*, fought likewise very valiantly: particularly *Basti*, upon occasion of charging the enemy in the most dangerous flank; and in the first heat of the combate, *Rafael Barberino* was dangerously hurt. The Pass being won, *Vargas* went to treat with the mutiners in *Alst*: where he met *Sancio d'Avila*, and the Camp-masters, *Romero* and *Toledo*. All these indeavoured very much to get those other to joyn with the rest who followed the same Colours. They represented unto them in what danger the Castle of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt* were, and the Town of *Mastrick*; by reason of the intelligence that the States held there. And they concluded, that their men if they would joyn together, might hope to overcome, but being divided, they were sure to be all lost. But all this was in vain: for the mutiners, appearing more deaf in their minds then in their ears, with a greater sense of rage then reason, remained firm in their resolution of not quitting *Alst*, till they were fully paid. So *Vargas* and the rest returned to from whence they came. It was not long ere *Vargas*, with whom the Toledan was joyned, met with a new occasion of fighting. They were not gon far from *Alst*, when they heard the German Garison, together with the Townsmen in *Mastrick* were ready to rise, in favour of the States. That City (as we said in the beginning) is divided by the *Mause*: the greatest part thereof lies towards *Brabant*; and on the other shore towards the Country of *Liege*, doth the lesser part stand, called by the name of *Vich*. There were here some few Spaniards; and some few others in a gate placed between two great Towers on the other greater side of the City, which was therefore chiefly in the Germans custody. *Montesdock*, a Spaniard, was Governour of the Town, who when he found the contrivings of the garison with the,

Townsmen

Townſmen, he endeavoured by ſundry ways to remedy it, but the iſſue was, he himſelf was impriſoned. They then took up arms to drive out the Spaniards, and to put the City abſolutely into the hands of the Flemiſh. This news was ſuddenly brought to *Vargas*, and he in great haſte ran to aſſiſt his companions. He forthwith aſſembled together many of the neareſt Spaniſh foot; and paſſing over the *Manſe*, gave ſuch ſuccour as was needfull to the part called *Vich*. And this happened ſo opportunely, as that the enemy were driven from the bridg which joyns the two parts of the Town together, and purſued into the Town with great ſlaughter. The others had the like ſucceſs alſo at the fighting of the aforementioned gate; for the Spaniards that were within having ſtill manfully defended it, at laſt let thoſe in that were without, who ſecured the City; which in revenge was afterwards ſackt by both parties.

The States indeavoured this mean while by all means poſſible, to have the two Caſtles of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt* in their poſſeſſion. They had already laid ſiege to the latter, and begirt it with many men, which were commanded by *John Croy*, Count of *Roulx*, ſubordinate to the Duke of *Ariſcot*, who was Governour of the Province. The Emperour *Charls* the fift made the Caſtle to be built in that year 1540. upon the occaſion of the riſing of thoſe of *Gaunt*, ſo to curb their contumacy the more for the future. It conſiſts of four Baſtions which look on one ſide upon the City, on the other ſide towards the fields. The Governour of the Caſtle was at this time ill provided of all things, and had not above 200 men to defend it. It was commanded by a Lieutenant of *Mandragone*'s (in lieu of him) who notwithſtanding all his wants, prepared manfully to defend it. Count *Roulx* raiſed a platform on the ſide which was neareſt the City; and began to open his Trenches on the ſame ſide, to fall as ſoon as he might into the ditch. He placed ſome peeces of Artillery upon the platform, which commanded the Caſtle: and did ſo ſtreighten it on all ſides, as thoſe within could receive no relief from thoſe without. At the ſame time a great many of the States men were gone likewiſe to *Antwerp*, to beſiege that Caſtle; the foot, which conſiſted all of old Walloons, and new raiſed men, were accompanied by a good body of horſe; and the States did not omit any other ſort of proviſions which were requiſite, ſuddenly to come by their deſires in both places. The Citadel of *Antwerp* lies upon the banks of the *Scheld*, upon the South ſide of the City. It is a *Pentagon*, compoſed of five Royal Baſtions. Of all modern fortifications, it hath been eſteemed ſo famous, as it hath ſerved for a pattern to almoſt as many Citadels as have been built in any Country ſince. Some of her flanks lies towards the City; and the reſt lean towards the Champian. Reſpect being had, as in all other Caſtles, to be able on one ſide to command the City, and on the other to receive neceſſary ſuccours upon all occaſions from without. There lies a good ſpace of ground between the Caſtle and the City: The Flemiſh reſolved to ſtreighten the ſiege on this ſide, which they began to do with two Cavalliers of a great hight, upon which they placed ſome peeces of great Artillery. From hence they began to play upon them within; and imployed a great number of men in making their Trenches. The Canon-ſhot which played upon both the Caſtles were heard in *Alſt*: at the hearing whereof the mutiners began to reſcent themſelves, and to be inraged both with anger and ſhame. *John de Navareſe* was their head under the title of Elect: who had always uſed his beſt indeavours (though ſtill in vain) to make them joyn with the other ſouldiers. He did not let ſlip this occaſion; but calling the multitude into the *Piazza*, ſaid thus unto them.

And what ſhall we expect more? you hear the ſound of the ſhot that are made againſt the Caſtles of Gaunt *and* Antwerp. *Shall we ſuffer theſe that are really rebels to God and the King, boaſt that they have (though falſely laid the imputation of rebels upon us? ſhall we ſuffer them to bereave us of two ſuch important ſtrengths? and which keep their perfidious necks under ſo juſt a yoke? will it not be in their power afterwards to puniſh us? and ſhall not we then receive correction inſtead of inflicting it? What will our pertinaciouſneſs of not joyning with the reſt, ſerve us for then? So inſtead of getting our pay in monies, we ſhall be paid ſhamefully with bloud. But we have yet time enough to revenge us, if we can but know our own ſtrength, and manfully make uſe of our hands. I am then of opinion, that without any delay, we*

depart from hence, and that we haſten to relieve the Caſtle of Antwerp, *which is of greater importance then that of* Gaunt: *And that when we ſhall have ſecured that Fort, we may with the ſame fervor ſuddenly aſſault the City. I doe not any wayes doubt the Succour, and I hope for all good ſucceſs in the Aſſault: We know that the Beſiegers are almoſt all of them Townſmen; who aſtoniſhed at our arrival, and much more at our aſſault, will immediately run to their houſes, and to their Magazine of Merchandiſe. Here we ſhall quench our juſt thirſts with their blood, and our no leſs juſt longing after their wealth.* Antwerp *alone will put us into poſſeſſion of all the Northern Wealth, and by the Plunder of one City we ſhall enjoy the ſpoils of many Provinces. But this is an opinion (my Companions) which would be ſooner put in execution, then given: the worth thereof conſiſts in expedition: For if we ſhall put off time, and that the Caſtle be the mean time well beſet, what will it avail us then to have taken ſuch a reſolution, when meeting with inſuperable difficulties we ſhall not be able to effect it.*

The Elect would have ſaid more, when the Mutiniers violently interrupted him; and with a loud voice, as if it had proceeded but from one mouth, began to cry out, *To Arms! To Arms!* And running from all parts rather to ſnatch them, then to take them up, they reſolved to march immediately towards the Citadel of *Antwerp*. There were not many houres of day-light left; and 'twas upon the 3. of *November* 1576. Having then taken up their Arms, and each of them commanding rather then obeying, they haſtily left *Alſt*, intending to enter the Citadel the next morning, and then ſuddenly to aſſault the City. They could not notwithſtanding get thither till after noon, becauſe they were longer in paſſing the *Scheld* then they had thought: which while they were paſſing over, *Vargas* and *Romero* came luckily to the ſame place with 400 Horſe and ſome Foot; and being joyned together, they quickly entred the Caſtle by the Relief-gate. *Sancio d'Avila* would have had thoſe that had come from abroad to have taken ſome refreſhment before they ſhould have fallen upon the Enemies Trenches: but all of them ſhewing the eagerneſs of their minds by their eyes, cry'd out, *We muſt immediately goe out, and either dye, or ſup this night in Antwerp.* The number of thoſe that came from without, and thoſe that were in the Caſtle, came to ſomewhat more then 3000 Foot, and 500 Horſe. They made not any long delay: The Foot being put in order, they went out of the Citadel, and were divided into two parts; the one under the Camp-maſter *Romero*, the boldeſt, and moſt fortunate at execution that peradventure came ever out of the Spaniſh Nation; and the other, to doe that honour to the Mutiniers, under *Navareſe*. The Souldiers of both parts, being of Companions become Rivals, marched with ſuch violence againſt the Enemies Trenches, and aſſaulted them with ſuch reſolution, as the *Flemiſh* began at the very firſt to be troubled, and to ſhew manifeſt ſigns of fear, and of running away. The failing of courage in the one, increaſed the like in the other; ſo as redoubling their force, they quickly put the Enemy in ſuch diſorder and confuſion, as not being able longer to make good their Trenches, they were forced to retreat and forſake them. The *Antwerpians*, who were come to defend them, fled immediately away, never looking back: but the *Walloons* and *Germans* ſometimes facing about, retreated leſs ſhamefully. This mean while, the Spaniſh Foot purſued them more hotly by the two chief wayes which lead from the Citadel to the City; and being followed by the Horſe, and beating down whatſoever withſtood them, they came to the *Piazza*, where the Town-Houſe ſtands; which was very ſumptuouſly built, and to which the whole North might very well give then the precedencie and honour of Merchandiſe. This *Piazza* was built about with many noble ſtructures. Here the *Antwerpians* made a ſtand; and ſome *Dutch* and *Walloons* joyning with them, endeavoured with new Forces to make head: but being again broken and routed, a good many of them got into the Town-Houſe, and into the Houſes about the *Piazza*; and ſtriking the *Spaniards* who were below, with much advantage from the windows above, they forced them to finiſh their victory by fire, ſince it would either be too hard, or require too much time to doe it by the ſword. Thus on a ſudden was a fire kindled, which in a ſhort time devoured the goodlieſt part of ſo gallant a City. All the Piazza's, ſtreets and nooks fell into their abſolute power; who confounding Impriſonments

imprisonments with Death, had not hands enough to doe both. Many *Flemish* of good quality did notwithstanding save themselves; and amongst others, the Marquis of *Haure*, brother to the Duke of *Arischot*, saved himself, and fled over the *Scheld*, as did also *Campigni* the Governour of the Town. The Baron *Erbestein* had not the like good fortune; for the Boat wherein he was with his Arms on, overturned in the water, so as he was drowned. Infinite others sought to shun the Enemies rage by the same way: but either not finding Boats so ready at hand, or not being able to get so many thereinto, they were made a miserable prey either to the water or to the sword. Others in a blind madness threw themselves over the walls, and perished in the City-ditches. Others more advisedly hiding themselves in the secretest places of their houses, trusted Fortune with their safety. And many in a generous despair, rather seeking out danger then shunning it, chose sooner to die, then to out-live so sore a misfortune both private and publike. Count *Egmont*, the Lord of *Capres* and *Goygni*, and divers others considerable persons, together with almost all the chief Citizens and Merchants, were taken prisoners. The number of the dead was said to be about 7000. the most of them Townsmen; not above 200 of the *Spaniards* were slain, and one of these was the Mutiniers Elect, *John de Navarese*. As soon as they had glutted themselves with blood, the *Spaniards* fell presently to plunder the City. *Antwerp* by the concourse of Foreigners did at this time wonderfully flourish in Merchandise; the City abounded in riches, and in all those happy accommodations as were to be wished for in so luxurious a juncture of time. Amongst other Foreigners, great were the number of the *English*, and *Easterlings*, which are those of the Hans Towns upon the *Baltick* Sea. These two Nations had two Houses in *Antwerp* of such a largeness and capacity, as they rather seemed to be Plantations then Ware-houses. Luxury, the constant companion of Riches, made the Merchants not only live handsomly, but with a great deal of sumptuousness; many of which abandoning all parcimony, lived like so many Kings: they had got together great store of Jewels, Pearls, Gold and Silver, and their houses were full of all other sort of merchandise. How great the gain was which the *Spaniards* got in these *Indies* of one City, may sooner be conjectured then said The Plunder lasted three dayes. And notwithstanding, so great Riches not being able to satisfie the insatiable Souldier, the houses were heard to sound with outcryes, and the streets were full of people that ran away, by reason of the violences committed by the Souldiers against the Inhabitants, to make them confess where their most pretious things were hid, and to make them produce them. Thus they proceedrd from Avarice to Cruelty, and from Cruelty again to Rapine; and thus they continued, till weary rather then satisfied, and matter to plunder wanting rather then will to plunder, they reduced themselves to the obedience of their Commanders. Thus did *Antwerps* misery end; the Town remaining so afflicted, as if that decay of Commerce had been then Prognosticated, which fell out unto her in the insuing years, by reason of the Warre, and other calamities. At the news of this, whole *Flanders* was incredibly astonished. The meeting of the States General was already appointed, and to this purpose the Deputies of almost all the Provinces were in *Gaunt*. Whereupon the desire of driving out the foreigners exceedingly increasing; the Flemish did again bend all their endeavours to re-possess themselves of the Citadel of that City. Which at last they did, without any great difficulty. There were but very few people within it, and there was scarcety of all things else, as we have formerly said, so as the siege was not rendred famous by any important action. But that which the Flemish did chiefly aim at, was to make a general union of all the Provinces; and that the Government being establisht in men of their own Country, all forein government might be excluded. To this purpose the Deputies of *Holland* and *Zealand* met with the other Deputies. Nor was it hard for the Prince of *Orange* (who was the chief leader, and layer of all these practises) in this present crisis of time, to agree the diversity of Interests, which were between these two Provinces infected with Heresie, and the others which kept yet Catholick; and to make them afterwards joyne in one opinion. The former Treaty of *Breda* was reassumed; and the Propositions which were then made by the Rebels, were almost all of them

assented unto. By a joynt resolution taken in *Gaunt*, many Articles of agreement were established between the one and the other Provinces; and peace and union was agreed upon by them all, save that of *Lucemburg*. To which the Kings authority was also fully made use of by the Councel of State. These were the chief things agreed upon:

That there should be peace, friendship, and confederacy for the time to come, between the Catholick Provinces on the one part, and Holland *and* Zealand *together with the Prince of* Orange *on the other part; and that all past injuries and offences should for ever be forgotten by all their Inhabitants. That from that time forward their people should return to joyn the liberty of the former commerce, and their respective correspondency. That all the Provinces should with a joynt consent drive all the Spaniards and their adherents immediately out of the Country, and take such course as should be needfull to that purpose. That the Provinces being freed from this oppression, they should all immediately meet in a general Assembly, as was done the last time, in the days of the Emperour* Charls *the fift; and that then such resolutions should be taken as should be thought best for the re-ordering of the Government, and for the reducing of it to its primary, true, and natural form. That in the mean time the so many Laws come forth with so much rigour by the Duke of* Alva *for the punishment of heresie and tumults, should be suspended, but that no other religion, save the Roman Catholick should be used in the Roman Catholick Provinces; and as for the other two of* Holland *and* Zealand, *they should expect what the States General would determine in that point. That concerning the restitution of Cities, Places, strong holds, Ammunition and Arms which was to be made unto the King; that should likewise be done which should be resolved on by them. That all prisoners, particularly Count* Bossu *should be set at liberty without any maner of ransome. That all goods should be likewise restored to their former possessors: respect being had to many irreparable impossibilities which the war had produced.*

These were briefly the contents of the chiefest Articles which were agreed upon between the one and the other Provinces: many others being by us omitted, which related to matter of Justice, and touching the restitution of goods; so to shun the tediousness of relating every little matter; and not to detain you with superfluous prolixities. This peace and union being concluded in manner aforesaid, the Provinces would begin to put them in execution, upon those few Spaniards which were in the Castle of *Gaunt*: the which was surrendred at the same time that the peace was agreed upon: and therefore they conducted those Spaniards to the Frontiers of *France*, and so sent them out of the Country; and prepared with very great resolution, to drive out all the rest also as soon as possibly they could by force.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

BOOK X.

The Contents.

Don John *of* Auſtria *comes to the Government of* Flanders. *Much diffidence ariſeth amongſt the Flemiſh touching his perſon. He endeavours as much as he can to remove them: and* Orange *labours to nouriſh them. An agreement is at laſt made between* Don John *and the States. But the Prince of* Orange *with the two Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand, *oppoſe it.* Don John *is received into the Government. He uſeth all means again to bring all the Provinces to be of one mind: but fails therein. Hence ſuſpitions ariſe on all ſides; and from thence troubles. The Queen of* Navar *paſſeth by the Frontiers of* Flanders *towards* France. Don John *goes himſelf in perſon to receive her, and to carry her to* Namures. *Upon which occaſion he makes himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of that City. The States complain hereof unto the King. They reſolve to call the Prince of* Orange *into* Brabant, *and receive him with unuſual honours. Which cauſeth jealouſies in the reſt of the chief Nobility: who therefore determine to offer the Government of* Flanders *to Archduke* Mathias. *He accepts of the offer, and comes thither privately.* Orange *his opinion, and the opinion of the States General, touching his coming. They reſolve to accept of him for the Gouernour of the Country. The Flemiſh take up arms on all ſides againſt* Don John. *And endeavour to beſiege* Namures. *The Kings men return ſpeedily into* Flanders: *And a battel inſues thereupon near* Geblurs; *wherein they have the victory. The proceedings of the Kings Forces. Preparations on the behalf of the Flemiſh do encreaſe continually more againſt them. To this end an Army is raiſed in* Germany, *by the Palatine* John Caſimere. *And the Duke of* Alanſon *prepares another in* France. John Caſimere *moves firſt, and being come to* Brabant, *takes* Diſte. *The Flemiſh quarter themſelves ſtrongly in the fields, to expect the arrival of all the foreign forces.* Don John *marches with all his men towards them: but cannot draw them forth to battel. His hopes of ſeeing the enemies foot ſoon diſſolve. By favour of the heretical aids, the Flemiſh ſectariſts demand a general liberty of conſcience and obtain it. The Catholicks are much ſcandalized hereat. A new action of the*

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Malecontents. Some accommodation of the affairs of Flanders, *is again endeavoured by the Emperour, by the King of* France, *and by the Queen of* England: *but in vain.* Alanson *enters the Country with his Army.* Orange *doth all he can that the Flemish and the foreign forces may joyn.* Don John *falls sick; dies. And leaves the Prince of* Parma *in the administration of the Government.*

An. 1576. WHilst *Flanders* was thus agitated with tempestuous troubles, and that a new Governour seemed to be most necessary; news came that *Don John* of *Austria*, the Kings bastard brother, was unexpectedly arrived in the Province of *Lucemburg*. In his journey he had passed through *France* in disguise; and had made such haste by Post, as he was the first man that brought news of his arrival. *Don John* was then in the prime of his age, and in the height of his glory. Whilst he was yet very young, he was imployed by the King to allay the insurrection of the Moors, with which *Spain* was then very much molested, and won very great renown in the success thereof. Being from thence sent into *Italy*, upon occasion of that memorable league against the *Turk*, it is not to be expresst how gallantly he made the valour of his own person, correspond with the supreme authority of his command throughout the whole carriage of the enterprise: in so much as the so famous naval victory of *Lepanto*, wherefore Christendom was so happily freed from so eminent danger, was chiefly attributed to him. Being returned to *Spain*, he kept near the King in very great esteem; and by the publick votes of his whole Nation, was cryed up to whatsoever greatest imployment that Monarchy could bestow. Whereupon occasion arising of sending him to be Governour of *Flanders*; the King readily imbraced it; joyning in opinion himself with the like of others, that *Don John* by reason of his so great indowments, might better then any other, both keep the obedient Provinces in their loyalty, and reduce those that were in rebellion, in a short time by his forces. He departed from *Spain* unknown, and made the aforesaid haste, to the end that his arrival in *Flanders* might be the sooner, and the safer. With him was *Octavius Gonzaga*, son to *Ferrante*, so famous formerly in arms, who was Viceroy of *Sicily*, and afterwards under *Charls* the fift, Governor of *Milan*. He passed every where in disguise, as a servant of this *Octavius*, though he tarryed some days in *Paris*, out of a curiosity of seeing the King, as he did; and to treat with the Spanish Ambassador, who was then Resident there. When he was come to the Town of *Lucemburg*, which denominates the whole Province, he understood in what a troublesome condition those Countries were. And his coming fell out to be just then when *Antwerp* was so miserably plundred. He was very much displeased thereat, and soon foresaw how much the peoples minds would be thereby every where exasperated, and what difficulties he should meet withall, in the first introducing of his Government. To make use of arms, neither had he sufficient wherewithall, neither was it a fitting time. To boot that at his departure from *Spain*, he had received particular instructions from the King, that by all means he should first try what good was to be done upon the Flemish by fair means, before he should use any force. He therefore did not delay to give the Councel of State which was at *Brussels*, notice in all civil manner, of his arrival in the Province of *Lucemburg*. He told them that the King desired nothing more then to see *Flanders* in peace and quiet. That he had brought with him very large Commissions to this purpose; and that he for his part would be ready to execute them with all speed and alacrity. He shewed himself to be highly displeased at the Tumults and disorders that had lately happened; to witness which, he said he would give sudden order to the Spaniards that they should desist from all hostility: and that he would endeavour fully to assure the Provinces, that through his Government they should receive all the just satisfaction from the King which they could desire. The Deputies of the States General were gone from *Gaunt* to *Brussels*; and the Councel of State went with them, still adhering with them in opinion. They were all of them greatly astonished at the sudden coming of *Don John*: for they saw it was impossible he could bring such resolution,

Don Iohn of Austria
Son to Charles v^e 5^th
Governour of the Low countreys.
150

ſolutions from the King as could ſtand with their deſigns. Yet after a while, they diſpatched away the Vicecount of *Gaunt*, the Lord of *Raſſenghein*, and Lord *Vigliernel*, to preſent their ſervices to *Don John*; but indeed, to dive into his moſt inward thoughts *Don John* failed not to receive them with all ſhew of civility, and acquainted them at full with the Kings exceeding good intentions toward thoſe Provinces. He aſſured them in particular, that the King would by all means have all the Spaniards, and foreign ſouldiers to depart from thence; and that he would grant a very ample pardon to all thoſe, who by reaſon of the late revolts, might have any need thereof. This tidings being brought to *Bruſſels*, they muſt needs very much pleaſe one ſide; ſince in the point concerning foreigners, the Flemiſh had what they ſo much deſired. But then again, they did ſo diſtruſt all the Spaniards actions, and ſo freſh, and deteſtable was the memory of the calamities which they had ſuffered by them, as the more favourable the offers were which were made by *Don John*, the more deceitfull they thought them to be.

The Prince of *Orange* was as the Oracle of the Provinces, after the agreement made between them: ſo as he was the main wheel upon which all their reſolutions were turned: wherefore the Councel of State, and Deputies of the States General, deſired to know his opinion concerning the coming of *Don John*; and in what manner he would have him received into the Government, before they would take any reſolution therein. Whereupon *Orange* began a long diſcourſe, the ſubſtance whereof was this,

That the larger Don Johns *promiſes were, the more they were to be ſuſpected. That it was apparent the Spaniards end was to cheat the Flemiſh, and to lull them aſleep, that they might the more eaſily oppreſs them. That* Don John *was not to be received any otherwiſe then upon ſuch terms, as (their obedience always preſerved unto the King) the former Government might be reſtored unto the Provinces. That therefore in the firſt place, all the Spaniards ſhould be expelled: That the Citadels ſhould be all demoliſhed, and put into the hands of the Flemiſh. That no Authority at all ſhould be granted to* Don John; *not ſo much as over the Militia of the Country. That the States General ſhould retain the prerogatives due unto them That to this purpoſe they might have a power to meet once or twice a year, to preſerve the priviledges of the Provinces. And that* Don John *ſhould reſolve on nothing without the Authority of the ſaid States General. That it better behoved him to truſt the Flemiſh, then the Flemiſh him. And that howſoever it was not to be believed that the King would ever pardon them, ſince he held himſelf too much injured by them: That therefore they ought to conſider his anger together with his forces; and put themſelves into ſuch a poſture, as ſince they could never ſecure themſelves from the one, they might not at leaſt be oppreſt by the other.*

This was *Orange* his opinion, which he deſired to diſtill into all the Flemiſh. And this was the foundation which he even then laid of that Commonwealth of the United Provinces, which hath been ſince ſo formed and eſtabliſhed in theſe our times by powerfull forces: and of which we formerly ſent a particular Relation from *Bruſſels* to *Rome*; which together with ſome other writings of ours touching the affairs of *Flanders*, were afterwards publiſhed by *Ericio Puteano*, our very good friend, and the worthy ſucceſſor of *Juſtus Lipſius*, no leſs in learning then in place, and in the Inheritance of his fame, no leſs then of his labours. *Orange* hoped by this means to make himſelf Moderator, and Arbitrator of the Government; and aſſiſted by the preſent conjuncture of time, to make himſelf at leaſt as good as Prince of *Holland* and *Zealand* if he ſhould not arrive at the Principality of all the Provinces, joyned together in one body. And peradventure he would not have miſſed in his deſigne, had he not been ſlain (as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place) and ſo had the thread of his life, as well as that of his hopes cut off. This anſwer increaſed ſuch jealouſies in the Flemiſh, as not thinking themſelves ſufficiently united by the agreement made at *Gaunt*, they reſolved to make another union which ſhould be more ſtrict, and more efficacious. They therefore drew up a Declaration in the name and Authority of the States General; wherein repeating the calamities ſuffered by the Spaniards, they did again confirm the confederation of *Gaunt*, promiſed to obſerve it inviolably, and declared

red all ſuch to be Traitors and infamous perſons who ſhould in any whatſoever manner countervene it. This Writing or Declaration was afterwards ſigned and ſealed in every Province, by every Magiſtrate and Governour; and was imbraced with great applauſe by the whole Country. And becauſe *Orange* had chiefly minded them that the States ſhould put themſelves in Arms, ſhewing what danger they were again to expect from the Spaniards, therefore the States General betook themſelves to raiſe new men, which they brought together in a good body, under the command of Count *Di Saleigne*, of the Vicecount of *Gaunt*, and Monſieur *de la Mota*. to *Vaures*, a Town between *Bruſſels* and *Namures*, very opportunely ſeated, eſpecially to withſtand *Don John*. The States General made likewiſe divers expeditions into *Germany*, *France*, and *England*, to pray aide in all thoſe parts, and to make the cauſe of the Flemiſh common with all their neighbours A conſiderable ſum of money was ſent from the Queen of *England*, who under hand ſhewed her ſelf well inclined to greater demonſtrations. On the part of *Germany* the greateſt confederacy was had with *John Caſimere*, one of the Count Palatines of *Rheine*; and the thing deſired was to furniſh him with monies, whereby to raiſe men in that Nation, and lead them into *Flanders*. On *France's* ſide, they did not only endeavour to raiſe the Hugonot Faction, but to draw likewiſe the Catholick party to be of the ſame mind, under the Duke of *Alanſon*, brother to the King: particularly inviting the Duke to endeavour to raiſe a Fortune worthy of himſelf in *Flanders*, now that he had little hopes of finding any in *France*.

Don John was eaſily acquainted with all theſe practices; who notwithſtanding patiently bearing with them, and willing to take away all pretences which the diſcontented Flemiſh could make uſe of, confirmed the aforeſaid offers in ſatisfaction to the Provinces; and concluded, that obedience being rendred by them to the Church, and to the King, he would in all things elſe accept of ſuch Propoſitions as they ſhould propound unto him. The Vicecount of *Gaunt*, and Lords of *Raſſenghean* and *Viglirual* went ſundry times to and fro between the States and *Don John*; and the eaſilyer to agree upon what was fitting for the receit of *Don John* into the Government, a Truce was made for 15 days, which was afterwards prolonged for ſome few days longer. All the difficulties ariſed from diffidence: For the States would, that in the firſt place, all the Spaniards and whatſoever other foreign ſouldiers, ſhould go out; which *Don John* ſeemed to agree unto; but then he thought it a juſt demand, that at the ſame time the States foreign Militia ſhould likewiſe go out. And becauſe the States appeared very obſtinate againſt this, it was propounded, that at leaſt for ſecurity ſake, ſome conſiderable men of theirs might be put as Hoſtages into the Caſtle of *Huy*, a Town in *Liege*, under the cuſtody of the Biſhop of that City, till ſuch time as the Spaniſh Forces being firſt ſent out, their foreign Militia might likewiſe be made depart. And 'twas added, that at the ſame time a Guard ſhould be given to *Don John* under ſome Captain of that Country, who ſhould ſwear due loyalty to him. He chiefly deſired to know what form of obedience ſhould be obſerved to the Church and King; and inſtanced that the conditions of his being received into Government might be ſuch, as Religion might not thereby receive too much prejudice, nor the Royal Dignity be too much offended. The Town of *Huy*, as a nutral place, was likewiſe propounded for a place of ſecurity, where the agreement which was managed on both ſides, might be made between *Don John* and the States. But divers difficulties aroſe in all theſe points; which *Orange* particularly fomented with all his might, becauſe his end was, either that *Don John* might not at all be received: or at leaſt that he might only have the bare title of Governour; and that the Government might remain abſolutely in the States hands, which was almoſt as much as to ſay, abſolutely in his own power. The Emperour *Maximilian* was dead a little before this. And the Flemiſh having had recourſe to him for protection before he died, they therefore made the ſame application to his ſon *Rodolphus*, who ſucceeded him in the Emperial dignity. Nor could the King of *Spain* be hereat offended. *Rodolphus* had therefore made choice of *Gerard Groſbeck*, Biſhop of *Liege*, together with two other of his Councellors, to mediate ſome agreement between *Don John* and the States. *Ce-*

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Ceſar thought it likewiſe fitting, and herein the King did likewiſe agree with him, that the Duke of *Cleves*, as a Prince ſo nearly intereſſed in the neighbourhood of *Flanders*, might likewiſe ſend ſome expreſs perſonages in his behalf to facillitate the accommodation.

In the beginning of the year 1577, theſe Ambaſſadors went to the Town called *Marcha* in *Famines*, which is in the Province of *Lucemburg*, towards the Country of *Liege*; where *Don John* was himſelf in perſon, that he might be nearer *Huy*, where the Commiſſioners were, which the States made uſe of in the aboveſaid Treaty. The States ſtood inflexable to two points: The one was, That firſt of all, the Spaniards together with all the other foreign ſouldiers ſhould be ſent away. The other, That this new agreement with *Don John*, ſhould in no ways prejudice the union made between the Provinces at *Gaunt*. Very great were the difficulties which were met withall, in theſe and divers other points; and *Don John* knew very well how much the Kings Authority and his would at laſt ſuffer by this accommodation. But rather then return to arms, he being deſirous to try all means of accommodation, and being much preſt thereunto by the Imperial Ambaſſadors; and by thoſe of the Duke of *Cleves*, who were perſwaded that when the Spaniards ſhould be ſent away, *Don John* ſhould receive all manner of ſatisfaction from the Flemiſh in all things elſe; he at laſt condeſcended to the agreement in ſuch manner as the Ambaſſadors thought fit. Which was,

That all the Spaniſh ſouldiers, as alſo the German, Italian, and Burgonian, ſhould effectually depart out of the Low-Countries within forty days: That the Towns and Caſtles ſhould forthwith be delivered up into the hands of the Flemiſh; *That all priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty; particularly* Count Buren *who was priſoner in* Spain; *upon condition that his father the Prince of* Orange *ſhould after the meeting of the States General, make good on his ſide whatſoever they ſhould determine. That the King ſhould permit the Provinces to enjoy all their former priviledges and immunities. That on the contrary, the Catholick Religion ſhould be by them maintained in all places: That they ſhould likewiſe diſmiſs all their foreign ſouldiers, and ſhould renounce all foreign confederacies and leagues. That they ſhould preſently pay down 60000 pound ſterling, for ſatisfaction to the Spaniards who were to be gone; and ſhould take upon them alſo to ſatisfie the Germans.*

Theſe were in ſubſtance the chief Articles of the agreement; and upon theſe conditions the States obliged themſelves to receive *Don John* for their Governor. This agreement being made, order was immediately given by *Don John* for the departure of the Spaniards, and all the other foreign Souldiers; and he ſent *Octavius Gonzaga*, and the Secretary *Eſcovedo* a Spaniard, to ſee it effected. But *Orange* hearing the Agreement, declared publickly that they were not ſuch as did ſatisfie him, nor yet the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*.

He complained, *That his ſon was not freely reſtored unto him; that ſufficient proviſion was not had for the ſafety of the Provinces; ſince there was no order for the demoliſhing of the new erected Caſtles: That it was an unworthy action to pay the Spaniards, the great wealth conſidered which they had got by plunder from the Flemiſh. That convenient reſpect was not given to thoſe Princes whoſe favour and aſſiſtance had been ſo advantagious to the Flemiſh. That by this agreement, that other of* Gaunt *was not ſufficiently made good: from which he and the Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *did not intend to recede, nor run ſuch hazards as the reſt were quickly like to do.*

The States replyed unto theſe Objections, and endeavoured to make it appear that the agreement of *Gaunt* was not any ways altered; and that howſoever they would ſee it obſerved. But *Orange* by cavils or ſubterfuges, continued ſtill of the ſame mind; ſo as it was impoſſible to get him, nor the other two Provinces, which depended abſolutely upon his arbitrement, to approve of this agreement. *Don John* was this mean while gone from the Town of *Mark* to *Lovain*, to ſee the Spaniards depart, and that the Citadels ſhould be put into the Flemiſh hands; that then he might make his ſolemn entrance into *Bruſſels*, and begin his Government. A great many of the Nobility came preſently to *Lovain* to viſit him, who received them with all the civility the Country could expect, and with ſuch dignity as became his perſon. He from thence ſent Doctor *Leonino* into

Holland to acquaint the Prince of *Orange*, and the State of *Holland* and *Zealand* with the agreement made between him and the other Provinces, and to uſe all means to draw thoſe two Provinces and *Orange* to be of the ſame mind. But this brought forth nothing elſe, but the greater diſcovery of the obſtinacy of thoſe parts, and of *Orange* his induſtry in fomenting them therein. *Don John* had this mean while made the Citadel of *Antwerp* be delivered up to the Duke of *Ariſcot*. And all the other Caſtles which were in the Spaniards hands were delivered up to the Flemiſh. Whereupon all the foreign ſouldiers being aſſembled together at *Maſtrick* (except the Germans who for want of their pay had little longer time allowed them for their departure) betook themſelves to leave the Low-Countries; and ſo they did according to the agreement. It is not to be expreſt what joy, and what demonſtrations thereof, this cauſed throughout all *Flanders*. In all Cities, Towns, and in the meaneſt Villages, all the people ran to hear the news, and then to tell it; as if this were the greateſt happineſs which they could have expected or deſired. *Sancio d' Avila* the then Governour of the Citadel *Antwerp*, would not be preſent at the delivery up of the Citadel of into the hands of *Ariſcot*; but left it to be done by his Lieutenant: publickly ſhewing by the freedom of his demeanor and words, that he would have no part in an action which he thought to be very prejudicial to his King, and not anſwerable to ſo many other acts which his Nation had ſo glorioufly performed in *Flanders*. Nay 'tis ſaid, that in his taking leave of *Don John*, he with the like freedome of ſpeech ſaid unto him,

Your Highneſs makes us go out of Flanders: *but remember that I tell you, you will quickly be forced to call us back again.*

And ſo it fell out, as in its place ſhall be told. A Gariſon of Walloons was put into the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, and the States were as diligent as they could be, in gathering together the monies, wherewith to ſend away the Germans alſo; wherein they found much difficulty, by reaſon of the great expences the Country had already been at, as alſo in thoſe of ſending away the Spaniards. *Don John* came at laſt from *Lovain* to *Bruſſels*, where he made his pubilck entry on *May*-day; which was done with ſuch ſolemnity, as well by reaſon of the ſo many Nobility, and other inferior people; as for the acclamations of joy, which his firſt receiving was accompanied withall, as there is hardly the memory of any the like, at the reception of any abſolute Prince of *Flanders*, much leſs at that of a bare Governour. But it was not long ere this ſcene of joy was changed into others, full of ſorrow, and horrour: as we ſhall by degrees make known unto you.

When *Don John* had taken upon him the adminiſtration of the Government, he ſoon found his part was rather to obey then to command. No Order could iſſue forth from him, which was not to be ſubordained by the Councel of State; who unwilling to quit the Government which till then they had proviſionally exerciſed, ſought in an indirect way to keep it ſtill by the prerogative of Authority. They alleadged ſometimes the common priviledges of their whole Country, ſometimes the particular priviledges of this or that Province; and ſometimes by one pretence, ſometimes by another, they endeavoured ſtill to increaſe their own Authority, and to leſſen *Don Johns* Government as much as they could; and *Orange* was ſure not to be wanting upon all occaſions. He had for his Architecture of ſedition, *Philip Marnice*, Lord of *Aldigonda*, and the Lord *Hees*, particular Governor of *Bruſſels*, was likewiſe a great follower of his. The firſt was more wary, the other more zealous; and therefore both of them of a better mixture to do evil. Theſe two in *Bruſſels*, and divers others in other parts, who depended upon *Orange*, did continually diſperſe ſeditious ſpeeches, to incite the Flemiſh to novelties more then ever. They gave out that *Ierolimo Rhodes*, *Sancio d' Avila*, and other Spaniſh Commanders who were gone into *Spain*, after their departure from *Flanders*, had been very gratiouſly received by the King, and by his Court, with promiſes of new and greater imployments.

Was not this (ſaid they) *a manifeſt declaration of the Kings, wherein he gave ſentence in favour of the Spaniards againſt the Flemiſh in the laſt troubles which the Country had ſuffered? Was it not an accuſing of the Councel of State of infidelity?*

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did not the Kings intention touching the affairs of Flanders *appear plainly in this? and what could he fancy else to himself, but to expect that the Flemish should be disarmed, to the end that he might again the easilyer oppress them; That the example of past things did prognosticate future successes. That so in the Dutchess of* Parma's *time the Country did trust; and about the end of her Government, did expect much better treatment; when loe the Duke of* Alva *came at unawares armed, and brought with him that cruel and miserable slavery which they had till this day experienced. That in fine,* Don John *was a Spaniard; that he brought conceal'd Councel from* Spain, *and that he had* John Escouedo *for his chief Councellor, one of that Nation, and to whose secrecy the King had trusted the most misterious secrets of the affairs of* Flanders. *That then unless the Flemish would again perish miserably, they were not in any ways to lay down their present Authority. That the Councel of State should preserve their prerogative. That the States General should keep their superintendency; but above all things that the Provinces should not suffer themselves to be lul'd asleep by too much quiet: for the Spaniards would be sure, quickly to make use thereof. That the King could at once both raise and bring in an Army; in which case, what would the tediousness of their meetings avail the Flemish, to muster together their Forces? and what good would the yet more slower hopes doe of being assisted by Foreigners?*

Thus they endeavoured to corrupt the minds of the Flemish, and to imprint such affections in them, as might alienate them fro *Don Iohn*, and still more from the Spaniards, and make them fall again into yet greater troubles. Fraud reigns in the South, and Candor in the North. But this so candid proceeding degenerates too easily into credulity: so as it is no wonder if any wary weaver of novelties wind the people in those parts as he pleaseth: and make them sencible of the evil of deceit, before they can discover that they are deceived. Flemish natures use to erre on this hand: which if they ever did at any time, 'twas when they so easily believed what was suggested to them at this time in prejudice of *Don Iohn*, and to make the *Spaniards* seem hateful to them. *Don Iohn* was rather abandoned, then put into the Government of the Country: he enjoyed the bare name of Governour, but not any authority at all. The *Spaniards* were gone, the *Germans* were to be gone; and which imported most, all the Castles were already in the custody of the natural Flemish; and yet they returned as easily to their suspitions, as if the Duke of *Alva* had been again at their gates with a more powerfull Army then before. *Don Iohn* endeavoured notwithstanding diligently to free them of them; he made use of the aboveſaid reasons, and many others which he represented in confirmation of the Kings good will, and his own towards the Nation. But such endeavours availed but a little, for there were too many deceits woven to the contrary, and those who wove them wrought their end too easily. One of the chiefest Articles which was established at *Gaunt*, and afterwards confirmed at *Marks*, was that as soon as the Foreign Souldiers should be gone, the States Generall should be assembled with all solemnity, just as they were the last time in the reign of *Charles* the 5. and that then it should be determined what should be thought most convenient in point of the Catholick religion in *Holland* and *Zealand*. When *Don Iohn* was admitted into the Government, he prest the execution of that Article; and the Councel of State seemed as if they would do the best they could with *Orange*. But were it either that the endeavors were too cold on the one side, or that the answers were more obdurat then usual on the other, there could be nothing concluded therin. The States did then resolve, and did therin particularly request *Don Iohn* to send the Duke of *Aresçot* in their name into *Holland*, as also the Lords *Hierges* and *Viglierval*; and Doctor *Leonino*, and the Treasurer *Schets* Lord of *Grobendorick*, in the name of *Don Iohn*, to endeavour again to perswade *Orange* and the two aforesaid Provinces to joyn in one and the same opinion with the rest. Which if it should not succeed, *Don Iohn* thought their obstinacie and pertinaciousness would the more evidently appear. Upon this occasion *Orange* and the Deputies of *Holland* and *Zealand* came to a more determinate answer. They said, those two Provinces could not change the reformed religion, which was now received throughout them both. They complained, with various interpretations, that the Agreement made at *Gaunt* was not observed as it ought to be;

That the new Forts ſhould of right be demoliſhed, and particularly that of *Antwerp*, thereby to take away all occaſion from the *Spaniards* of re-entring there. *Orange* demanded the free redelivery of his Son: And pretending complaints upon complaints, they could not be ſatisfied becauſe they would not be ſatisfied. *Ariſcot* returned to *Bruſſels* with a *Non eſt inventus*; the States did not ſo much reſent it as *Don John* expected they ſhould. But *Orange* his faction growing ſtill more ſtrong, his adherents endeavoured to juſtifie, boldly and to the very teeth of *Don John*, every action that came from that Party. *Heez* walked through the ſtreets of *Bruſſels* with a particular Guard, as if he acknowledged no other Command but his own in that Town; and the People laying aſide all reverence to *Don John*, committed divers misbecoming actions to his Family; the moſt hair-brain'd of all the meaneſt ſort of people not ſticking to give out inſolent ſpeeches tending to ſedition. For all this *Don John* diſſembled, and in many things ſeemed as if he either did not take notice of them, or did not regard them. He endeavoured all he could to win *Ariſcot*, and the other chief men, and to divide them and *Orange*, and to make them aware of his artificial deſigns; ſhewing,

That they tended apparently to aggrandiſe himſelf with popular Authority, by the abaſing of all the other States of the Country. That being already become an Heretick, he had conſequently made himſelf an Enemy to Church-men: and did he not by making himſelf the Peoples prime Protector, declare himſelf to be the chief againſt the Nobility?

To ſhew his greater confidence in *Ariſcot*, the King had put the Caſtle of *Antwerp* into his hands, and had given him his eldeſt ſon the Prince of *Samai* for his Lieutenant. And doubtleſly there was great emulation between *Ariſcot* and *Orange*, who ſhould be the greater. But the former was of an open and voluble nature; whereas the other being a man of great knowledge, and deeply ſubtile, and already of ſo great repute both in *Flanders* and elſwhere, had too great advantage on his ſide in all things. To this was added, That the Popularity enjoying ſo great a part in the Government of *Flanders*, eſpecially in Towns and Cities, (for that the Monaſtical Abbots, and the Nobles did uſually live in the Country) *riſcot*, nor no other Governour of any Province would diſtaſte that ſort of people upon which their chief attendance and authority in the Country did depend. To boot that all the Nobility, and amongſt them thoſe that were the greateſt, deſirous to ſhew their zeal in favouring the welfare of the Country, they could not vary much from thoſe opinions which *Orange* appeared to be of, ſince they were too ſpeciouſly coloured over to that purpoſe. The Viſcount *Gaunt* was likewiſe then in great eſteem, who was afterwards Marqnis of *Rubais*; and who in the diviſions which fell out between the Provinces, did afterwards ſerve the King very faithfully in military imployments of very great weight. *Don John* deſired likewiſe to make him his friend: So as to ſhew his confidence in him, he ſent him into *England*, to give account to the Queen of his being received into the Government, and to keep all fair correſpondencie with her, at leaſt in appearance; ſince for other things he could not be ignorant, that the Rebels in *Flanders* had in former times ever been moſt fomented from thence, and were likely to be ſo more then ever in the future. The States this mean while ſollicited the payment of the German Souldiers, that they might rid the Country likewiſe of that ſort of Foreigners that yet remained there. But the buſineſs proved very difficult; for the States knew not where to find the mony, which were greatly exhauſted by reaſon of the ſo many paſt expences, & for what they had lately diſburſed for the ſending of the *Spaniards* away. They liked therefore very well the Vicount of *Gaunts* being ſent into *England*, and thought to have intreated the Queen by him, that ſhe would furniſh them with ſome monies to that purpoſe: They owed her other ſums of money before, and peradventure ſhe would not have been unwilling to have thrown in this. But *Don John* thinking it not fitting to pawn more of the Countries revenues to the Queen, then what was already pawned, and knowing that this was one of *Orange* his plots, he would not ſuffer the Vicount to move any thing in it. The States complained much hereof, and began from hence to ſuſpect that *Don John* would be unwilling to ſee the *Germans* depart. This ſuſpition increaſed very much afterwards upon another occaſion. The Colonels and Officers

of

of that Nation were by orders from the States come to *Malines* to audit up the monies which were due unto them: And their pretenſions reaching very high, the buſineſs met with great difficulties. To overcome the which, the States ſent the Duke of *Ariſcot* to *Malines*, and to that purpoſe *Don John* went thither himſelf in perſon. But all was in vain: which afforded new occaſion of ſuſpition that *Don John* was gone to *Malines* rather to nouriſh then to remove the difficulties which aroſe in that buſineſs; and that his deſign was to keep the *Germans* from departing, to the end that by their forces he might retain that Authority amongſt the *Flemiſh* which otherwiſe he could not get. But the wiſer ſort thought that this difficulty was rather fomented by *Orange* his Faction, that they might lay the fault upon *Don John*; And to the end that the *Germans* not going away, there might be ſome colour of raiſing new troubles. The truth is, that when *Don John* returned to *Bruſſels*, jealouſies grew ſo faſt on his part, as he could no longer diſſemble as before. He was received by the people of that City with manifeſt ſigns of averſion, *Heez* deſpiſed him inſufferably; he found by divers things that there was treachery plotted againſt his perſon: And that which troubled him moſt was, to ſee how ſtrait correſpondencie the States kept with *Orange*, and that he was as it were the Arbitrator of whatſoever they did. *Don John's* ſuſpition of treachery againſt his perſon was afterwards confirmed in him by very good Authors; the one was the Duke of *Ariſcot*, who ſeemed to know that there was a conſpiracie either to kill him, or to impriſon him: And the other was the Vicount of *Gaunt*, who parting in great haſte from that City, came to *Bruſſels*, and acquainted *Don John* with the eminent danger he was in. Yet *Don John* ſeemed not to truſt theſe reports, doubting leſt there might be ſome cunning mixt amongſt them, to make him fall upon ſome deſperate reſolution, by which the accuſations laid unto his charge might be the better juſtified. But his occaſions of fear ſtill increaſing, he at laſt reſolved to ſend the Secretary *Eſcovedo* into *Spain*; and for a pretence, told the States, that he would doe his utmoſt endeavour to get the King of *Spain* to ſend ſome good ſtore of money wherewith the ſooner to ſatisfie the German ſouldiers. But his true intention in ſending him was, to advertiſe the King at full in what condition the affairs of *Flanders* ſtood, and to let him know what evident neceſſity he *Don John* had ſuddenly to ſecure his own perſon. *Eſcovedo* being gone, *Don John* came to the knowledge how that the Prince of *Orange* his faction did in ſeveral places tamper with the chief German Commanders, to draw them over to his ſide. He then delayed no longer; he called the Counts of *Mansfield* and *Barlemont* (in whom he knew he might boldly confide) into private Councel, and acquainted them with what ſtraits he was in. *Mansfield* was Governour of the Dukedom of *Lucemburg*, and for his great fidelity to the King did afterwards (as ſhall be ſaid) divers times govern the Low-Countries, and continued his particular government of that Province till he dyed a very old man of above fourſcore and ten years old. *Barlemont*, who together with his Sons was likewiſe very faithful to the King, had the government of the County of *Namures*; which Province together with the other lay neareſt to *Lorain*, and conſequently neareſt *Italy*. The *Mauſe* runs through the midſt of the City of *Namures*, and into this River doth another River fall, called *Sambra*, which joyns with it in the ſeat of the ſame City. The paſſage over both theſe Rivers is always free by two Stone-bridges, which makes the place both more commodious, and more beautiful. The ground in one ſide of the City lies high, upon the top whereof there ſtands an antient Caſtle, but naturally ſtrong enough. *Barlemont* opinion was therefore, that *Don John* ſhould take ſome pretence to go to *Namures*, and ſhould make that City and Caſtle ſure for his own ſafety; for from thence he might at any time paſs freely into *Lucemburg*, and there ſuch Forces might eaſily be received from *Italy* which of neceſſity were again to be recalled into *Flanders*. But above all things he was of opinion, That all diligence was to be uſed to win the *Germans*, and break the practice which the contrary party held with them. And doubtleſſy this was an important point: For to boot with the condition of the Souldiers, many of the chief Towns might be ſaid to be in their hands, they being therein quartered. *Mansfield* leaned likewiſe to the ſame opinion: But being a grave man, and one that did naturally rather imbrace wary then hazardous councels, he

he would willingly have tarried till *Escovedo* might have been arrived in *Spain*, and have more clearly discovered the Kings mind, for then *Don John* might with more safety effect his. He said,

It was not to be doubted but that the possessing himself of the Castle of Namures *would be like a generall Alarm, which would make the* Flemish *flie to their Arms in all places. And what else could* Orange *his faction desire? how would they rejoyce to see that* Don John *should be the first that should use violence? and how hard would it be to be justified? To boot that Justification would peradventure be more needfull in* Spain *then in* Flanders. *That Principality had miseries mixt with its happiness; one of the greatest whereof was, That conspiracies were not credited till compassed. That then it was better to wait for answer from* Escovedo, *and in the mean time to be very vigilant in the shunning of all danger. That God doth protect good causes, as it was assuredly to believe he would doe in this, which might be said to be more his then the Kings.*

These reasons of *Mansfilds* bore such force with them as *Don John* did for a few days suspend the resolution which he was advised unto by *Barlemont*. But knowing that preparations to troubles increased every day more and more in *Holland*, and the dangers against his person still more and more in *Brussels*, he would no longer expect the perfecting thereof, and therefore resolved to go to *Namures* as soon as he could. Being thus resolved, the greatest difficulty was to find a pretence for his going thither: For the City of *Namures* was not so near *Brussels*, as that under a pretence of hunting, or any other colour, it could handsomly be done. These two Towns are distant almost two days journey one from another. In so much as it would be a great remove for *Don Iohn* to go with all his Court to *Namures*, and 'twould afford great occasion of discourse. But it is not to be believed how much the blind Will of fortune rules in human chances. *Margaret* of *Vallois*, Queen of *Navar* passed at this time about the beginning of *July* towards *France*, by those Frontiers of *Flanders*, upon occasion of going to the *Spaw*. This was given out for the end of her journey, but the true meaning thereof was, that she might be nearer at hand to help the practises on foot on the behalf of her brother the Duke of *Alanson*, as we gave you a former inkling. The Duke received but little contentment in the King his brothers Court; and there was a great correspondency of affection between the Queen and Duke, to boot with their alliance in bloud, wherefore to advantage the Dukes Interest, the Queen passed by *Cambray*, and there endeavoured to win the Archbishop of that City, and the Governour of that Castle. She afterwards used the like diligence to the Count of *Lalleyn*, Governor of the Province of *Hennault*, and to divers other chief personages of those parts. Nor were her endeavours of small avail; for *Margaret* was a Lady of a high spirit; and in her Book of Memorials which came forth in Print, elegantly written after her death, the successe of what she Treated of in *Flanders*, in the behalfe of her Brother, is by her self told. This business was therefore managed with great secrecy, in so much as *Don Iohn* was not then aware thereof. Fortune having offered him so good an occasion, he presently laid hold of it, and gave out the necessity he was in, of receiving, and lodging the Queen in *Namures*, which was the place nearest *Brussels* that she came to. To boot with the considerations of her so much greatness, 'twas known that an elder sister of hers many years before was married to the King of *Spain*, by whom she had two daughters: wherefore *Don Iohns* journey there was thought so just, as there was no sinister interpretation to be given to it. Nay many of the Nobility offered to wait upon him on that occasion, whose offers he accepted of; the Duke of *Ariscot*, and his son the Prince of *Limay*, the Marquis of *Haure*, brother to the Duke, and divers other principal personages went along with him. When he had received the Queen, and waited upon her as long as she tarryed there, he was not long in executing his designe of making himself Master of the Castle. The Governour of the Castle depended upon the States, so as it behoved *Don Iohn* to use industry; the business was thus carryed: He feigned one morning to go a hunting, and took his way towards the Gate to which the Castle leads: and feigning that a desire took him at that instant of seeing the Castle out of meer curiosity, he sent for the Governour,

and

and freely gave him his hand, and went with him to go into the Caſtle. *Don John* was accompanied by the Count *Barlemont*, and four of the ſaid Counts ſons, which proved all of them valiant men, and got very good Military imployment. One was the Lord *Hiergee*, of whom we had formerly occaſion to give very honourable teſtimony. The others were the Count *Mega*, the Lord *Floyon*, and Lord of *Altapenna*. Together with theſe *Don John* had provided divers others who followed aloof off, and were all of them furniſhed in ſecret with arms, to make uſe of as occaſion ſhould ſerve But the Governour of the Caſtle partly raviſhed with the favour he had received from *Don John*, and partly moved out of the reſpect he bore him, made no difficulty of letting him in, but ſeemed to take it for a very great honour that he would vouchſafe to come into his Caſtle. *Don John* ſtaying then a little to attend the coming up of the reſt who were partakers in the deſigne, poſſeſt himſelf ſuddenly of the Gate, and made the uſual guard go out; they were but very few that were there in gariſon, wherefore the Governour durſt not do any thing to the contrary, Many were of opinion that *Don John* was adviſed hereunto by *Orange* his artifice, that he might make him be the leſs believed in by the Flemiſh. But the buſineſs was carried as we have here told you; and ſo it hath oft been related to us by Count *Barlemont*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and ſon to the before mentioned Count, who ſucceeded his father in the Government of *Namures*, and who in the time of our being in *Flanders* paſt to the Government of *Lucemburg*; and who together with his father and brethren, was preſent at this action. *Don John* having made himſelf ſure of the Caſtle, (and the Governour *Barlemont* having already made all obedience be given unto him by the Town) ſent preſently for *Ariſcot*, and the reſt of the chief men who were at *Namures*, and endeavoured to juſtifie this his action. He ſhewed them the expreſs neceſſity he had of ſecuring his own perſon, which he ſaid he had miraculouſly ſaved till now. He added, that he received advertiſement from all ſides of new treacheries; and that he knew for certain that the Counts, *Egmont*, *Laleigne*, and *Hees*, together with divers others unquiet and treacherouſly minded people, had laid ſnares for him about *Namures*, expecting when he ſhould return for *Bruſſels*. And finally he ſaid he would make the States acquainted with the whole matter; aſſuring himſelf that they would reſent his injuries according to the demerits thereof: as he for his part would remain conſtant to all things agreed upon with them; and would endeavour all peace and proſperity to the Country. He preſently diſpatched away *Signior di Raſſenghien* to *Bruſſels*, and by a Letter written to the States, endeavoured to juſtifie what he had done, repreſenting what made moſt for that purpoſe. He deſired them that they would ſee to the remedying of diſorders, and declared that being neceſſitated to retire into the Caſtle of *Namures*, he would out of the ſame neceſſity ſtay there, till his ſafety might be by them provided for in ſuch manner as was fitting. Great was the commotion that this accident occaſioned amongſt the States. They immediately ſent away three of their members to *Namures*; the Abbot of *Maroles*, the Archdeacon of *Ipry*, and *Signior di Brus*, by whom they writ unto *Don Iohn*, and earneſtly deſired him that he would lay aſide all jealouſies, and return to *Bruſſels*. But he, who would not return thither unleſs it were in a more honourable and ſafe way then before, ſent the Lord *Gravendon*, the Treaſure-General back with them to *Bruſſels*, and by him demanded divers things of the States, which he thought he very well might doe, by virtue of the agreement made with them. The chief of them were theſe,

That he might uſe ſuch Authority as became his place of Governour and Captain General: That he might have ſuch a guard as he might truſt in; and the neceſſary command over the Officers of War; That he might confer the Offices of the Country, as the precedent Governours haa done; and above all, he required, that in caſe the Prince of Orange, *and the two Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand, *ſhould not perform to do what became them on their parts, that then the States ſhould break off from holding any Intelligence with them, and ſhould joyn with him to uſe ſuch remedies therein as ſhould be requiſite.*

The States reply'd, That in the firſt place *Don Iohn* ſhould return to *Bruſſels*, where

where he ſhould receive all fitting ſatisfaction. But he perſiſting in the reſolution he had taken, and they on the other ſide being no leſs firm in their reſolves, jealouſies increaſed ſuddenly on all ſides. It was this mean while every where known that *Don John* was retired to *Namures*, whereat *Orange* (you will eaſily believe) was not any whit diſpleaſed, thinking that from this novelty many others might ſuddenly ariſe which might make for his purpoſe. Yet he appeared in publike to be very much grieved for it, and complained very much of it in all parts. He inflamed the States to reſentment: And to aggravate *Don Johns* offences, he divulged certain Letters, which (as his Aſſociates ſaid) were come into his hands by the King of *Navars* means, who they affirmed had intercepted them in *Gaſcony* upon occaſion of their being ſent by *Don John* and *Eſcovedo* through thoſe parts into *Spain*. Theſe Letters contained divers particulars, which not without reaſon might render *Don John* ſuſpected, if they had been true, as *Don John* affirmed them to be falſe. The Contents thereof were chiefly this: That he exhorted the King to make himſelf be obeyed by Arms in *Flanders*, for that otherwiſe he would loſe all authority there. Theſe Letters were held to be very true by the States, and as ſuch were by them diſperſt throughout all the whole Country, and were tranſlated into divers languages, that they might be the better underſtood by every one. *Orange* growing hereupon daily into more credit with them, he ſtrongly perſwaded them to Arm, repreſenting the danger which might inſue, if any delay were made. Affirming,

That aſſuredly Don Johns *actions in* Namures *were anticipately plotted in* Spain; *and that therefore it was to be preſuppoſed that the Kings forces, brought but a little before into* Italy, *would ſuddenly be led back to* Flanders. *That therefore they muſt be prevented.* Don John *muſt ſuddenly be driven from* Namures: *A paſſage of ſuch importance muſt be taken from him; let him then go into his ſo faithful Province of* Lucemburg, *and let him try how much he would be bettered by that Provinces not joyning in uniform conſent with all the reſt.*

This counſel was ſoon imbraced, and with equal readineſs executed. The States gave out divers Commiſſions to raiſe men, and prepared to uſe force againſt *Don John*, unleſs he would return to *Bruſſels* in his former condition. The mean while they wrote a long Letter unto the King, laying all the accuſations they were able upon *Don John*, and offered to juſtifie the cauſe which they would by all means maintain on their ſides: They did inlarge themſelves particularly in the buſineſs concerning the *Germans*, in that of *Namures*, and upon the Letters which had fallen into their hands.

'That *Don John* by artificial practiſes had hindred the auditing of the Pay with 'thoſe of that Nation; that under falſe pretences he was gone to *Namures*, and 'upon falſer ſuggeſtions of fear had made himſelf Maſter of that Caſtle. That 'doubtleſly the aforeſaid Letters were written by him and *Eſcovedo*, he not be-'ing able to deny his own Characters which were found in ſome of them. That 'his evil mind to the Country did hereby appear, his intention of not ſtanding to 'the Agreement made between him and the States; and that his deſire of bring-'ing all things again to Arms, was thereby manifeſtly diſcovered. That *Eſcovedo* 'had nouriſhed this opinion in him; and that being a Spaniard, he did ſtrangely 'maligne and hate the Flemiſh. They therefore deſired the King that he would 'ſhew his heavy reſentment by his proceeding againſt him; and that he ſhould 'injoyn *Don John* duly to obſerve what with ſo many circumſtances he had ſo-'lemnly agreed upon with them. Otherwiſe they ſhould be inforced to proteſt, 'that he failing on his behalf, the miſchief and diſorders which would neceſſarily 'inſue, to the prejudice of the King, Religion, and of the Countries welfare, were 'not to be imputed to them.

Don John writ likewiſe into *Spain*, endeavouring to clear himſelf of the imputations laid upon him in that Letter; adding what was moſt needfull to what had formerly been repreſented by *Eſcovedo*. He ſhewed,

'That the difficulty in the German buſineſs riſe from *Orange* his Faction, who 'endeavoured to gain that Souldiery to themſelves. That having miraculouſly 'ſaved himſelf from ſo many treacheries and conſpiracies, he with much adoe 'had got with ſome of his truſtieſt friends into the Caſtle of *Namures*. That

thoſe

'thoſe Letters which were aſcribed to be written by him, or by *Eſcovedo*, were 'certainly to be judged as either wholly fained, or in a great part altered by the 'ſame faction. And what greater contradiction could there be, then that he ſhould 'firſt ſend the Spaniards away, and afterwards adviſe the King to proceed with 'violence againſt the Flemiſh? That a that time ſuch an advice would have been 'very much contrary to the ſeaſon, to reaſon, and to his Majeſties ſervice. But 'that now, inſtead of giving it, he did avow it was very requiſite to doe it: For 'that if his Majeſty did not ſuddenly by his forces prevent thoſe dangers which 'did ſo eminently threaten *Flanders*, all the Provinces would revolt; which 'when they ſhould once be loſt, they would not be ſo eaſily regotten.

This was the oppoſition between *Don Johns* Letters and thoſe of the States: but neither of them forbore this mean while to advantage themſelves by preparing Arms; for it was almoſt impoſſible ever to return to a new agreement. *Don John* endeavoured to get the chiefeſt places of the County of *Namures* into his hands, and in particular ſecured himſelf of *Charlemonte* and *Mariamburg*, both of them very well fortified; and which had taken their names, the one of them from the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, and the other from his ſiſter Queen *Mary*. He likewiſe held very ſecret intelligence in the Citadel of *Antwerp*, to draw over the *Walloons* who had the keeping of it to ſide with him, and ſo to become maſter of that ſo important ſtrength. He dealt likewiſe with ſome German Companies who were in the Town, and which were of *Fromsberg* and *Fouchero's* Regiments and did the like with other Officers of that Nation which were in *Bergen ap Zome*, in *Tolen*, in *Breda*, in *Balduke*, and in other places. But in the government of theſe negotiations, the event ſhewed that Fortune did favour the States much more then ſhe did *Don John*. The practiſe in the Citadel of *Antwerp* was diſcovered, and prevented. And the *Flemiſh* having a vigilant eye every where, and having better conveniencie to uſe either monies or force with the Germans, they forbare not uſing either of them, as occaſion did beſt ſerve: So as in a ſhort time they ſent them out of all the aboveſaid places. And in *Berghen ap Zome*, where Colonel *Fuchero* was quartered, and in *Breda*, where *Fromsberg* was in garriſon, their Forces proved ſo perfidious, as that they put both the Towns into the States hands. They then fell to demoliſh the Caſtles. That of *Antwerp* was firſt ſlighted, but only on that ſide which lay towards the City, the reſt was left in its former ſtrength. The people ran with great joy to this buſineſs, ſtriving who ſhould outdoe one another in the pulling down thereof; and expreſſing ſuch rage againſt thoſe inſenſible Platforms and Walls, as they could not have ſhewed greater againſt the Authors of them. By example of the *Antwerpians*, thoſe of *Gaunt* did the like to their Caſtle: and ſo were all the reſt diſmantled, except the Caſtle of *Cambray*, which the States durſt not meddle with for that it was in a City which was ſubject to the Empire, and to Archiepiſcopal juriſdiction. Yet they wrought ſo, as they got *Signor d'Inſy* to be put into it, and to keep it for their ſervice; cauſing *Signor di Lich* to be put out of it, who kept it formerly under the Kings protection. *Don John* was now all alone in *Namures*, the Duke of *Ariſcot* and almoſt all the reſt of the Nobility which had waited upon him thither being under ſeveral pretences gone: ſo as no perſons of any quality remained with him ſave *Barlemonte* and his ſons, and *Mansfield* in the contiguous Province of *Lucemburg*. He was not failing in repreſenting to the life his dangers and his neceſſities to the Court of *Spain*; and notwithſtanding kept ſtill fair with the States, telling them that he had deſired the King to ſend another Governour into *Flanders* who might be more acceptable to the Country: He offered to withdraw himſelf into the Province of *Lucemburg*, and there to expect the Kings orders; and propounded, that the States in this interim might not come to any act of hoſtility, nor make any innovation. But they ſuſpecting that *Don John's* end was to make them foreſlow their preparations, and ſo allow more time to the King to make his, did not any whit cool in their former reſolutions. They therefore ſignified unto *Don Iohn*, that in the firſt place he ſhould cauſe the City and Caſtle of *Namures* to be put into their hands, together with the other Towns which he had taken in that Province. Which he abſolutely refuſed to do, unleſs ſuch proviſion were firſt had, as was requiſite for his dignity and ſafety.

Thus were the minds on all sides daily more and more exasperated. The States General gave present order that *Orange* should come himself in person to *Brussels*; and to this purpose they sent four of their Deputies to him. There was nothing which he did more desire then this. Wherefore he came quickly to *Breda*, a Town of his own, and which he had then recovered, after having been many years deprived of it. From thence he went to *Antwerp*, and so to *Brussels*. It is not to be said with what concourse of people, and with what Jubilee he was received in both those Citys. The multitude being impatient to see him within their Walls, went to meet him whole miles off in the fields, and following him with great acclamations of joy; called him the Father, the Protecter, and the Upholder of the Belgick Liberty. Nor were the demonstrations of gladness less in all the more civil orders; in such sort as his entry and receiving looked much more like the absolute Lord of the two aboveseid Provinces, then of the Vassal of a Prince who had just and soveraign power over him and them. Hardly was he well setled in *Brussels*, when to witness the great respect they bore him, he was by the general Orders created Governour of *Brabant*: an honour altogether unaccustomed. For the General Governour residing usually in that Province, there needs no other particular Government. 'Tis true that nothing is more pernitious in States then faction: but from this evil, this good doth sometimes arise; That whilst the one beats down the other, the lawfull Prince may the more easily subdue them both. *Orange* his Faction was grounded upon the favour of the people, and of the new Sects, as may sufficiently be comprehended by what hath been already said. Wherefore when 'twas seen that his Authority grew to that hight not only in *Holland* and in *Zealand*, but even elsewhere; and that his designe was every day seen of lessening the Kings Authority, as also that of the Church; high disdain arose in the chief Nobles of *Brabant*, of the Province of *Flanders*, and of the Walloon Provinces, and from this disdain did a practice proceed of framing another Faction, which might at least counterpoise this.

The Duke of *Arischot*, as we have told you before, had a particular emulation to the Prince of *Orange*: and many in *Flanders* being of opinion, that after the death of *Rechesens*, the King would have sent some of the Emperours brothers to be Governour of *Flanders*, and especially the Archduke *Mathias*, *Arischot* had therefore from that very time endeavoured more then any other, to insinuate himself into the favour of that Prince. *Mathias* was not then above 22 years old; his fortune was not answerable to his birth; for he had many brothers, wherefore his house was rather oppresst by them then upheld. He was therefore very desirous of this imployment in *Flanders*, thinking he could not find another like it in all *Germany*. *Arischot* making himself head of this faction, and judging that nothing could make more for the advantage thereof, then to have a Governour chosen by their Authority, he sent an expres Messenger Privately away to *Vienna*, and alleadging all the reasons which might most perswade him thereunto, he endeavoured to make him take upon him the Government of *Flanders*. In this proposal it was questionable whether the arrogancy of the propounder was greater, or the easiness of the accepter thereof. And to say truth, there could not well any more rash action been undertaken, then for the aboveseid Nobles to appoint a Governour over *Flanders*, of their own Authority. And on the other side, the Archduke appeared too easie in accepting the offer, not weighing as he ought to have done, how the King, to whom he was so nearly ally'd, would be thereat offended, and upon whose Supreme and lawfull Authority that election did of right depend. But *Mathias* being perswaded that the King would approve of it, and that in effect he could not wish more then to have an Austrian Prince of *Germany* at the Helm of Government in *Flanders*, by reason of the conformity of the two Nations; especially a Prince who was invited thereunto by the chief Nobility of the Countrey, he did not any longer dispute the businesse.

This action was of such a nature as it was to be executed ere it were divulged. Wherefore *Mathias* in the silentest hours of the night, took Post, and with all speed made towards *Cullen*, and passing over the *Rhine* there, entred the Low-Countries within a few days, and came into *Brabant*. When this was known in

Vienna,

Mathias Arch Duke of Austriæ
Duke of Burgundy & Governour
of the United Provinces./ 162

Vienna, the Emperour was exceedingly troubled at it. He ſent ſpeedily to ſtay his brother; and to this purpoſe wrote very effectual Letters to all thoſe Princes, through whoſe States he was to paſs. But no good inſuing thereupon, he juſtified himſelf unto the King as it became him to do; chiefly accuſing his brother, and ſhewing himſelf ready to reſent it. When *Mathias* was come into *Flanders*, he ſoon perceived how much *Orange* his faction prevailed over that of *Ariſcot*; and that he was to compaſs his deſired end much rather by the means of that, then of the other. *Orange* was not inwardly diſpleaſed at the reſolution taken concerning *Mathias*. He ſaw nothing could make more for his deſires then to ſee *Mathias* and *Don John* oppoſit one to another. That this might occaſion great jealouſies between the two Auſtrian Houſes of *Germany* and *Spain*: and above all, that ſuch an action would make *Don John* irreconcilable to the Nobility, who had herein ſo hainouſly offended him. For what remained, he doubted not but to be ſoon able to make the Archduke throw himſelf wholly into his hands. He therefore firſt exhorted the States to diſſemble the injury they received, by *Mathias* his being brought in without their authority or knowlodg, and went about with ſome of his truſtieſt friends amongſt them, to diſcredit *Ariſcot*. *Ariſcot* was Governour of the Province of *Flanders*, and prepared to go from *Gaunt*, the chiefeſt City of that Province, nobly accompanied to *Lyre*, where the Archduke by order from the States ſtayed, till ſome reſolution ſhould be taken touching his perſon. *Orange* had a great many of followers throughout all that whole Province, and chiefly in the Town of *Gaunt*: and of all the people of *Flanders*, thoſe of *Gaunt* were always readieſt to revolt. *Orange* therefore handled the matter ſo, as to make *Ariſcot* be held amongſt them for the Author of this novelty; in ſo much as a great tumult ariſing in that City amongſt ſome of the moſt ſeditious, the whole ſtorm fell finally upon *Ariſcots* own ſelf; as if he, contrary to the Order of the States General, would arrogate that unto himſelf which did not belong unto him. touching *Mathias*: Whereupon he was with great ſcorn impriſoned, and of a Governour made a Captive. Some others of quality were impriſoned with him. His impriſonment laſted ſix days; after which time he was reſtored to his liberty and former place; but ſo, as he was to acknowledg *Orange* for the ſole author of it. Indeavours were had afterwards to reconcile them; but ere this muſt be done, *Orange* muſt ſhew his Authority in *Ariſcots* own Government, to be the ſame which he with unuſual demonſtrations enjoyed thorowout the whole Country. He to this purpoſe effected an occaſion of going to *Gaunt*, cauſing himſelf to be invited thereunto by the publick deſire of that City, as alſo of the whole Province. And he was ſo received by the Gaunteſes, as they could not have ſhewed greater demonſtrations of gladneſs if the King himſelf had come unto their City. When *Orange* had diſcredited *Ariſcots* faction as much as he thought good, and having made ſufficient oſtentation of his own; the States reſolved to make Archduke *Mathias* the General Governour. The reaſon they gave for it was this, That *Don John* having failed in his duty, and by the example of the former Spaniſh Governours, having endeavoured rather to oppreſs *Flanders* then to govern it, it was thought fit to have ſuch a Governour, as might be ſatisfactory to the Country: That the Archduke *Mathias* was thought to be ſuch a one; both for his own condition, and for that he was ſo near ally'd in bloud unto the King. And that the States had pitched upon this Election, particularly to avoid the danger of any other Prince his entrance into *Flanders*, and fixing himſelf there.

Mathias paſt on to this purpoſe to *Antwerp*, where he was ſolemnly received, and with him was *Orange*, who treated with him at large in that City; and many Articles were agreed upon, by which he bound himſelf to govern.

The firſt was, That the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be given unto him for his Lieutenant. All the reſt tended to make his Authority ſubordinate to that of the States General, ſo as he could not in any whatſoever manner do any publick action without their will and conſent. The States and the ſaid *Mathias* did afterwards by their Letters to the King, endeavour to procure his approbation of that Election, endeavouring to honeſt it in manner aforeſaid, and by divers other colourable pretences. But this mean while the States forbare not to prepare forces,

and they turned them chiefly towards *Vaures*; a Town between *Brussels* and *Namures* as hath been elsewhere said; here they resolved to make their Rendesvouz, resolving to besiege *Namures*. So as when they should have possest that Pass towards *Italy*, as they had already done the other of *Mastrick* towards *Germany*, there might be no passage left for the Kings men who were to enter into *Flanders* either by the one or the other in an hostile manner. This was the resolution of the States General; and this was *Orange* his particular opinion, who governed all things then according to his own will.

But when *Escovedo* was come to *Spain*, and the other news of the novelties happened in *Flanders*, being likewise advertised, continual consultation was had there touching what was to be done in the affairs of that Country. The King considered on the one side, that to return to arms again, would be to return to the former vast expences, and excessive difficulties; and that his enemies, and those that envied his greatness, desired nothing more, then that he might re-enter upon a War of which he should never have an end, and wherein he was to spend the flowre of his Militia. There were not wanting some in his Councel who did not approve of *Don Johns* retreat to *Namures*, and of his surprising that Castle; as if he had done it not so much out of necessity, as out of choice, that he might have Forces in his hands, and gather thereout more advantage to himself, then to the Kings service. But on the other side it was considered, that if *Don John* should not be presently succoured, and that with powerfull forces, the Kings affairs in *Flanders* would be utterly lost; the plots which were practised to that purpose, both within and without, being too apparent. To boot that there was no way seen whereby to come to a peaceable agreement, but by preparing with all possible power for a new War.

These opinions being then justly weighed, it was resolved in *Spain*, that Orders should be given to all the Kings Officers in *Italy*, immediately to send back those forces into *Flanders*, who were some months before come from thence; and who were now almost all of them in the State of *Milan*, or in the Kingdom of *Naples*. At the same time Commissions for the raising of horse and foot were sent from the King into *Burgony*, *Lorain*, and the neerest parts of *Germany*. And it fell out luckily that Count *Charls Mansfield*, son to Count *Ernestus*, did then lead back a body of 4000 foot from *France*, which he had formerly brought into that Kingdom for the service of that Crown. So as the Kings Forces began to sound aloud in divers places, which afforded the Flemish sufficient matter to think upon. Their chief designe was (as we have a little before said) to besiege *Namures* and to be Masters of that Pass, which was of such importance. Wherefore the States endeavoured with all diligence to bring their men to the Rendesvous in *Vaures*. And Commanders were already provided for the Army which was a gathering. They had made the Lord *Goygni* Camp-master-general; the Count *de Laleigne* General of the foot; the Vicecount of *Gaunt* General of the horse; and Mr *de la Motte* Master of the Artillery. But the strength of their forces did not as yet answer to the eagerness of their design: and therfore they labour'd very hard to get potent succours from their neighbours abroad, and to advantage their Cause as much as they might. These endeavors were had (as we have formerly said) in *Germany*, *France*, and *England*. From *Germany* the Palatine *John Casimire*, promised to bring a great strength of men, if they would send him mony to pay them. In *France*, that King would not meddle with the revolt of *Flanders*, they having been too busie in the Domestical troubles of his own Kingdom. Nor could the Duke of *Alanson* much favour the Flemish by his own Forces. They therefore placed all their chiefest hopes in the Queen of *England*. And doubtlesly they might be better helpt from thence then from any other part, both with men and mony. Wherefore they turned their chiefest endeavours thither: and to give it the greater weight and reputation, they sent a solemn Ambassy to the Queen, the head whereof was the Marquis of *Haure*. The Queen her self desired that this clamorous appearance might be made, to the end that she might the better honest unto the King of *Spain*, any aid that she should give them, through the publick complaints of the Flemish.

A firm Confederacie was by this means made without much difficulty between

tween the Queen and the Belgick States; the ſubſtance whereof was, That each ſide ſhould aſſiſt other interchangeably, with proportionable Forces by Sea and Land. The Queen obliged her ſelf thereunto with preſent effects, and with declaring that ſhe would not ſuffer *Flanders* to be oppreſt. And on the contrary, the States promiſed to aſſiſt the Queen whenſoever ſhe ſhould be moleſted by the common enemy. She ſuddenly ſent an expreſs Ambaſſador into *Spain* to juſtifie this action of hers unto the King, and ſought to honeſt it, by making known how much her intereſt was concerned in not ſuffering her Neighbours to be oppreſt, eſpecially the *Flemiſh*, with whom the *Engliſh* had alwayes kept good correſpondencie. She ſhewed the King, that he ought rather to be well pleaſed then offended with what ſhe had done in their aſſiſtance; for that otherwiſe they might peradventure through deſpair have thrown themſelves into the hands of ſome other neighbouring Prince. She exhorted him, ſpeedily to ſend ſome other Governour of his own blood, in ſtead of *Don John*: but chiefly to comply with the *Flemiſh* in their ſo juſt demands, and fairly to compound the affairs of thoſe Countries; to which purpoſe ſhe offered on her ſide to uſe her beſt and moſt powerful mediation. When ſhe had ſatisfied this her palliated reſpect to *Spain*, ſhe failed not readily to perform her true deſigns on the behalf of *Flanders*: ſhe ſuddenly raiſed the monies which were needfull to raiſe the intended Forces in *Germany*, under *John Caſimire*, which were to be moſt of them Horſe, and gave order that a good number of Foot ſhould be ſent out of her own Kingdom. The monies being received, *John Caſimire* was not ſlack in uſing ſuch diligence as was behovefull: Nor was the Duke of *Alanſon* wanting in nouriſhing all hopes of good aſſiſtance from his ſide. The noiſe of theſe ſuccours were greatly amplified by *Orange* and his faction, to make the States Generall ſtill the more reſolute in not liſtning to any accommodation with *Don John*. The Biſhop of *Liege* now become Cardinal, had by Commiſſion from the Emperour endeavoured to begin a new Treaty of Agreement; and though the difficulties grew daily greater, yet he would never give over the Negotiation, hoping that it might one day prove more ſucceſsfull. On the contrary, that it might be the harder to effect, *Orange* cauſed the States to publiſh an Edict againſt *Don John*, wherein in bitter tearms they declared him to be a Violator of the Peace, and made all thoſe that followed him ſubject to the puniſhment of Rebellion, if within 15 dayes they did not reſolve to leave him. *Don John* this mean while, leaving a ſufficient garriſon in *Namures*, was gone into the Province of *Lucemburg*, that he might be the readier to receive the Forces which were to come to him from *Italy*, and which were raiſed in the other neighbouring parts. And mightily encouraged by reaſon of the reſolutions which were put on in *Spain*, according to his deſire, he had deſigned the Town of *Marks* for his Rendezvouz, that he might be the nearer to relieve *Namures*, if need ſhould be, and afterward to enter with all his Forces more into the heart of the Country. This deſign, which was ſoon known by the Flemiſh Commanders, made them haſten the more to beſiege *Namures*, and to keep *Don John* from re-entring into *Brabant*. They therefore approached the City on divers ſides, and poſſeſt themſelves of divers places, that they might begin to begirt it. But neither had they as then men enough, nor did their condition correſpond with the imployment. Their men were almoſt all of them of their own Country, taken up where they could find them, and the moſt of them ill provided; and their Horſe conſiſted of the old Trained-bands of *Flanders*, which were but ſeldom wont to go into the field, and to be imployed in war. They notwithſtanding made ſome progreſs. For *Bovigni*, a Town upon the *Mauſe*, and not far from *Namures*, fell by Treaty into their hands; and in ſome skirmiſhes which hapned between their men and thoſe of *Namures*, they had ſomewhat the better. But all theſe were but petty buſineſſes in reſpect of what they had propoſed unto themſelves as their chief deſign.

The year 1578. now followed. In the beginning whereof all the men being arrived which *Don John* expected from *Italy*, and thoſe being added unto them which he had raiſed in the neighbouring Countries, he would no longer defer drawing near the Enemy. At firſt he temporiſed, till he was better provided of Forces: but now that he was ſo well furniſhed, he thought it made much for *Anno* 1578.

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his advantage to fall upon the Enemy as soon as he could, and fight them before they should have received the foreign Forces which they expected. The Flemish Commanders changed likewise their designs: For whereas before they thought to have besieged *Namures*, they now determined to retreat to *Brabant*, and to put themselves into some safe quarter, till strengthened by foreign forces they might face *Don John*. They had about 10000 Foot, the most of them *Walloons*, the rest *Flemish*, unless it were one *English* Regiment, wherein were some *Scots* and *French*: They had not above 1500 Horse, composed of the Train'd-Bands of *Flanders*; of 300 Rutters, and as many Dragoons. In the Kings Army there was about 15000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, the most of which were *Spaniards* and *Italians*, all of them choise men, and all of them long practised in military affairs in *Flanders*. At the Kings first resolution of taking up Arms, *Alexander Farnese* Prince of *Parma* appeared in *Flanders*, being desired so to doe by the King himself, and *Don John* having very much desired it. *Don John* had had sufficient experience of this Prince his valour, in the memorable League against the *Turks*, and particularly in the Battel at *Lepanto*: wherefore he assured himself he would prove as valiant now in *Flanders*, Nor was he deceived in his expectation. *Farnese* was no sooner come, then laying aside all prerogative of blood, wherein he was so nearly allied to the King, and to *Don John*, he applied himself wholly to those military actions, which were to make him appear as much superior to others in merit, as he was in quality. None could be more carefull then he in providing for all things from time to time; in receiving of the Kings men, as they came into the Province of *Lucemburg*, in quarteting of them, in bringing them to the rendezvous, and in all other imployments of the Army. He applied himself to those of every Nation; he spoke almost all their languages: He was the first in undertaking any labour, the last in giving it over: He was no wayes curious in his diet, nor sleep; in his apparel more a Souldier then a Prince; and always more intent upon the Kings service then his own. The vigor of his body was no whit inferior to that of his mind; and his martial aspect did promise Victory before it was won. When the Army was come to the Rendezvous, *Don John*, desirous to make the justice of the Kings cause appear, and thereby the more inflame the Souldiers to defend it, he with a chearful countenance spake thus unto them.

After so many Treaties of Peace in vain, at last (valiant Souldiers!) Fortune hath pleased, or rather Justice, to put into your hands an opportunity of establishing the Kings authority again in Flanders *by Arms For what concerned Treaties of Accommodation, what hath not been done? what hath not the King condescended unto? I am ashamed to remember how I arrived in these Provinces. When I was come, (I cannot say whether more unarm'd, or more unknown) I shewed my self totally disposed to Peace, and endeavoured by all means I could to take away those rubs which might hinder the effecting of it. Let the truth be said, and let the true manner of proceedings be known: which on the behalf of the* Flemish, *in the handling and concluding of all their Treaties, was much rather to give Laws then to receive them, and to proceed rather like Soveraigns then Subjects. Would they first of all have the Peace of* Gaunt *confirmed? I confirmed that Peace. Would they have all the Forts in their own hands? I put them into their hands. Would they have all Foreigners depart? I was contented to be without any Foreign Souldiers. Would they lastly have an absolute Flemish Government? I did likewise so far satisfie them in that, as retaining hardly the bare and naked title of Governour to my self, all affairs were done by the Councel of State, and all Authority lay in the intire will of the Provinces. So exceeding willing was the King to shew his goodness and his particular affection towards them. But all would doe no good. And truly, clemencie in Princes serves to little purpose, when the obstinacie and disloyaltie of the Subjects is thereby made the greater. What was not plotted, even from the beginning, to keep me from being received into the Government; and afterwards to drive me out of it? What contempt hath not been shewed against my person? what snares have they not laid to take away my life? My retreat, or rather my flight to* Namures *doth sufficiently witness it. I confess I did not so much shun death, as the danger of being so shamefully led to death: For to lose a mans life in conspiracie by the hands of murtherers, ought to be reputed as miserable, as it ought to be esteemed fortunate to lose it whilst one is valiantly fighting*

amidst

Alexander Farneze Prince of Parma
& Piacenza Governour of ye Low countreys.

166

amidst Armies and Batels. After their private, they broke forth into publick conspiracies. The whole Country rose up against me on a sudden; and foreigners were called in to assist their home-forces. And who must be the author of the new revolts, but he that was the like of the former? Orange! *that seducer of the people; that Architecture of Rebellion: He who plotted treason first against the Church, and then against the King: though to say truth, he could not fall into the first fault, without falling necessarily into the second: for the King hath always made the Churches cause his own. No Forces can be then more just then are these of the King: since it is apparently seen he cannot be more justly called to maintain the obedience which is due unto the Church, and that which is due unto his Crown. Every one knows how requisite a good cause is to bring a begun war to a good end. Wherefore should not we then in this behalf augurate good success to our undertakings? But our Forces shall not prevail more through their cause then through their valour. Let every one of you interrogate your selves, and call to mind your Military actions, and then let him doubt if he can, whether future victories be not largely to correspond with those that are past. What one souldier is there here amongst you who cannot boast of some egregious action, upon so many occasions, of either having routed the enemy in parties, or overcome them in battels, or quel'd them in sieges, or forced by some other sort of loss to make your victory still the more illustrious? On the contrary, the enemies are still the same; to wit, tumultuously gathered up: governed without any manner of order; without mony: full of distrusts within themselves; and with such variety of ends, as branching one cause into many, they will not long imbrace or make good any of them. They are now pitched here about* Namures; *and with hardly the name of a siege, they keep quiet within their quarters; shewing clearly that they put all their trust in foreign succours, since they perceive they can have none from within their selves. My purpose therefore is to set upon them at unawares, and to crush them before they shall receive their expected succours. This first victory will make the rest more easie to us: and which of you is it that have not already dyed your swords in the blood of these very foreigners, which will now again re-enter* Flanders? *Desperate hereticks who cannot be at quiet within themselves, and much less amongst their neighbours: and who not content to make war upon God at their own homes, carry it with all sort of violence, and execrable impiety abroad to others. Buckle your selves then my souldiers to the battel: I ask no more of you then your former performances; and am confident to make mine own actions appear such, as that, as my past enterprises have proved fortunate against the* Turks *and* Moors, *they shall now be as successfull against the Hereticks, in this my present expedition, and against those other rebels that joyn with them.*

Hardly had *Don John* done speaking, when the whole Army filled the air with shouts of joy; and gave all such signes as might shew both will to fight, and hopes to overcome. The Kings Camp marched from their Rendezvous towards *Namures*; and *Don John* advancing himself, was the first that came to that City; eg'd on by his desire of knowing the enemies proceedings. To this purpose he sent *Mut. Pagano*, an old souldier, towards them with his Company of Dragoons; who brought him certain tidings, that the enemy did already quit their quarters, and did depart from about *Namures*. That never the less they seemed as if they would make an orderly retreat; and that their intention was to fortifie themselves at *Geblurs*, a Town upon the Confines of *Brabant*, towards *Brussels*; towards which place they had already sent their baggage. When Armies are near at hand, retreats prove usually dangerous; and Fortune makes the Commanders vie most for valour and industry then, whilst the one seeks to retire with honour and safety, and the others to beat up their quarters with ignominy and loss. But the latter have still great advantage upon the former. *Don John* would not therefore let slip the occasion. Count *Peter Ernestus Mansfield* was Camp-master-general of the Army; and *Octavius Gonzaga* General of the Horse. He ordered *Mansfield* to hasten his march towards *Namures*; and *Gonzaga* to come up speedily with the flowre of his horse; that he might advance, at least some of them, against the enemy, and entertain them in the reer whilst the rest of the Army might come time enough to give battel, and fare therein according to their hopes. *Gonzaga* readily obeyed; he advanced towards the

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Enemy with nine Companies of Lanciers, and four of Dragoons. At the same time came 1500 Foot, most of them Spaniards, which *Mansfield* had with all diligence dispatcht away.

The *Flemish* were gathered together in S. *Martins*, a Village between *Namures* and *Geblurs*, where they ordered their retreat with all diligence, that they might not allow the Kings men time to joyn, and to come upon them with the more advantage. They rose with their whole Camp from that Village the last of *January*, and ordered their march thus. They divided their Foot into three bodies, and left the Horse in the rear, the better to secure them behind, and to beat back the Kings horse in case they should fall upon them in their rear as they retreated, as they feared they would. When *Don John* understood that they were on their march, he furnished some advantagious places with Foot, which lay betwixt him and the Enemy; to secure the retreat likewise of his Horse if need should require. He then set forward; and they were not gone far when they overtook the Enemy, whose Foot could not hasten so fast as did the Kings Horse. All their Leaders were men of valour and experience: The Lanciers were commanded by *Bernardino de Mendoza*, *Curtio Martiningo*, the two brothers *John Baptista*, and *Camillo del Monte*, *Nicolo Basti*, *Alfonso di Vargas*, *Ernando di Toledo*, *Aurelio Palermo*, and *Georg Macura*: And the Dragoons by *Antonio Oliviero* Commissary-Generall of the Horse, *Antonio d' Avalos*, *Mutio Pagano*, and *John Alconeta*. The Dragoons came up first, and galled the Enemy when they were not far from *Geblures*; and when they had discharged their shot, they gave way to the Lanciers, who charged them more close and more home. The Enemies Horse faced about; and boldly receiving the first onset of the Harquebusiers, they seemed as if they would with the like stoutness stand the second assault of the Spearmen; but the effect proved otherwise. The Prince of *Parma* would be on the head of the Kings Lanciers, and one of the first that should charge the Enemy: which he so couragiously did, and was so well followed by the rest, as the Flemish Horse after having made some appearing resistance, gave manifest signs of yielding. *Don John* came up this mean while with some few Foot, for it was impossible to have many time enough to fight. But the Enemy believing that all the Kings men were come up, or at least the greatest part of them, turned their retreat into a downright running away, and sought only how to save themselves. The Horse, throwing away their Arms, began to run; and being closely pursued by the Kings Horse, they fell foul upon the rear of their own Foot. They charge, and therewithall confusion past into the body of the Battel, which was likewise soon disordered and routed: the Van, which had much advantaged themselves in their march, received no harm at all. The Enemy being routed, the Kings men fell to execution: but they were so few in number, as they could not draw so much blood from the Enemy as they would have done. The Enemy fled sundry wayes, and could not be equally pursued by the Kings men; insomuch as many of them saved their heads by their heels. The report was notwithstanding, that about 3000 of them were slain, and many of them taken prisoners, amongst which *Il Signor di Goigny*, who was the Enemies most considerable Commander. There were hardly any of the Kings men slain, very few hurt: And truly the Victory was such, as it was doubted whether it were more to be ascribed to fortune or to valour. *Don John* having got the better of the business, pursued his victory. He presently turned towards the Town of *Geblures*, neer unto which the battel was fought: And putting the Enemy to flight a second time; a good many whereof, after their defeat, were got under those wals, and seemed as if they would reorder themselves, he easily perswaded the Townsmen to submit to the Kings obedience. The Kings Camp meeting all here together, the greatest part whereof, as hath been said, could not be at the battel; *Don John* sent *Octavio Gonzaga* to take in *Lovain*, and the Lord *Hierges* to recover *Bovigne*. *Gonzaga* met with no opposition; and *Hierges* presenting his Artillery before the walls, he with small resistance reduced that Town likewise. But the Prince of *Parma* found harder work at the Town of *Sichen*, to the taking whereof *Don John* had sent him apart by himself. The Town was not strong by nature, nor was it made so by industry, there was also but a weak garrison in it: And yet the Townsmen and the Souldiers

diers being obſtinate in the defence thereof, the Prince was forced to batter the walls divers times, and to make many fierce aſſaults; in the laſt whereof the Kings men falling with the Townſmen into the Town, they made great ſlaughter of them, and afterwards plundred the City in hoſtile manner. The Captain of the Garriſon, and ſome of the Souldiers ſaved themſelves in a little Caſtle within the Town, but were forced ſoon after to yield upon diſcretion, and all of them were put to death by the Hangman, for having been more fool-hardy then ſtout, and for having choſen force before clemencie. By the example of *Sichen*, *Diſte*, *Ariſcot*, *Leuve*, *Telemone* and divers other leſs conſiderable places of *Brabant* on the ſide thereof which lies towards *Namures*, came without any diſpute into *Don Johns* hands. *Neville*, one of the beſt Towns in all *Brabant*, lay nearer *Bruſſels*. *Don John* would have taken it by force; but he met with ſuch oppoſition, as he was forced to tarry longer about it then he had thought: He came therefore to batttery, and from thence to aſſaults, which coſt much blood. Monſieur *de Villiers* commanded in chief within the Town, who egregiouſly performed his part, as did alſo all his Souldiers. The Town was not ſtrong notwithſtanding, nor could it hold out long: whereupon the Kings men being much incenſed, and threatening to deal with *Neville* as they had but lately done with *Sichen*, the Townſmen upon better conſideration came to Articles, and reſolved to yield the Town, when the Garriſon ſhould be marcht out with their Arms and baggage. From hence the Army entred into the Province of *Henault*, and without much oppoſition took the Towns of *Reus*, *Giagnie*, *Bins*, and *Mabuge*, with divers others of the like condition, which were all but very weak. So as theſe petty victories ſeemed to correſpond but badly with that ſo noble a one which *Don John* had but a little before got at *Geblures*. After the taking of *Nivelle*, *Don John* would willingly have ſtraitned *Bruſſels*, from whence the Archduke *Matthias* and the Prince of *Orange* with evident ſigns of fear were gone to *Antwerp*, to ſecure that City, wherein lay the greateſt conſequence of all the affairs of *Flanders*. But the beſieging of *Bruſſels* would not have been a buſineſs of ſuch diſpatch: For it was a place of large circuit, and greatly peopled, and which might have ſtood out long. Wherefore the Councel of War were of opinion, That it was better firſt to poſſeſs all the Country which lay about *Namures*, to ſecure themſelves ſtill the more of that paſſage, which lay ſo opportunely for the receiving of ſuccours from *Italy*, and which would make the other Paſs over the *Mauſe* at *Maſtrick* the more eaſie; by which Aid in aſſiſtance of the King might likewiſe be brought from the neighbouring parts of *Germany*. Wherefore *Don John* enlarging his Quarters in the two Provinces of *Brabant* and *Henault*, that he might receive his victuals with more eaſe, and in the greater abundance, re-entred into the Country of *Namures*, and reſolved to incamp before *Philippaville*. This is a Town of five royal Bulwarks, which the King fortified, the better to ſecure that Frontier towards *France*, and did therefore honour it with his own name. The Quarters being diſtributed according to the diverſity of the Nations, they began to make Trenches on one ſide: And *Don John* willing to ſhew his ſuperiority as well in pains-taking as in command, applied himſelf with great fervor to ſuch Works as were of greateſt importance. The Prince of *Parma* was alwayes by his ſide: So as by their example every particular Souldier gave himſelf to labour hard in the ſiege. When the Trenches were advanced, ſome Cannon, and Peeces of leſſer bore were planted on that ſide, to bereave the Enemy of defence; and the Kings men coming at laſt unto the ditch, began to lodge there. But thoſe within were not leſs ready in making reſiſtance. *Signor di Glimes* was chief Commander over them, and with him were five Foot-Colours, and one Troop of Carbines on horſ-back: The people were but few in reſpect of the need, and they wanted many things within the Town for their defence. Yet the Enemy ſeeming as if they would maintain it; and encouraged by *Orange*, who promiſed they ſhould within a ſhort time be relieved, they began at firſt to annoy the Kings Camp with frequent ſhot, and by ſome ſallies endeavoured to hinder the working of the Trenches, at leaſt to keep them further off. Being come to fight at nearer diſtance, the actions grew hotter; the aſſailants ſought how to get nearer the walls, and the aſſailed how to keep them further off. But the Kings men did ſo well

well shelter themselves, and did so advance with their Trenches and Earth-works, and by their batteries threw down so great a part of the Wall, as they prepared to come boldly on to the assault, when the Governour resolved to surrender the Town to *Don John*. Some succour was endeavoured to have been brought in, but that failing, the besieged were much discouraged. It was notwithstanding thought that the Governour was too easily perswaded to surrender, being more wrought upon by promises from *Don John*, then by any necessity. And his going over soon after to the Kings side, turned this opinion into a believed certainty.

When *Don John* was rid of this enterprise, he resolved to leave *Gonzaga* with a good part of the horse, and some foot upon those Frontiers of *Hennault* and *Artois*, to withstand some preparations which the Duke of *Alanson* was making in *France*, against *Flanders* on those parts. And *Gonzaga* did luckily defeat some Companies of foot who were already entred the Country. After this he endeavoured to endamage the Territories thereabouts which were in the hands of the Flemish Rebels, by frequent inroads, and especially by destroying the corn upon the ground, which was then a ripening. *Don John* sent the Prince of *Parma* at the same time with other Forces to streighen *Limburg*, a Town which gives the name to that Province, and lies near the County of *Namures*, being very commodious for the receiving of aid from *Germany*. At the first battery the Town surrendred to *Ferneſe*; from whence the Governour retired himself into the Castle, which is very strong by reason of its situation, standing upon a very steep rock; wherefore he resolutely prepared to stand out. But his souldiers were of another mind; for being but very few in number, and having but small or no hopes of being relieved; they would not run the hazard of punishment, assuring themselvs that they should easily obtain pardon: as they did: for *Ferneſe* suffering the Governor to go out free, did not only pardon the other Soldiers, but took them almost all into the Kings service. This was the proceedings of the Kings Army after the battel of *Geblurs*. This mean while *Norchermes*, Lord of *Selle* was com from *Spain*: by whom the King had by his Letters signified his pleasure touching the novelties which had happened in *Flanders*. The Contents whereof were, That he would not have the Flemish acknowledg any other Governour then *Don John*. For what remain'd, in a language which relisht both of the sowre and sweet, he commended the States for standing so firm in their obedience to him, and to the Church, & assured them that whilst they should persevere in so doing, they should receive all fair usage from him. And he refer'd himself to what the same Lord of *Selle* should represent more particularly in his name touching the composing of the new commotions which were raised in those Provinces. But from the time that the States had written unto the King, complaining so bitterly against *Don John* as we then told you) the affairs on all sides were so imbittered, as there was no means left for any peaceable accommodation. For the States declared themselves fully resolved never to acknowledge *Don John* for their Governour. That they had chosen the Archduke *Mathias* to govern them; that therefore they desired the Government might be left to him; which if otherwise, the fault was not theirs, if the service of the Church and King did daily suffer detriment. *Selle* procured a Treaty between both parties; but to no end. He then endeavoured that the Prince of *Parma* might negotiate with the States: believing that he, as son to the Lady *Margaret*, toward whom the Flemish had shewed so great affection, might be well received by them, and might more easily overcome the difficulties which lay on that side. But he proposed that for the Prince his security, the Prince of *Orange* should the mean while be put into the hands of *Don John*, which made them absolutely refuse the Treaty. And for this particular, which had encouraged *Orange*, and some others, they grew very jealous of the Treaty mentioned by *Selle*. At this time the Emperour had likewise interceded with the Flemish, to bring them to some good agreement with the King. He had joyned complaints with his exhortations, saying, that they had stoln the Archduke *Mathias* from him; which action of theirs the King had great reason to resent. But this intercession of the Emperours did no good neither: for the Flemish lent but little ear to his exhortations; and as for his complaints, they had formerly answered them in their justifying themselves in that point. This

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mean while neither ſide omitted the re-inforcing of their Armies: and the States had in particular much ſollicited the haſtning of thoſe Forces which were to come to them from *Germany* and *France*. At this time a Diet of the Empire was aſſembled in the City of *Worms*. Whereupon the States took occaſion, being chifley councelled thereunto by *Orange*, to ſend the Lord Saint *Aldegonde* to move the Diet to favour their cauſe. He ſpake publickly to this purpoſe, and ſought by all means to exaſperate the Germans againſt the Spaniards, and particularly againſt ſuch actions as had proceeded from the Duke of *Alva*, and which were now diſeried in *Don John*. He demanded aid of the Diet as in a common Cauſe: or that at leaſt they would make ſome favourable Declaration in behalf of the Flemiſh. But not being able to impetrate any conſiderable advantage from that Aſſembly; all their expectations on that ſide lay in the forces which the Palatine *Caſimire* raiſed by means of the monies which the Queen of *England* ſubminiſtred unto him to that purpoſe. Other preparations were at the ſame time making in *France*. But theſe went more ſlowly on; either for that really they met with more difficulties, or that the King and the Queen his mother did cunningly hinder them under hand. *Henry* the third was then King: who in the time of his brother *Charls* the ninth, was called the Duke of *Anjou*; and *Charls* dying without ſons, ſucceeded him in the Crown. *France* had not had a King for many former ages, of greater expectation, and who afterwards made it leſs good. For whilſt Duke of *Anjou*, being made Lieutenant General by his father *Charls* (he being then ſo young as he was hardly able to bear arms) he with ſingular valour had led Armies, won Battels, taken Towns, and by a thouſand other teſtimonies of Military worth, raiſed firm hopes that he was ordained to be the only rooter out of all hereſie: and that chiefly through his means that Kingdom would return to its former ſplendor and greatneſs. And his fame was already ſo ſpread abroad, not only throughout all the corners of *France*, but even throughout all *Europe*, as whilſt he was at the ſiege of *Rochel*, he was with incredible applauſe choſen King of *Poland*. But afterwards leaving that foreign Crown, to ſucceed in his own of *France*, it is not to be believed how much he differred from himſelf on a ſudden; and how ſoon *France* wiſht for the formerly glorious Duke of *Anjou* in their new King. It was then generally held that he with more fervency then ever, would have apply'd himſelf to ſuppreſs the Hugonot Faction by arms; which occaſioned the greateſt misfortunes and calamities to his Kingdom. Nor was there any doubt that the fury of the Hereticks being quel'd (as it was well hoped it would be) by that way, he might likewiſe eaſily have curb'd the ambition of the Catholicks. But inſtead of purſuing War, greedily imbracing peace, and turning that peace into a ſoft and effeminate idleneſs, he ſaw Factions grow greater in his Kingdom; and his own Authority leſs. One of the chiefeſt evils which afflicted *France* at that time, was the variance and diſcord which aroſe in the Royal Bloud. There was none to ſucceed the King but the Duke of *Alanſon*, who was the laſt of four ſons left behind him by *Henry* the ſecond. The Queen Mother did notwithſtanding ſtill live, a woman of a reaching wit, and who long accuſtomed to the ſubtilties of the Court, had no leſs by her induſtry then by her valour, gotten unto her ſelf the chief power of Government, But neither was her cunning, nor the Kings diligence ſufficient to keep the Duke of *Alanſon* from making himſelf ſtill head of ſome one or other Innovation, which ſtill moſt troubled the Kingdom. He was but indifferently indued with parts, either of mind or body; yet his prerogative of being the only brother to the King, and the Kings having no other ſucceſſor, added Authority to his weakneſs, and was ſufficient to give advantage to unquiet minds; that they had ſuch a head for their party.

During the ſo many, and ſo great troubles of *France*, the Flemiſh Rebels could never ingage the King thereof, to ſhew any manifeſt demonſtration of favour towards them. Nay when they offered to put themſelves into his protection, he would not be perſwaded to accept thereof. Applying themſelves afterwards in the ſame kinde to the Duke of *Alanſon*, the King did not only not ſhew himſelf averſe therunto, but thinking it might make much for his advantage, he was tacitely content his brother ſhould accept thereof; to the end that going out of

the Kingdom himself, he might likewise take many others with him who were raisers of novelties. This design being afterwards published, the Catholick King complained very much thereof, upbraiding the most Christian King how ill this did correspond to the so many assistances which were given by *Spain* to *France*, since that from thence so great a fomentation was now preparing to his Rebels in *Flanders*. But *Henry* partly dissembling, and partly not being indeed able to hinder it, excused himself, saying it was not in his power to withhold his Brother; and that since he was not permitted to use force to others, he could much less use it to him. The Duke of *Alanson* then resolving to assist the *Flemish* openly by Arms, he had already (as hath been said) sent some Souldiers into those Frontiers of *Flanders* which lie neareſt *France*, and was raising as many more as he could thereabouts to that purpose. But before he should proceed further in matter of Arms, he thought it necessary to justifie his action publikely in writing. He therefore published a *Manifesto*, the Contents whereof were,

That being oftentimes very much prest by the Provinces of Flanders *to ease them of the oppression which they daily suffered more and more by the Spanish State-ministers, He could no longer refuse so just intreaties, nor abandon so honest a cause. That those Princes of the House of* Burgony *who had for so many years governed those Provinces, were descended from the blood-Royal of* France: *That many of those Provinces had been also possest formerly by the House of* France, *and had from thence upon divers occasions enjoyed those rights and priviledges, which have since with infinite violence been taken from them by the* Spaniards. *That the intereſt of* Flanders *with that of* France *was too much concerned in their neighbourhood. That it was the duty of true Princes to protect the innocent and the oppressed. That in taking upon him to defend this Cause, he was no less serviceable to the King of* Spain, *then to the people of* Flanders: *since it was known that they being already brought to the point of despair by the bad usage of the Spanish State ministers, would at last put themselves under some more moderate Dominion, and would by all means possible endeavour a more supportable condition.*

This mean while the Forces which the Palatine *John Casimire* had assembled together in *Germany*, were already upon the borders thereof. For he being fuller of respect, and abounding more in monies by reason of those the Queen of *England* had furnisht him withall, might easily raise an Army, and have it ready to enter *Flanders*. But he would likewise first honest his coming by some specious pretence; which was, That he could not deny his assistance to the *Flemish* (who were so united to the *Germans*) in so just a cause, as not to suffer them to be oppresst by the *Spaniard*. Having mustered his men about the end of *June*, at the Rendezvouz appointed to that purpose in the Territories of *Zutfen*, beyond the *Rhine*, 'twas said they came to about 16000 Foot and 8000 Horse, being of divers Nations, but most of them *Germans*. The States endeavoured then to draw over unto them all that Country beyond the *Rhine*, especially the Province of *Overisel*, a good part whereof remained yet in the Kings obedience. The Count *Renenberg* bore Arms for the States there, who did every day somewhat advance their affairs, not meeting almost with any opposition, by reason the Kings forces were so far off. He had newly taken *Campen*, a place of great consequence, where the *Yssel* fals into the Sea; and prepared to straiten *Deventer*, which is the chief City of that Province: To facilitate the which, and to make the States Forces greater in those parts, *John Casimire* resolved to leave some of his men with him. He marched from thence; and advancing with those men which were fittest to travel, he suddenly past over the *Rhine* and *Mause*, and within a few dayes entred *Brabant*. He incamped himself suddenly about *Diste*, and finding the place but ill provided, made himself soon master thereof; and by the taking of that Town got footing in that Province. The Conditions in this interim were agreed upon, by which the Duke of *Alanson* and the Rebels of *Flanders* obliged themselves together in endeavouring those Advantages, which in the Dukes expedition the one part was interchangeably to receive from the other. These were the most considerable Articles

That the Duke of Alanson, *under the title of Protector of the* Belgick *States, should be bound to warfare for a certain time in their service with* 10000 *Foot and* 2000 *Horse:*

Francis Hercules de Valois Duke
of Anjou Alengon Brabant and
Protector of the Netherlandes.

172

000 *Horſe: That as much as he ſhould get beyond the* Mauſe *towards* Flanders, *ſhould belong unto the States; and as much as he ſhould win on the other ſide of that River towards* France, *ſhould fall to his own ſhare. That for his greater ſecurity, and the better accommodation of his Army, the Towns of* Landreſey *and* Quiſnoy *in the Province of* Henault *ſhould be aſſigned over unto him, and* Bapalma *in* Artois; *all which places were after a certain time to be reſtored upon certain conditions. That the States ſhould not make any agreement with* Don John *without the Dukes conſent, and the like of the reſt that were joyned in league with them That if there ſhould be occaſion of chuſing a new Prince, they ſhould prefer the Duke before all others: That in the mean while the Government ſhould remain wholly in the Authority of the States, and that the Duke ſhould not innovate any thing therein.*

This Agreement being made, the Duke went preſently to the Town of *Mons*, which is the chief Town in the Province of *Henault*: And here in the name of the States he received a ſolemn Ambaſſie by the Duke of *Ariſcot*, who was attended by many other perſonages of quality. He was ſent particularly to ſollicite the Duke to move with his men, and to enter as ſoon as he could, to the end that the Forces of *Germany* and *France* joyning quickly with the ſelf-Forces of *Flanders*, *Don John* might be the ſooner and more eaſily driven out of the Country. The States had this mean while brought their men to the Rendezvouz about *Lira*, in the bowels of *Brabant*; and Archduke *Mathias* was gone thither in perſon, next whom Count *Boſſu* commanded in chief, he being choſen Camp-maſter General of the Army. Their Souldiery was compoſed part of their own *Flemiſh*, part of Foreigners, and they were chiefly *Engliſh* and *Scots*: Nor were they as then above 8000 Foot and 2000 Horſe. Whilſt ſo great a body of Arms was preparing againſt *Don John* on all ſides, he had likewiſe been diligent in making all neceſſary proviſions on his behalf: He had raiſed as many men in the neareſt parts of *Germany*, and particularly in the County of *Burgony*, as the ſhortneſs of time, and his ſcarcity of mony would permit him to doe: He expected freſh and powerful Supplies ſpeedily from *Italy*, as the King had promiſed him, as alſo to furniſh him with monies to maintain the war gallantly. Having then aſſembled the body of an Army together, which might conſiſt of 12000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, he made no longer delay Having left the places of greateſt importance which were in his poſſeſſion well provided for, he reſolved ſpeedily to fight the Flemiſh forces, and to doe his utmoſt to break them before the Foreigners were come to them. The *Flemiſh* were come from their rendezvouz, to quarter in a ſtrong and very opportune ſituation near the Village *Rimenante*, not far from the City of *Malines*. *Brabant* is cut almoſt through the midſt by the River *Demer*, which having about the end of its courſe watered the City of *Malines*, fals afterwards into the *Scheld*. The *Flemiſh* were quartered between this River and the Village *Rimenante*; the River ſerved them for a rampier on one ſide, and they were covered on the other ſide by a Wood which ſtood in the neighbouring fields not far from the Village; they were well fortified in all other parts by good Trenches, eſpecially on that ſide where they might be the eaſlieſt aſſaulted by the Kings men. Towards that place *Don John* bent his courſe; and being paſt the Town of *Ariſcot*, ſituated upon the ſame River, he approached orderly towards the Flemiſh quarters. His chiefeſt endeavour was to draw the Enemies out of their Trenches, and to engage them in ſome hot Skirmiſh, which might afterwards bring them to a downright Battel. To this purpoſe he ſent forth a good number of Horſe to provoke the Enemy; but they making only ſuch oppoſition as was needful, would not engage themſelves further. He laboured once more to provoke them, and facing them with his whole Army, boldly bade them battel, though ſtill with leſſer hopes to bring them to it; for the *Flemiſh* knew themſelves to be too inferior to the Kings men, both in numbers and in valour. There hapned notwithſtanding a bloody skirmiſh. The Enemy had a place of great conſequence without their Trenches, which was guarded by the *Engliſh* Foot, and who were commanded by Colonel *Norris*, a Gentleman of the ſame Nation, and a Souldier of great experience and courage. *Don John* would try to make himſelf maſter thereof; hoping ſtill, that when they ſhould be engaged in fight, all the reſt of the Flemiſh Camp would be drawn to battel.

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Hee therefore assaulted the English with a number of choice Spanish foot and in their front were placed 200 yet more choice men, of a particular famous Company which *Alonzo Martines di Leva* had brought out of *Spain* to *Flanders* at his own cost and charges. The same *Leva* had a little before quitted the place of General of the Spanish Gallies; and to shew his greater zeal and valour in the Kings service, had by his own monies raised the aforesaid 200 foot, and resolved to lead them to the Kings Army in *Flanders*. There was not any one of them that was not either a Gentleman born, or a souldier of quality: for many that had formerly been Officers in *Flanders*, had put themselves into this Company. The assault was exceeding fierce; but it was no less couragiously sustained by the English who were all of them likewise old souldiers, and who being favoured by the neighbouring Trenches covered by Artillery, did by the advantage of their shot make more lively and more stout resistance. Here the conflict grew greater: according as hope or fear altered on either side, the succours on both sides did likewise alter. But the Kings men fought upon too great disadvantage; for the enemy fighting in sight of their own works, and under the shelter of their own Canon, might easily repress the violence of the Spanish souldiers: whereas the others not having any of those helps, must trust only to their courage, and to their swords. *Don John* knew this very well; and advancing with all his squadrons in order to give battel, he staid a while, to try again whether the enemy would accept of it. But failing in his designe, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and withdrew his foot in good order from the fight. This action was on the first day of *August*; it lasted many hours with equal valour and slaughter; though the Flemish pretended to be victors, and that the Kings men not being able to compass their ends, were worsted. *Don John* departed then from thereabouts and resolved to put himself wholly upon the defensive part, in some strong situation, which might joyn his quarters with the City of *Namures*, hoping that the tempest of so many contrary Forces would soon vanish, and that then he might have his share of the advantage. He considered that though the ends of *England*, *Frrnce* and *Germany* were the same in general, either to make the King of *Spain* lose the Low-Countries, or at least to keep them troubled with war; yet their several particular ends did very much differ. The Queen of *England* aimed at some particular conquest of her own, especially in those Maritine parts of *Holland* and *Zealand*: and she could not any ways tollerate those advantages which were to redound to *France* out of the ruining of *Flanders*. The French on the contrary were very jealous of those aids which were lent unto the Flemish by the English. The Germans ends were rather plunder then purchase; who when they should have overrun the Country, wanting mony to maintain themselves, they would soon be inforced to return to their own homes. Amongst the Flemish themselves *Orange* had likewise his particular ends. The Archduke *Mathias* had his ends also; and the whole body of the Provinces was greatly divided in its parts, as well in point of Religion, as in their obedience to the King. For those parts which were infected with heresie, seemed well inclined totally to throw off the Spanish Government; and those which remained Catholicks, desired to be rid of the Spaniards and other foreigners, but yet still to remain in their obedience to the Crown of *Spain*. So as amongst such diversity of ends, Passions and Opinions, *Don John* verily believed that this machination prepared and plotted against him, would soon dissolve; and that he might afterwards meet with many happy occasions whereby to maintain the cause of the Church and King with honour and advantage. And really at that time the two Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois* began to fall out with the Province of *Flanders*, and particularly with the City of *Gaunt*, which is the chief Town thereof. The two aboveſaid Provinces had always kept firm to the Catholick Faith, together with the rest of the Walloons Country, which contains all that large Frontier, which lies along the whole body of *Flanders*, towards *France*.

In the Peace of *Gaunt* which was so solemnly concluded by the States General, and which was afterwards confirmed by *Don John* in his agreement with them, the Walloon Provinces had laboured more then all the rest for all advantages to the Catholick Religion; nor were the people thereof ever inclined to

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forgoe their obedience to the King, ſo long as they might enjoy their ancient Priviledges, and he according to the form of their former Government. On the contrary, the two Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* had ſtill fomented the new Sects; and the more the Country was troubled, the more did they labour to make the evil thereof be felt every where. Theſe were *Orange* his inward driſts, and his efficacious Councels. And to his induſtry in knowing how to give them, the favour of the times had added great Authority in him, to make them be received. Briefly his end was to increaſe the heretical faction, and ſtill to alienate the Flemiſh further from the Spaniards, out of thoſe reaſons that we have often mentioned. Wherefore minding the conjuncture of times, he thought it now a very fitting ſeaſon to bring together the two Armies which came from *Germany* and *France*; the one of which was compoſed almoſt altogether of Luthe rans, and the other in a great part of Calveniſts: The Sectaries were not then idle in *Flanders*. Some of them joyned together, and preſented the States with a Petition in the names of them all, wherein under the moſt ſpecious pretences that they could find out, they deſired that liberty of conſcience might be permitted throughout the Country. There wanted not thoſe who oppoſed this requeſt; but the contrary ſide prevailed. Nor had *Orange* forborn tacitly to infuſe a great fear, ſuggeſting, that upon the coming up of ſo many Forces who profeſt the Reformed Religion, it was not good to deny that to the preſſures of intreaties, which might eaſily be afterwards gotten by force of arms. And becauſe the peace of *Gaunt* made againſt this, the ſenſe thereof was ſo wreſted, as that the peace was judged rather favourable, then contrary to this ſort of conceſſion. Yet the Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois*, and the reſt of the Walloon Countries were firm for the ſole exerciſe of the Catholick Religion. But the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders* did for the moſt part give way to the liberty of conſcience. This mean while the Palatine *John Caſimire* was come, as hath beeen ſaid, and *Alanſon* drew ſtill nearer on the other ſide. Whereupon the Sectaries boldneſs increaſing, not contented with many Churches which were aſſigned to them, but reſolute to have the beſt and the greater number, they brought affairs to that paſs, as on a ſudden there was hardly any Churches left for the Catholicks. And becauſe one preſumption uſually cals on another; after they had uſurped the Churches, they came ſoon after to the driving out of Votaries; and their fury and madneſs grew to be ſuch, as there was hardly any ſafety to be found for any Catholicks. Thoſe who had any zeal of true religion in them, were therefore highly ſcandalized hereat: and the Walloon Provinces fell particularly into ſuch commotion by reaſon of theſe novelties, as they began to ſeparate themſelves from the reſt, firſt in their Councels, and then in their executions. The Flemiſh ſouldiery was maintained by the Countries contribution mony. And by the ſame moneys proviſion was to be had in a great part for the pay and other neceſſaries of the foreigners. The Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois* becoming therefore refractory to this contribution, the States began to be in great ſtraits for money, and to foreſee the diſorders which would quickly inſue hereupon. They uſed all means, induſtry, and authority to overcome the aforeſaid difficulties; but they increaſed rather every day, for the occaſions thereof did ſo likewiſe. The Catholicks in thoſe parts ſtormed mightily, complaining,

That under falſe pretences of liberty, Flanders *was now faln into greater ſlavery then ever. That Arms were taken up for driving out the Spaniards, but not for that the Country ſhould be more tyrannized over by the Flemiſh themſelves. To what other end did* Orange *his ambition tend? What other deſigne had his adherents? That Arms were at firſt taken up in* Holland *and* Zealand *under ſpetious pretences. And finally, it was not enough that the Inquiſition ſhould be hindred, but that in lieu thereof the new ſects of hereſies ſhould have defuſed their venom throughout all thoſe parts, ſhould have alienated thoſe Provinces from the Church, and begun manifeſtly to alienate them alſo from the King. That the former diſobedience made way for the ſecond; the one not being to be ſevered from the other. That in the interim*, Orange *under the name of Governour, did retain almoſt the whole authority of Prince. That by the ſame cunning he had rather forced then gotten the Government of* Brabant. *That now under falſ pretences liberty of conſcience was demanded thorowout the whole*

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Country. And with what intent? unleſs it were to make Liberty fight againſt Liberty; to wit, the unjuſt Liberty of Hereſie againſt the legitimate Liberty of the Church: to the end that the latter being oppreſt, the people might the eaſilyer withdraw themſelues from their Allegiance to the King. That it was time now to dive into the knowledge of ſuch ends; and not only to know them, but to break them. Let Brabant *and* Flanders *be of another opinion, and let thoſe other Provinces joyn with them: the Country of* Walloons *would ſtill continue in the ſole Catholick Religion, and (with ſafety to its Priviledges) in their ſole Allegiance to the King of* Spain.

Theſe words full of indignation, were ſoon accompanied with acts as angerſom. For the two Provinces of *Henault* and *Artois* would not aſſign over *Landreſy*, *Quiſnoy*, and *Balpema* to the Duke of *Alanſons* men, as was ordered in the agreement made between him and the States; and with the ſame reſolution denied to pay their ſhare for the Souldiery. This commotion of the *Walloons* made thoſe of *Gaunt* rage horridly, as thoſe who were naturally moſt given to revolt, and had more readily received Liberty of Conſcience, allowing all advantage to Hereſie amongſt them, and taking up Armes, they reſolved to uſe force againſt the *Walloons*. *John Caſimire*, after having ſpoken with the Archduke *Mathias*, was at this time gone to *Gaunt*. In this his coming his chief aim was to get money for his Souldiers; who not able to move for want of Pay, did not at all advance, but talked rather of mutinying then of fighting. The *Gaunteſes* did in part ſatisfie his deſires; and favoured by him, took ſo much heart againſt the *Walloons*, as they reſolved more then formerly to force them to joyn with them. The Province of *Flanders* is divided into two parts: The one, and which is the greater part, and wherein *Gaunt* and the other chief Towns and Cities are contained, is called by the name of *Flemicant*, becauſe nothing but *Flemiſh* is ſpoken there: The other, which is the leſſer, but which hath in it likewiſe many good Towns, is called *Gallicant*, becauſe the French tongue is commonly uſed there. The former lies towards the Sea, and the other towards the *Walloons* Country. The *Flemicant* part of the Province went hand in hand in all things with the *Gaunteſes*; and the *Gallicant* inclined towards the *Walloons*, as being more addicted to the Catholick religion then to Hereſie. As ſoon as the *Gaunteſes* had taken up Arms, the *Walloons* did the like, and divers acts of hoſtility were committed by both ſides; in particular the *Walloons* entred the Town of *Menin*, ſituated upon the River *Liſa*, which divides the *Flemicant* part of *Flanders* from the *Gallicant*, and here they began to fortifie themſelves, and to prejudice the adverſe Country. The *Walloons* would not notwithſtanding, for all this their difference with the other *Flemiſh*, either acknowledge *Don John* for their Governour, nor any wayes adhere to the actions of the *Spaniards*: which cauſed ſome of them to take unto themſelves the name of *Malcontents*. This was a name taken at the firſt by ſome of the prime Nobility; from them it ſpread abroad into divers of meaner quality, and was finally uſed by every one of that Country. Many of them wore a Chaplet of *Pater-noſters*, and of *Ave-Maria's* about their necks, to ſhew that they would keep good Catholicks; and all of them did generally declare, that they would continue loyal to the King, when they ſhould be reſtored to their former Government. This was the ſo famous Faction of *Malcontents*, which afterwards proved very advantagious to the Kings affairs, as ſhall be ſeen in the purſuit of this Story. *Orange* was not this mean while ſo blinded in endeavouring his advantage by Hereſie, but that he clearly ſaw how great a prejudice ſuch a diviſion might work: He deſired the Heretick Army might prevail, but yet that the Catholicks ſhould have all their due rites for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that would not abandon them. Wherefore he failed not to uſe all poſſible means, as alſo his own and the States authority to compound the aforeſaid differences. To this purpoſe the Lord *S. Aldegond* went with ſome other perſonages of quality to *Gaunt*: but the people there liſtening more to their Ringleaders, who were ſeditious, and for their own private intereſts more inclin'd to foment then to finiſh the begun differences, would by no means be brought to alter their reſolutions.

Thus ſtood the affairs of *Flanders* when the Duke of *Alanſon* came in with his Army, which was more expected then well received by *Orange* his own faction: for

for he brought not ſo many with him as he was tyed to do, and thoſe but ill provided of what was neceſſary for their own maintenance. *Alanſon* had found it more eaſie to raiſe men, then to raiſe money; for he had little or none of his own. And the King his brother being neither able, nor willing to aſſiſt him openly, for the reaſons touched upon before, his hopes fell very ſhort likewiſe on that ſide. And the King of *Spain* had again renewed his complaints to the King of *France* for this buſineſs of *Alanſon*. He had likewiſe done the like in very ſharp tearms with the Queen of *England*, for the aſſiſtance ſhe had given the Rebels in *Flanders*. And for *Germany*, he complained likewiſe of the Emperour becauſe he had not uſed more effectual means to hinder *John Caſimires* expedition; and all theſe complaints wrought this effect, that expreſs perſonages were ſent from each of them to ſee if it were poſſible to bring the Affairs of *Flanders* to ſome good agreement. The King forbare not to make great preparations for War; but he would much more gladly have ſeen peace in *Flanders*, ſo as it might have been done without prejudice to Religion, or to his honour. Nor were there wanting ſome of his Councellers, who interpreting *Don Johns* actions worſe then before, thought him to be in a great part the cauſe of all the new Tumults which had happened ſince the ſo ſolemn agreement made between him and the Provinces: as if that he had deſired to govern rather armed, then unarmed; and that he believed he might compaſs ſome of his own ends eaſilyer by troubles then by quiet. So as by reaſon of theſe jealouſies which were had of *Don John*, and which had got a little rooting in *Spain*, peace in *Flanders* was the more deſired by the Spaniards. Wherefore about the end of *Auguſt* all theſe Ambaſſadors met in *Antwerp*: The Count *Zuarzemburg* from the Emperour, Preſident *Belliure* from the King of *France*; and from the Queen of *England Walſingam*, her firſt Secretary, and with him another called *Cobham*. But it was ſoon ſeen that *Ceſars* endeavours wanted authority; and the reſt candidneſs: For both *England* and *France* did ſufficiently deſire to have the troubles and diſorders wherewith *Flanders* was afflicted, continue. Nor did this opinion prove vain. The meetings were more for ſhew then ſubſtance, and their endeavours ended almoſt as ſoon as they were begun: to boot that in very deed the difficulties which were met with on all ſides were very great. Each party would juſtifie all they had done, and all that they pretended to. Wherefore all Treaty of Agreement being ſuddenly broken, they continued in their former heat of preparing for war. The Flemiſh regained *Ariſcot*, and *Nevile*; and tryed (but in vain) to recover *Lovain*. On the other ſide the French entring into the Province of *Henault*, beſieged *Bins*, and after ſome aſſault, took it, and put it to the plunder. But theſe were buſineſſes of ſmall importance, in reſpect of what the Rebels hoped for from the union of ſo many Forces which they had received, to ſide with them from all parts. *Orange* laboured more then all the reſt to bring them together: and herein his adherents uſed likewiſe their beſt diligence.

Miſerable *Flanders!* every where ſo full of Arms, and ſo lacerated, as it was queſtionable whether ſhe were more afflicted by her own, or by foreign Forces: and whether thoſe or theſe in ſeeming aſſiſtance bore the moſt ſpetious title? *Don John* this mean while kept with his men within his quarters which he had fortified without *Namures*, to withſtand the aſſaults of the enemy. Theſe Fortifications were about two miles and a half in compaſs, and did ſo much the more ſhelter the City; ſo as that paſſage towards *Germany* and *Italy* was very well ſecured, and his Army very well provided of all things neceſſary for the maintenance thereof: Wherefore *Don John* hoped ſhortly both to receive powerfull aid, and to ſee thoſe disband which the enemy had aſſembled together for their ſervice. Theſe were his deſigns, theſe were his hopes; when in their very hight he fell ſick, his malady ſo increaſing as he died within a few days. When he was near his end, he ſent for the Duke of *Parma*, and after having in a very affectionate manner recommended the Kings ſervice to him, he ſubſtituted him in his own place not any ways doubting but that by the ſo many Prerogatives both of bloud and valour which met in him, the King would ſuddenly confirm him in that Government.

Thus dyed *Don John*, not being yet full thirty three years old. The Emperour

Charles the Fifth was his Father; and Madam *de Plombes*, a Lady of noble birth in *Germany*, his Mother. The Emperour before his death gave the King his Son great charge of him: who at first had in his private thoughts destin'd him to an Ecclesiastical life; but afterward changing his mind, bred him up in the Military profession. Wherein by three memorable enterprises he eterniz'd his name. In the first, he bridled the *Moors* Audacity; in the second, the *Ottoman* Pride; and in the third, the Fury of the *Flemish*. In each of these his successes did much exceed his years: He overcame the *Moors*, when but yet a Youth; he abated the edge of the *Turk*, at the very entrance into the flower of his age; and he did so master-like suppress the *Belgiques*, as greater skill could not have been shewn by any whatsoever antient and most perfect Commander. He had in him very excellent gifts both of body and mind. In his aspect, Majesty and Grace; strength of Body to undergoe labour: He was affable with the Souldiery, vigilant answerable to his Command; wise in the greatest difficulties, but having a heart much willinger to encounter then to shun them. Many could have desired that he had been less amorous, and not so easie to believe reports. He was so greedy of Glory, as many judged it to be an aspiring after Empire. Which made him at last be envied, and so far suspected, as made his service to the King doubtful; as if from being Governour, he had aspired to be Prince of *Flanders*: and that to this purpose he had held private correspondencie with the Queen of *England*, and proceeded more secretly to expres negotiations of Marriage. Which was cause why his death was thought to be rather procured, then natural. But whatsoever the business was, (wherein truth might be overclouded by calumny) He dyed with the fame of singular valour, and great applause: Worthy assuredly to have lived longer, and not less worthy to have proceeded from a Conjugal bed; and to have commanded rather as absolute Prince, then as a subordinate Officer.

Finis Partis Primæ.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK I.

The Contents.

The Prince of Parma *is confirmed Governour of* Flanders *by the King. The Prince thought first to draw the* Walloon *Provinces to side with the King by the way of negotiation: but in the interim he applies himself with all fervor to the management of Arms. He stands at first upon his defence. The Foreign Forces vanish:* Alanson *returns for* France, *and* John Casimir *for* Germany. *The Prince hereupon passeth from the defensive part to the offensive. He resolves to besiege* Mastrick. *The description of that place. The Royalists endeavours in oppugning it, and the resistance made by the Defendants. The Royalists at last prevail, and the Prince is master of the Town. An agreement between him and the* Walloon *Provinces. It is endeavoured to reconcile all the other Provinces likewise to the King; but in vain. Small successes of War on all sides. The* Flemish *think of choosing a new Prince, and to cast off their obedience to the King of* Spain. *This is chiefly fomented by* Orange. *Their Deputies meet together in* Antwerp *to this purpose, and there is much consultation about it. Some of the Heretick are for the Queen of* England, *other some for the Duke of* Alanson. *The Catholicks opinion in this point. The Assembly leans much more to* Alanson. *The Deputies depart, and return to their own Provinces, to make each of them severally resolve fully upon the choise. The war continues this mean while on both sides. The King would*

have the Dutchess of Parma *return to* Flanders, *and why. She is not well come thither, when she earnestly desires to go back to* Italy: *which she obtains leave to do. The whole Government of the Country remains therefore in the Prince her son. The Flemish Rebels agree in their former resolution of chusing the Duke of* Alanson *for their new Prince. What followed thereupon; and with what conditions.*

1578. THe Kings Army was much afflicted for the death of *Don John*; it is hardly to be believed what sence of sorrow was shewed for it, for many days throughout the whole Camp. The news thereof coming to *Spain*, the King staid awhile before he would confirm the Prince of *Parma* in the Government of *Flanders*. He very well knew the Prince his Military worth. But then again he feared, lest that his warlike spirit might not rather make him desire the continuance of the war, then to see those Provinces restored to peace: which the King desired above all things; always provided (as hath been often said) that all due obedience were given to the Church, and the like to his Crown. Moreover the King had had it often formerly in his thoughts, to send the Dutchess of *Parma* back again into *Flanders*, if it should prove needfull to remove *Don John* from that Government. He called to mind what satisfaction her former Regency had given unto those people; and to make it prove the better again, he thought to place her son the Prince of *Parma* with her for the part of Arms, thinking that the Government being thus tempered, the people would be much better pleased, and his service might on all sides be better done. The King therefore was a while doubtfull what to do in this case. But because speedy remedy was to be applyed to the evils of *Flanders*, and for that the King could not doubt but the Prince of *Parma* would with all loyalty and devotion do as he should be by him directed; therefore without more adoe he approved of *Don Johns* Declaration, and confirmed the Prince in the Government of those Provinces. The Kings Army was greatly rejoyced to hear of this choice; thinking that by the proximity of his bloud, and by his greater resemblance in valour, *Don John* might seem to live still in the Prince. Wherefore *Ferneſe* applyed himself wholly to the Government committed to his charge. His first resolution was, To endeavour by all means possible to draw the Walloon Provinces over to the Kings side. He considered of what importance it would be to have so great, and such Catholick forces within the Country, side with the Church and with the King. And that on the contrary, Rebellion and Heresie could not be weakened by any means better then by this. He therefore began to endeavour this by several ways. He treated chiefly with the Nobility, who enjoy particular prerogatives in the Walloon Provinces; and to whom the vulgar sort do usually adhere, when the States do meet. But notwithstanding, this overture of a Treaty, did not at all allay his ardency to War. Putting on therefore *Don Johns* resolution he determined likewise to keep within those quarters wherein the Army was fortified about *Namures*; and to expect there, till the enemies forces should vanish; especially the foreign aids, which out of the reasons formerly alleadged, he thought would not be long a doing. Nay his hopes thereof were the more increased, for that the dissentions grew every day greater amongst the Flemish. He therefore attended the guarding of his quarters; the keeping of his souldiers in perfect good discipline; and did at the same time very much sollicite the King, that he would speedily provide moneys for the necessaries of the Army, and send over new men. This mean while the disorders grew daily greater amongst the Flemish Rebels. For, divided in divers sorts amongst themselves, both in affairs of Religion, and in other things which respected the State, of one common cause, they had made many particular ones; and every Province having its own particular ends, few of them joyned any longer in their resolutions (as they ought to have done) with the rest. The chiefest contestations were between the Walloons and Gauntеses, as hath been said; nor was it ever possible to find any means how to accord them. Whence falling from words

words to blows, neither of them paid their Contributions first agreed upon to the common Cause, being kept from doing so by the necessity of converting it to their own peculiar uses.

The Faction of the *Malcontents* grew this mean while still the stronger; for almost all the Nobility of *Henault* and *Artois* had wound themselves thereinto. The *Gaunteses* and their adherents received their greatest indammagements from this Faction; nor could there be a greater contrariety then was between them The *Malcontents* seemed more resolute then ever to continue in their Catholick purity, and their due Allegiance to the King; and the *Gaunteses* shewed themselves full as resolute to have only the contrary exercise in point of Religion, and in all other things shewed their abhorrition of the Soveraignty of *Spain*. So as by reason of this variance between the Confederate Provinces, their first Union was mightily weakned Together with their want of money, they began daily to be wanting in their Souldiers; and not being able to maintain their own home-Souldiers, much less able were they to maintain those very many that they had received from abroad. Wherefore the *French* and *German* Aids did no more service; but instead of easing the Country, ran out licentiously on this side and that side; and failing of their Pay, paid themselves with large usury by Rapine; insomuch that it was doubted whether they might not fall from tumultuary Freebooting to some downright Mutiny. This necessity, and these dangers were represented to the States by *Casimir* and *Alanson*, who desired instant remedy. But such evils could not be helped, unless provisions were had first for the discords which were the occasion thereof, which by reason of the aforesaid difficulties were become irremediable, though the States, and in particular *Orange* used all possible care and diligence to compose them. It was clearly seen, that the greatest novelties arose from the *Gaunteses*: wherefore at the States desire, *John Casimir* went again to *Gaunt*, and used all the most efficacious means he could to reduce the *Gaunteses* to a more moderate sense. But all was lost labour, especially by reason of the obduration of those Ringleaders, who for their own self-interest did the more willingly nourish sedition in that City. This was the cause why *John Casimir*, by *Orange* his advise resolved to go himself to *England*, to perswade the Queen to be more firm in favouring the *Flemish* with her assistance, especially in point of monies. But the Queen, after having received him very honourably, were it either that she would not further offend the King of *Spain*, or that she could not really be at further expences, sent him away with bare terms of good Intention, and with ambiguous hopes, which were soon after resolved to the negative. *John Casimir* being returned from *England* to *Flanders* without any good issue in his Negotiation, found many of his men already disbanded, and the rest ready to doe the like, unless he would reconduct them to *Germany*. *Alanson's* French forces were likewise much lessened; and the Commanders authority on either side did but little avail to retain the Souldiers in their due obedience, when once they failed of their Pay. Insomuch as both of them were inforced to return almost at the same time, *Alanson* to *France*, and *Casimir* to *Germany*; leaving it questionable whether of them had with greater hopes undertaken the expedition, or ended it with less good The Foreign Aids being thus vanisht, the *Flemish* Forces were likewise suddenly dispersed into sundry parts. *Ferneze* dallied then no longer: but thinking that it was now time to pass from the defensive to the offensive part, resolved immediately to take the Field, and to endeavour such success to the Kings Forces, as might most strengthen his Cause. The Enemy had no more Forces to withstand the Royalists in the Field; wherefore *Ferneze* was forced to betake himself to some of their chief Towns, by the gaining whereof greater advantages might derive unto the King. Consideration being had hereupon in the Councel of War, they pitched upon one of two important Sieges; either that of *Antwerp*, or that of *Mastrick*. But there was great opposition in the Councel concerning which of these they should resolve upon. To perswade to the first, it was said,

That the Acquisition of Antwerp *was much to be preferr'd before that of* Mastrick. *That* Antwerp *lay in the heart of the best Provinces of* Flanders, *and for its so many Prerogatives was esteemed the nown paramount of all the Country: that by it the*

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Scheld *was commanded in particular; ſo noble a River, and ſo ſeated, as having its Ebbs and Floods, it may ſeem to partake more of the Sea then of a River. That from thence a man may ſoon be in the heart of* Holland *and* Zealand, *in which two Provinces Rebellion was firſt radicated, and they were the firſt which ought to be reduced to their obedience. That* Antwerp *and the* Scheld *had abundantly furniſht Forces, which had ſo often been imployed by water againſt thoſe Provinces. That* Zealand *was the chief Sea-Port of* Flanders, *which was by all means to be opened for the receiving of ſuch Aids as were to come by Sea from* Spain. *And that though the ſiege of* Antwerp *was likely to coſt more time, more mony, and more blood, yet all theſe were to be eſteemed but light loſſes, in reſpect of making ſo important and ſo deſireable an acquiſition.*

But it was ſaid on the contrary,

That firſt of all they were to ſecure the Paſs of Germany. *That from thence the Flemiſh Army had alwayes received their greateſt aids: And by what paſs, but by that which by her Bridge over the* Mauſe *the City of* Maſtrick *doth ſo advantagiouſly open and ſhut? How oft had that place been made a Rendezvouz, not only to receive Aid from Friends, but to repulſe the Enemy. That in the ſiege of* Antwerp, *it would prove a very hard buſineſs to maſter the* Scheld *by any whatſoever Bridge, by reaſon of her breadth and depth, and by the force which the ebbing and flowing of the Sea would adde thereunto. And yet that was the firſt thing that was to be done, to cut off the relief which would be hourly brought to the beſieged by that way. That on the contrary, in the higher parts towards* Maſtrick, *the* Mauſe *was neither very large, nor very deep, nor held ſhe any commerce with the Sea: ſo as that River might be ſhut up above and beneath, whereby all ſuccour by water might be cut off from the City; and doubtleſs the Camp would hinder all relief by land. That when this Siege ſhould be ended, there would be much greater hopes of happily effecting the other. And that, finally, the preſent conjuncture of affairs did require, that the eaſieſt enterpriſe ſhould be firſt undertaken; and the Army ſo imployed within, as firſt to ſecure the Aids which might be received from abroad.*

This opinion at laſt prevailed, and was willingly imbraced by the Prince of *Parma*. He ſaw that really the Army was not ſufficiently furniſht with Arms and proviſions to beſiege *Antwerp*: wherefore he bent himſelf wholly againſt *Maſtrick*, reſolving to doe his utmoſt to make himſelf Maſter thereof. This mean while the year 1579. was begun. When the ſharpeſt part of winter being over, the Prince began to aſſemble his Army, and about the end of *March* marched to effect his premeditated deſign. The Kings Army conſiſted of about 15000 Foot and 4000 Horſe, all of them men trained up in war, and much more conſiderable for their quality then for their number. When the *Flemiſh* Rebels had diſcovered the Prince his reſolution, they failed not to provide with all diligence for that City; being as reſolute to uſe all means for the defence thereof, as the others were for the taking it. Monſieur *de la Nue* was then in *Flanders*, with the title of Lieutenant under *Orange*. He was one of the chief Heads of the *Hugonot* Faction in *France*: But that Kingdom being at this time in ſome ſort of quiet, he was come into the Army of the Confederate *Flemiſh*, and had with great eſteem the aforeſaid place conferr'd upon him, and moreover was made Governour of *Maſtrick*. Wherefore he very much laboured the preſervation of that place, which he thought would chiefly conſiſt in procuring ſuccour from without: He therefore thought it not beſt to keep within the Town, believing he might be more ſerviceable abroad. But he did ſo order it, as ſuch Commanders were placed there, as queſtionleſs would make ſtout and manful reſiſtance: Theſe were *Suarzemburg di Herle*, a Dutch-man, and *Sebaſtian Tapine*, a French-man; both of them adviſed and reſolute Souldiers, and who were to expect their fortunes only from the hazards of war. They had with them about 500 Foot, part *Flemiſh*, part *French*, part *Engliſh*; and to them were added a great number of Country-people, who were to be imployed in ſuch manual works as ſhould at any time be requiſite for defence of the Town, to which the Townſmen ſeemed very well diſpoſed. The Kings Army was this mean while drawn near *Maſtrick*; and when the Prince of *Parma* had diſtributed the Quarters, they begon to fortifie them in ſuch order, and with ſuch advantages as are uſed in the beſt regulated and ſtraiteſt

Anno 1579.

Sieges.

sieges. We have formerly in this our History, described the Situation of this City; but rather in general then in particular: wherefore that you may the better understand what is now treated on, it is requisite that we give you here more particular and more distinct knowledg thereof. The City of *Mastrick* lies on both sides of the *Mause*, but not in an equal proportion: it is larger on the left side of the River, and not so large on the right side. The one by reason of the largeness of its circuit retains the name of the City; and the other being of lesser compass is called *Vich*. The former looks towards *Brabant*, the other towards the State of *Liege*. Yet both these sides are joyned together by so large and noble a Bridg, as it is not well discerned whether it be of greater beauty, or of greater advantage to the City. The whole compass thereof is about four English miles. But though much of it be inhabited, a great part of it is void ground, especially towards the Walls; which are notwithstanding well provided with platforms, and may have all requisite commodity to make inward retreats, or to withstand outward assaults. According to the situation, so are the flanks; some of them being built more after the modern fashion; and some of them being of the more ancient form. Round about the Walls runs a deep ditch. The earth about it is every where manyable, so as Trenches may easily be made, or any thing else which the necessity of oppugning requires: yet it is not peopled answerable to the circumference of the walls. The people in general partake more of the warlike then of the weak: Though there be many Ecclesiasticks there, by reason of the great revenues which they enjoy in that City. The Government thereof in point of Justice, is equally divided between the King, as Duke of *Brabant*, and the Bishop of *Liege* as he is a Temporal Prince, who extends his Jurisdiction to within *Mastrick*. But for what concerns the custody of the City and Garrisons, the power lies wholly in the King: it being seen upon all occasions, that the Empire of Arms admits not of a companion; and that two several Forces cannot continue so long together, but that at last the weakest will be inforced to submit it self to the more powerfull.

Now to pass to the description of the siege. The Quarters being given out by the Prince of *Parma*, the souldiers fell to fortifie them; especially towards the field-side to hinder the sending of aid into the City. The Prince encamped himself against the greatest incompassed precinct; and on that side were the other Commanders likewise quartered, who held the first places in the Army. The Lord *Hierges* in particular was quartered there (who was General of the Artillery) with a mighty Train of great Canon: for on that side were the Trenches to be opened, the Walls to be plai'd upon, and such assaults to be given as were requisite for the taking of the City. *Christopher Mandragone* was placed against the Burrow of *Vich*: and in a short space all the outward Fortifications towards the fields side were brought to so good a pass, as the Royalists had little reason to fear that the besieged could be succoured on that side. At the same time the *Mause* was likewise shut up both above and beneath with two Bridges of Boats, in such sort as no relief could be brought to *Mastrick* by water neither. And this served for a double use, the better to unite the Army upon both the banks. Here did the Royalists begin to advance their Trenches: the besieged had no great store of men for their defence, wherefore they could not hazard many in making out sallies: yet did they not forbear to make some even from the beginning: and that with such courage, as they more then once retarded the Royalists from continuing their works: nor were they less diligent in disturbing them with their Artillery. The Trenches of the Camp opened on two sides, which were thought the fittest to fall into the ditch, and batter the Wall. The one was towards the gate called *Tongres*; and the other over against a Curtain which runs between two Ports, called *Hoctor* and the *Cross*. When the Trenches were advanced, the Lord *Hierges* placed two Batteries on each side, by which he annoyed the enemy. The Royalists were by this time come to the Ditches mouth; and the souldiers working as well as the pioneers, they endeavoured to get thereinto as soon as they could, that they might afterwards fill it up, and be the better able by their assaults to second the breaches which were to be made by the batteries. From the Fort *Tongres* there was a good Ravelin thrust out; and upon the top of the Platform

a great Cavallier. The Kings men received moſt diſturbance on this ſide from both theſe Works. Wherefore to be eaſed of this impediment, it was neceſſary to play upon thoſe two places with ſome peeces of greater Caron; which was done, and thoſe peeces plaid ſo furiouſly, as the Royaliſts might ſafely continue their working, and finally fall into the ditch. Here as the beſieged's danger did increaſe, ſo did their courage. As faſt as the Royaliſts ſtrove to lodg themſelves there, the others laboured to keep them out. The labours of the night equalled thoſe of the day: they flock'd to every place, ſtrove who ſhould ſooneſt incounter danger, and it was hard to diſcern, whether the foreign ſouldiers, or thoſe of the Town, or the Country people who were come to defend the City, were more willing to work. Yet the Royaliſts did ſo far prevail, both with their working in the ditch and with the breaches which their batteries had made in the walls, as they thought they might now fall to aſſault. This reſolution being taken, the Prince of *Parma*, appointed out ſo many ſouldiers as were requiſite to do it. And he chuſe them out of every ſeveral Nation of thoſe that were in the Army; deſirous that each of them ſhould equally partake both in the honour and danger of the imployment. In all new Governments the report goes, be it good or bad, according to the tenor of the firſt ſucceſſes: but eſpecially in the adminiſtration of war, it is not to be ſaid how much fortunate beginnings make for the progreſs of good ſucceſs. This was the firſt enterpriſe which ſince his Government the Prince of *Parma* undertook: wherefore to make the reſt which were to inſue the more ſucceſsfull, he very much deſired he might be fortunate in this. He therefore incouraged his ſouldiers with lively exhortations, to the aſſault: nor ſeemed they any whit leſs ready on their parts to fall on. The batteries had already made great breaches in the walls, and eſpecially upon one ſide: and the Kings men were already ſo far advanced in the ditch, as it was thought high time to come to this reſolution on that ſide. They did what could be deſired againſt the enemies: but they on the contrary made ſuch reſiſtance, as all the aſſailants endeavours proving vain, they were at laſt forced to retire with the loſs of much bloud. This firſt aſſault ſhewed that the breaches in the walls were not yet ſuch as they ought to be: and therefore the batteries were with much violence renewed on all ſides. The works in the ditch were ſtill increaſed; and to theſe were added mines, the ſooner to beat down ſuch repairs as the enemie ſtill renewed. They then prepared for a ſecond aſſault; and it was reſolved to make it on both ſides of the batteries at one and the ſame time: that the beſieged being devided in making their defence, might be the more diſabled to do it. When they came to it, the Royaliſts aſſaulted the enemy furiouſly, and ſtrove to get upon the breach, and to make themſelves fully Maſters of the wall. But on the contrary, the enemy did ſo ſtoutly oppoſe, as it was not for a good while to be diſcerned to which ſide the fortune of the day did incline. On the one ſide *Herle*, and on the other ſide *Tapine* ſhewed all manner of gallantry in their behaviour, and were no leſs ready to act then to order They with their fervent ſpeeches encouraged the defendants; and ſhewing themſelves forwardeſt to encounter danger, made the reſt the more deſpiſe it. On the other ſide the Royaliſts inraged to ſee the enemy ſo obſtinate in their reſiſtance, did their utmoſt to overcome them. There could not be a fiercer nor a more bloudy conflict. They did not fight a loof off with Musket or Cannon ſhot, but in cloſe fight, oppoſing pike to pike, ſword to ſword, and ſouldier to ſouldier; the better or the worſe conſiſted and lay only in their arms and breſts. Bloud run down on all ſides where ere they fought: all places were full either of wounded or dead bodies; and of weapons either loſt or thrown away; and to theſe were added great ſtones, and inſtruments of artificial fire which thoſe within had powred down upon the aſſailants. And that the action might prove the more horrible, it ſo fell out, that at the ſame time fire tooke in the powder which both ſides had brought that they might have it nearer at had: which was the unfortunate loſs of a great many; the air reſounding with miſerable outcries, and the ground being covered with torn bodies: evidencing how many ſeveral ways fortune doth oftentimes vary the bitterneſs of war, and the tragical ſcenes on which the fatal ſucceſs of Arms are acted. The conflict laſted many hours, and great was

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the mortality on all sides. But the Kings men were at last forced to retire, not having ever been able to advance so far as might suffice to make themselves Masters of the breach, or at least to lodg themselves, as was their designe upon the walls, if they could not wholly drive the enemy from their new rampires raised more inwardly. These two assaults, together with some other skirmishes that had proceeded, bereft the Army of many Commanders, and of a great number of other valiant Officers and souldiers. Of those of the better quality amongst the Spaniards, there were lost, *John Manrique*, *Blasco di Acugna*, *Peter Guzman*, and *Peter Pacecco*: and of the Italians, *Fabio Ferneze*, *Markantonio Simonetti*, *Guido St Georgio*, the Marquis *Conrado Mallespina*, and *John Grimaldi*. Many Germans and Walloons of good account perished likewise. But the Spaniards suffered most, as those who both for numbers and place, had upon all occasions had the chiefest imployments. Particularly in one of the aforesaid actions the Lord *Hierges* was slain, which was a great lose to the King: for of all the Flemish there was not a better souldier, nor a more Loyal Subject. The Kings Camp, by reason of so many and so bloudy conflicts, was much weakened, in so much as it became the Prince of *Parma* to get new recruits of men. He therefore took as many as he could from all places where the King had any Garisons; he increased the number of Pyoners; and not willing to adventure the flowre of his Army any more in assaults, he resolved hereafter to make more use of works then men: and to proceed more slowly, to the end it might prove more sure. But this mean while the incommodities and wants of those within the Town grew proportionably greater: For not having received any relief from without, they were now reduced to great scarcity of all things. The most of their foreign souldiers were lost, and a good many of the Townsmen, and of those Country people which served for Pyoniers; they wanted Ammunition and Victuals, and to this was added sickness, occasioned by their incessant labour and watching. The Flemish Rebels had it often in their thoughts to gather together a good body of men which might be sufficient to force the Kings Fortifications, and to bring in some considerable succour into the City. The designe was, that Monsieur *de la Nue* should have been their Conductor, and that he should afterwards tarry himself in *Mastrike*, the better to maintain the siege. But the discords being still greater amongst the Rebels then their union, they could never raise men enough for such a business. Yet still they fed the besieged with new hopes, and with great cunning made the effects appear near at hand; wherein *Orange* and *La Nue* did chiefly labour. Wherefore the besieged seemed more resolute then ever to hold out. The Prince on the contrary still doubling his diligence, left nothing untry'd to bring his enterprise to a happy end. One of the chiefest disturbances which the Royalists received in their works towards the Gate *Tongres*, proceeded chiefly from that Ravelin which hath formerly been spoken of. And though they had endeavoured to beat it down with their Canon, and by all other ways to bereave the enemy of that defence, yet could they never fully effect it. The Prince resolved notwithstanding howsoever to gain it. He therefore redoubled the mines, and all the other works in that place which were requisite to effect it; but on the contrary, the besieged were no less fervent in their works against the besiegers. So as the others could advance but very slowly: for they must win what they would have by inchmeal, and lose bloud as wel as time. Here therefore was the hottest doings, and hither was the greatest bulk of the oppugnation brought. But the besieged were at last inforced to yeild; though the Royalists spent above a month in taking this Ravelin. The Prince raised the platform yet much higher, which was turned upon the enemy on that side, and began to beat down the City, to boot with the batteries which were every day made against the walls, in so much as the besieged could neither find rest nor safety any where: wherefore their hopes of holding out any longer were very small. Yet they seemed willing rather to lose their lives then their resolution of defence, though they were offered very honorable conditions: when fortune favoured the Royalists with an unexpected way how to end the siege sooner then they could have imagined. It was now about the end of *June*, and the great heats made the defendants labours and sufferings the more insupportable;

portable, ſo as they could not make good their Guards as was needfull. The which being diſcovered by ſome *Spaniards*, they would not let ſlip the occaſion; but ſtealing privately into one of thoſe ill-guarded places, they found the Defendants to be very few, and thoſe few, by reaſon of their continual labour and watching, faſt aſleep. Whereupon the *Spaniards* being encouraged, drew their ſwords and fell to ſlaughter. The noiſe occaſioned hereby, made many flock ſpeedily thither both from within and from without: And the Royaliſts having already forced the walls in ſome other parts, the City at laſt fell on all ſides into their hands. The Town being taken thus as it were by aſſault, it was impoſſible for the Prince and other Commanders to refrain the Souldiers fury, who fell with exceeding cruelty upon the conquered. Paſſing from anger into rage, and from rage almoſt to inhumanity, they put all to the ſword, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition; and thoſe who did not periſh by the ſword, periſht by the River, whereinto they deſperately threw themſelves, rather encountring thereby death then eſchewing it. Nor was the Victors greedineſs of Prey leſſer afterwards then their thirſt after Blood had been before; for they ſo miſerably plundered the City, as it was queſtionable whether avaritiouſneſs or cruelty was therein the greater. Yet ſuffered they *Tapine* to live, out of the valuation they put upon the great valour which he had ſhewn. The City ſuffered ſo much calamity, as being almoſt altogether unpeopled, it was a long while ere it could be remitted into its former condition.

Whilſt the Prince of *Parma* was thus diligent about *Maſtrick*, he was not idle in the Agreement which was in treaty between him and the Walloon Provinces; and at laſt he came to a happy end therein, though he met with ſuch difficulties as he oftentimes had but ſmall hopes. All the other Provinces oppoſed themſelves againſt this Treaty; and *Orange* in particular with all poſſible diligence endeavoured to croſs it. But the difficulties aroſe no leſs from the ſelf Walloon Provinces, and from the obſtinacie of the Malcontents: they perſiſted more then ever in their reſolution of having the Peace of *Gaunt* fully made good, and eſpecially that the Foraigners ſhould again be ſent away; and they would have ſo bounded the Kings authority in other points alſo, as there ſhould hardly have been any the leaſt appearance thereof. They pretended among other things, 'That the King ſhould ſend one of his Sons into *Flanders*, to be bred up there, 'and to be the proper Prince of that Province. They would have it in their power 'to enter into a confederacie again, both at home and abroad, if the King ſhould 'fail on his part in performing the Agreement. And their end was in fine, ſo far 'to advance their own prerogatives, as they might never have reaſon to ſuſpect 'ſuch as ſhould be left for the King to enjoy.

The Prince of *Parma* was chiefly troubled to think that he muſt deprive himſelf wholly of all his Foreign Forces, and be inforced to put himſelf into the hands of the *Walloons*. For though their Forces ſhould prove never ſo faithful, they would hardly ever be ſufficient to maintain the Kings cauſe ſo powerfully as it ought to be. But as in *Don Johns* time all the Provinces joyntly would have the ſame Covenant with him, before he ſhould be admitted into the Government; ſo the *Walloons* were now inflexible in their deſire to have the ſame thing done by the Prince in the firſt place; and that in all things elſe, as it was then, ſo now the Peace of *Gaunt* ſhould be made good. The Prince was in a great ſtrait. On the one ſide he knew how requiſite it was to joyn the *Walloon* Provinces to the Kings party; and on the other ſide he feared leſt he might quickly run upon the ſame rocks as *Don John* had done. He therefore wrote to the King to know his direct pleaſure in a buſineſs of ſuch weight: Who after having weighed all things well, reſolved by all means to draw over the *Walloon* Provinces to joyn with him; not doubting but that time it ſelf, together with his good uſage, particularly towards the Nobility, would make the *Walloons* willing to receive again thoſe Forces into their company, which were now to be ſent out of the Country. The Prince this mean while ſtill ſweetned the Malcontents grievances. Amongſt others of their Faction, the Count *de Laleign* Governour of *Henault*, and the Marquis of *Rubais* Governour of *Artois*, who was formerly called Viſcount of *Gaunt*, were in great authority with them. The Prince had endeavoured to win over theſe

two.

two, together with divers others of the Nobility who were in good esteem with the *Walloon* Provinces, to the Kings service; and the King himself was not wanting in doing the same by his Letters, and other carriages towards them. *Matthew Mulart* Bishop of *Arras* had been very serviceable in all the Negotiation, especially with the Ecclesiastical Orders of those Provinces. So as coming at last to the conclusion of the Treaty, the Deputies of all sides met in *Arras* about the end of *May*, and made up the Agreement. There were therein the Provinces of *Henault* and *Artois* together with all the *Gallicant Flanders*; under which are particularly comprehended the Towns of *Doway*, *Lilla*, and *Orsies*. The rest of the *Walloon* Country were not there, because they were already at the Kings devotion. The chief Articles of the Agreement were these.

That the Peace of Gaunt *should be fully performed. That according to the Articles of that Peace, all Foreign Souldiers should be gone out of the Country within the space of six weeks; and that they should not return without the expres's pleasure of the Provinces. That the mean while an Army should be raised out of their own Country by the Kings mony, and by what the Provinces should contribute on their behalf. That all the Magistrates and other Officers should swear to profess only the Catholick Religion. That the Country should without any violation keep all its wonted priviledges, and that the Government in all other points should be maintained in the same form as it was in the Emperour* Charles *the Fifth's time. That the King should always send a Prince of his own blood to be Governour; and should be pleased, if it might be, to confirm for the present the Archduke* Mathias *in the Government. That he would be pleased to give ear unto their earnest desires, whereby they beseeched him to send some one of his Sons, as soon as conveniently might be, to be bred up in those Provinces, who might afterwards succeed his Father therein.*

Thus was the Agreement made; at which it is not to be said how much *Orange* and the rest who were of a contrary opinion stormed. At the same time that this Agreement was in agitation, and was concluded on apart with the Walloon Provinces, other greater practises were had to make a full and general Accommodation between the King and the other Provinces also. To this purpose the Emperor was not only resolved to use, as formerly, all the means he could, but Pope *Gregory* the 13. had shewed the like desire of using all diligence on his behalf, that *Flanders* might be brought to return wholly to the Catholick unity, and to their former obedience to their natural Prince. The City of *Colen* was judged a fit place to treat in of such an important business. For the better to facilitate the event, the Elector of *Colen* had offer'd to interpose his endeavours, as also the nearer Elector of *Trevers*. The resolution being taken to go on with this endeavour, the Pope determined to send *John Baptista Castagna* Archbishop of *Rossano*, to be present there on his behalf: A man of great fame for the many Nunciatures which he had with much reputation discharged: Who was afterwards created Cardinal by the same *Gregory*; and after *Sextus Quintus*, ascended, though but for a very few dayes, to the Popedom. *Otto Henrico* Count of *Suarzemburg*, was by the Emperor deputed to this Negotiation, together with two other Commissioners. And the King himself would likewise send some Personage of quality thither, which was *Charles* of *Aragon* Duke of *Terranova*, one of the chiefest and most esteemed Subjects of *Sicily*; and joyned some Flemish Deputies with him. The Duke of *Cleves* and Bishop of *Liege*, by reason of their neighbourhood, sent likewise particular Deputies on their behalfs to the same Treaty. All these together with the two abovesaid Electors, met about the beginning of *May* at *Colen* to treat of the aforesaid business. The Heretical faction of the Flemish Rebels were unwillingly brought to listen to this endeavour; and they, particularly *Orange*, used all possible means to disturb it; for they feared that such Mediators would favour much more the Churches and the Kings cause, then theirs. But because the Catholick part was as yet maintained by the Rebels, the contrary part could not sufficiently withstand the necessary deputation to the Treaty. Wherefore by authority of the Archduke *Mathias*, as Governour of the Confederate Provinces, and chiefly by their own, a good many Deputies were chosen to this purpose, and the Duke of *Arischot* for their Head; and these met at the appointed time, and in the same place with all the rest. There was great expectation had of

this Treaty; but it was soon known that the event would not be answerable: For coming to the Treaty, they fell upon the same difficulties which were formerly met withall, when the Emperor likewise interceded in the Conference at *Breda*. Nay, they were the greater on the Rebels behalf, for that they thought they had got advantage by the since succeeding novelties. They therefore appear'd more resolute then ever in point of Religion, that they would have Liberty of Conscience, especially in *Holland* and in *Zealand*, which were already the Heretick Sanctuaries. And for what concerned their obedience to the King, they would mingle so much of advantage therein for themselves, as the Government should partake much more of a Commonwealth then of a Principality. And even then it was seen, that the common sense of the Rebels was, to bring themselves to that form of Free-government which now the United Provinces of those Countries enjoy, after having totally withdrawn themselves from the obedience of the Church and King. Those who intervened in the Treaty used all diligence to moderate the difficulties, and to bring them to some fair agreement: but all was but lost labour, especially for what concerned Religion; for the stiffer the Deputies of the Flemish Union were for the Liberty of Conscience, the more resolute were the Royalists in not admitting that any Religion save the sole Catholick should be professed throughout the whole Country. For all things else, the King would have been willing to have used those same favours towards such Sectaries as would depart the Country, which were so largely offered in the Conference at *Breda*. But the contrary Deputies, sometimes cunningly dodging, sometimes plainly denying, and most commonly turning the Proposals into bitter complaints against the former Spanish Governours, and against the whole proceedings of that Nation, shewed apparently at last that the Rebels would by no means be drawn from their former resolutions. Wherefore there being no hopes of agreement, the Treaty after some moneths broke up. In which because the same things were treated of which were discust formerly in the Conference at *Breda*, and afterwards in *Gaunt* in the Peace concluded amongst the Provinces, and lastly with *Don John* in what was lately establisht between them and him; therefore to shun the prolixity of saying the same things over again here, we have only given you an incling of what may suffice to know what was done in this new Meeting at *Colen*. Yet in it the Kings cause was greatly justified, in that the Duke of *Ariscot* resolved to take part no longer with the Rebels, as did also some of their Commissioners, especially those of the Ecclesiastical Order; who at last discovered plainly, that *Orange* and the other Fautors of the Heretical faction would have beaten down too much the Kingly Authority, together with the Catholick Religion.

Whilst they were in *Colen* upon the Treaty of Peace, they did not any whit omit the managing of Arms in *Flanders*. The Prince of *Parma* had ended the Siege of *Mastrick*, as you have heard. Upon the which he got another considerable place, which was *Malines*. This City was in the Rebels hands, but therein was a great dissention amongst the Citizens; some of which, won by the Prince, wrought it so as they conveyed in some of the Kings men by stealth, and drove out the States garrison. The Village of *Villebruck*, which the States had fortified, as being a place of importance between *Antwerp* and *Brussels*, fell likewise into the power of the Prince. And on the contrary, the Rebels grew every day stronger beyond the *Rhine*. The Count of *Rinemberg* commanded for the States in *Friesland*: Who not only in that Province, but every where else thereabouts, endeavoured the advantage of the Flemish Union. *Deventer* in the Province of *Overisel* was fallen into his hands; and afterwards *Groninghen* more luckily. And on this side, the *Gauntese* in their particular war against the *Malcontents*, had by surprise recovered the Town of *Menin*: And the *Malcontents* had made themselves masters of *Alst*. Insomuch as the Hostility grew hotter then ever on each side. The Agreement being made between the Prince of *Parma* and the Walloon Provinces, and all the Foreign Souldiers being sent out by the Prince according to the Articles, the Kings Forces were so weakned, as the Prince could no longer be Master of the Field, nor besiege any considerable place. The *Walloons* laboured to gather men together who might be sufficient for their numbers

bers to prevail over the Enemy: But neither had they ſufficient monies for their expences, nor other ſuch preparations as their need required; there was particularly ſuch wants in point of the Cavalry, as the Prince was inforced to keep ſome Italian horſe, called *Albanois*, under the name of his Guard; to which the *Walloons* had given way, till ſuch time as they could raiſe ſo many of their own men. But howſoever, the contrary Forces were no whit the ſtronger: For the *Flemiſh* having likewiſe caſhier'd their foreign Aid, their Forces were but weak, and thoſe without any Commander in chief of their own Country. The Count *Boſſu* was dead a little before; and the other principal *Walloons*, who were moſt conſiderable next to him, had imbraced the Kings ſide: Archduke *Mathias*, young in years, and yet younger in experience, could only undergoe a titular Command; and *Orange*, who was wholly taken up with Civil negotiations, could not take upon him the Military government. So as the management thereof lay chiefly on Monſieur *de la Nue*, a French-man, and Colonel *Norris*, an Engliſh-man; but the authority and eſtimation of the former was much greater then the others. Their Forces being of this condition, the military affairs proceeded but very ſlowly on both ſides. Each of them could rather withſtand then overcome, and each of them hoped for better ſucceſs in time.

The year 1580. came now in, which brought with it one of the moſt memorable events that ever the war of *Flanders* produced; through the reſolution which the Rebels then took of chuſing a new Prince, and of continuing no longer under the King of *Spains* obedience. The Prince of *Orange* had driven on this deſign before now; and being between Deſpair and Hope, he could no longer reſiſt their violences. On the one ſide deſpair aſſailed him, ſetting before him all the greateſt and moſt dreadful dangers which could be expected from the wrath and power of the King of *Spain*, being then made greater by the acceſſion of the Kingdom of *Portugal*. And on the other ſide he was highly invited by hope, deſire making him believe that new greatneſs would be added to his fortune by a new Principality. He argued within himſelf, *Anno* 1580.

'That at leaſt the two Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* would be well-nigh 'wholly at his diſpoſal. And wherefore in ſuch a caſe might not greater good 'fortunes befall him? ſince it might eaſily happen, that the *Flemiſh* being again 'angry at, or weary of a foreign Prince, might at laſt reſolve to chooſe one of 'their own Nation? And if ſo, wherefore ſhould not he hope to be preferr'd 'before all others?

He then without any further delay, having firſt prepared mens minds in every Province, by his Adherents, of which he had great ſtore in each of them: He, I ſay, cauſed the propoſition of change of Prince be put; and made all ſuch things be ſuggeſted as might facilitate the buſineſs. The Rebels had no more weighty affairs at this time then this was. Therefore that they might treat and reſolve thereof with ſuch maturity and honour as was needfull, it was thought neceſſary to call a meeting of the States Generall, wherein they might afterwards come to ſuch a reſolution as might be beſt for the whole Country. This advice was chiefly given by *Orange*, and *Antwerp* appointed for the place of meeting. Here then about the beginning of the aboveſaid year, the Deputies of the Provinces met, and *Orange* was there himſelf; ſo they began to fall cloſe to the buſineſs. The Heretick Deputies, of which the greateſt part of the Aſſembly did conſiſt. (ſuch induſtry and means had *Orange* uſed in cauſing them to be choſen) inclined to chooſe a new Prince, as alſo ſtill to ſtrengthen Hereſie. Yet they differed within themſelves in their votes; ſome of them were for the Queen of *England*, and ſome for the Duke of *Alanſon*; the one holding they might receive more advantages from *England*, the others from *France*. The City of *Gaunt* in particular was much inclined to the Queen of *England*, which was the chief City of all thoſe that then followed the rebellion of the Confederate Provinces. Wherefore *James Tayard*, the Deputy thereof, together with ſome others who repreſented the peculiar Province of *Flanders*, that is to ſay the *Flemicant* part; one day, when the buſineſs was hotteſt in agitation, ſpake thus.

When I conſider (moſt worthy Deputies!) how much France *is at this time divided and afflicted within it ſelf, I confeſs I cannot be perſwaded to preferrre the Duke*

of

of Alanſon *before the Queen of* England, *in the ſubjecting of our Provinces under a new Principality. Every one knows what the unhappy agitations of that Kingdom at the preſent are; it totters on all ſides amidſt mighty dangers: The ſeveral Factions ſtrive who ſhall rend it moſt. The King hath only the ſhew of a King, and is forced to uſe intreaties much more then commands. How often, and with what prejudice to his authority hath he been inforced rather to yield to the will of others, then to uſe his own? So perverſe under the variety of their ſpecious pretences are they ſometimes grown who favour the Catholick religion, and ſometimes they who follow the Reformed, in cauſing one revolt after another, all tending to the great diminution of the Royal majeſty and ſplendor.* France *being then in ſo low a condition, what eaſe or advantage can* Flanders *expect from thence? Our end is to put our ſelves under a Prince, who may by his Forces ſtrengthen ours, that we may the better defend our ſelves againſt ſo powerful and ſo bitter an Enemy as is the King of* Spain. *Then tell me, I pray you, what State, what Forces, what advantages can the Duke of* Alanſon *bring with him, that ſhould make him be deſired for our Prince? Doth he enjoy any thing elſe in* France, *ſave the bare Title of being the only Brother to the King, with other ſuch Prerogatives much greater in ſhew then ſubſtance? Hath not the King treated him ſometimes more like a Priſoner then like a Brother? hath not the Duke ſometime gone from Court in form of a Fugitive, endeavouring by all means to protect Faction, but rather to receive aſſiſtance from thence then to give it? To boot, his being the Kings only Brother, bears with it a condition which we may very well ſuſpect: For if he, when he ſhall be our Prince, ſhall peradventure ſucceed his Brother who is childleſs, in what condition ſhall we be then? What dangers will our Provinces be then again in? we ſhall be under ſo great a King, who peradventure may treat us ſo much worſe then the King of* Spain *now doth, by how much the Forces of* France *are nearer us, and more ready to oppreſs us. From what I have ſaid againſt* France, *I ſhall now come to what may be taken into conſideration as making for* England. *States doe then moſt flouriſh, when they are moſt quiet: which may eaſily be ſeen by the happineſs which that Queen now enjoyes. Her Kingdom enjoyes full Peace; and her people ſtrive who ſhall moſt witneſs their obedience to her. An obedience notwithſtanding which ſhe hath very well deſerved of them: For what Princeſs was there ever ſeen of a more maſculine ſpirit? who indued with more excellent vertues? She hath nothing of woman but the appearance. She is born to Empires; and to command thoſe chiefly, which require moſt merit to enjoy them. It is confeſt, her Kingdom is yet a little divided in point of Religion: but the Catholicks are ſo few, and brought ſo low, as they can in no ſort weigh againſt the Reformed: She maintains theſe, and by theſe is ſhe maintained; her pleaſure is, that only their Religion ſhall be profeſt in* England, *according to the cuſtom of that Country: and with this her pleaſure hath the Authority of the Eſtates general met in Parliament often joyned. And how much doth this make for our advantage? For the moſt of us having reſolved to imbrace the Reformed religion, doubtleſly the Queen of* England *will in that reſpect much more concur in our defence then will the Duke of* Alanſon, *who is a profeſt Catholick. Together with this advantage in matter of Religion, we ſhall alſo receive from her all other things which we ſtand moſt in need of: her Kingdom abounds in People, nor wants ſhe Mony proportionably. How much ought we to eſteem her ſo near, and ſo potent Maritime forces? We may by that means expect at all times all manner of Aid in a very few houres; and by that means that Country will be joyned to ours as well as if we were both one firm land. And how much is* England *and our Province already joyned in Commerce? May not the* Engliſh-Houſe *here in* Antwerp, *be envied by their own* Chamber *of* London? *And if we conſider the Form of Government, how much more conformable to ours is that of* England *then that of* France? *For in* France *the Kingly power may be ſaid to be almoſt abſolute; whereas in* England *it is ſo limited, as in all affairs of greateſt weight the Princes there can reſolve of nothing without the ſupreme authority of Parliament. Which ought to make us expect a much more moderate government certainly from the Queen of* England, *then from the D. of* Alanſon, *who hath already too much drunk in the too haughty and Kingly ſpirits of* France. *This my ſhort comparing of the preſent condition of theſe two Kingdoms, doth ſufficiently diſcover my opinion touching the buſineſs now in hand. Yet all private opinions ought to ſubmit to the publike intereſt: And ſo*

ſhall

ſhal I do, when the contrary ſhal be approv'd of by this moſt wiſe Aſſembly: for I have no conſideration of any foreign good, which is not altogether ſubordinate to what concerns our ſelves. This diſcourſe wrought very much upon the Deputies. But the Lord of St. *Aldegonde*, one of thoſe that was deputed for the Nobility, one of the beſt eſteemed amongſt all thoſe of the Flemiſh Union, took upon him to defend the contrary opinion. And ſpake thus,

I wiſh it had pleaſed God (moſt worthy Deputies) that our calamities had not clearly taught us what the remedy is to free us thereof. This remedy conſiſts in having one for our Prince, who being amongſt us in perſon, may rather with a Fathers, then Princes affection, imbrace, maintain, and govern the concernments of theſe our Provinces, as if they were altogether his own. And to paſs by the more ancient examples; let each of us conſider what happineſs they enjoyed in more modern times. 'Tis very well known to all how they flouriſhed under the Houſe of Burgony. *And that out of no other reſpect, but for that the Princes did then of themſelves, and in their own perſons ſteer the Government: and ſhewing themſelves from time to time in almoſt every of our Provinces, did both give and receive ſuch ſatisfaction as was moſt to be deſired by each in each of them. The Government then altered, and began to grow worſe under the Houſe of* Auſtria: *nor was it to be otherwiſe expected, by reaſon of the many States and Nations, which fell under the Empire thereof. A great bulk cannot long maintain it ſelf; and when one part thereof is wreſted, all the reſt are uſually out of frame. So in States which are too far divided aſunder, the good of Government not being able to be joyntly united in them all, the moſt remote muſt needs ſuffer therein; and afterwards thoſe that are neareſt joyned will reſcent it. But notwithſtanding, in the times of* Maximilian, *of* Philip *the firſt, and of* Clarls, Flanders *enjoyed ſuch a ſhare of their own perſonages and preſence, as look how much it ſometimes ſuffered by reaſon of their abſence, it reaped other whiles as much advantage by their being preſent. And each of them did ſtill retain as well the ſence, as the bloud of* Germany *and* Flanders: *Countries, both of them almoſt alike ſeated, and of the ſame nature. The ow King being afterwards born in* Spain, *and being become a Spaniard more by will then by birth, he reſolves to keep there, and not to abſent himſelf in any manner from thence. What our miſeries have been ſince then, and what thoſe in particular which we have ſuffered through the pride and cruelty of Spaniſh Governours, we may all very well know, ſince we have all too well tryed it. Then to conclude, as I ſaid at firſt, that the only help for theſe our Provinces conſiſts in having here a Prince of their own to govern them, I confeſs I cannot ſee who can be fitter for that purpoſe then the Duke of* Alanſon. *The Dukes of* Burgony *deſcended, as it is well known to all, from the Royal bloud of* France; *then ſince Fortune preſents us again with a new Prince of the ſame bloud, wherefore ſhould not we greedily imbrace the occaſion of receiving him? would not the very Government be by this means rather continued, then any other of a different Form inſtituted? How great a part of our Provinces do yet retain the French tongue? and the Cuſtoms more then the tongue? Are not all the confines of the Walloons, and half the Province of* Flanders *it ſelf called more by the word* Gallican, *then* Flemican? *ſo as in reſpect of the conformity of nature, 'tis clearly ſeen that the French are much more conformable to us then the Engliſh, who had never any dominion over us. That* France *is now in great turmoyls cannot be denyed; but what better remedy then this can be found out to rid her of them? to wit, by drawing* Alanſon *himſelf out of her, and with him ſo many others who at the preſent do moleſt that Kingdom? In which caſe it is not to be doubted but that the Duke will abound ſufficiently in Forces; and that the King his brother will largely maintain them in ſo juſt a Cauſe. Every one may clearly ſee how much better theſe of* France *will be, then thoſe we ſhould receive from* England. France *doth over-abound with people every where; eſpecially in gallant Cavalry The coming from thence into this our Country can receive no impediment neither by the ſeas nor wind; ſince both their confines by land joyn together. And how opportune for us ought their neighbourhood now to be thought? ſince almoſt the whole Walloon Provinces, being re-united to the King of* Spain, *the French Forces will prove very commodious on that ſide to force that Country to return to their former Union with our other Provinces, and to joyn with us in chuſing the Duke of* Alanſon *for our Prince. For what concerns all the other rubs, me thinks they may be eaſily removed. As for the Kings having no children, his age is ſuch as may certainly promiſe enough. The mean while the Duke his brother will likewiſe marry, and have ſons of his own to ſucceed him: but ſay that the Duke were to ſucceed un-*

to

to the Crown; Wherefore may not We in such a case oblige him to leave us one of his sons to be our Prince in his stead? As for Religion, every one knows how great a freedom France *enjoys therein. Wherefore it is not to be doubted but that the Duke will allow a greater liberty therein in* Flanders. *For though our intentions be that the Reformed Religion should be the most prevalent, yet it will behove us to allow of the Catholick; there being so great a part of our Provinces which is obstinate therein; and chiefly the Walloon Countrys; to the regaining whereof we must with all our industry apply our selves. And as for what authority the Duke may assume unto himself, by the example of what the Kings of* France *enjoy in their Kingdom: May not we limit it as we shall please? so as he may know he hath the Flemish to Govern, and not the French? and that he must use our Laws only, without any participation of theirs. I therefore conclude that all the reasons considered in this present affair, make much more for the French then for the English. And this is likewise my opinion. The which I am not notwithstanding so far in love withall, but that I shall be ready to quit it when I shall hear a better. None shall be more ready then I to adhere unto the sence of this most vigilant Assembly; nor be more willing to endeavour the fulfilling thereof after it shall be maturely advised upon.*

This opinion of *Aldegonds* bore great weight with it. And to enjoy a Prince who was in his own person to sustain the Government, and the Interest of the Provinces was a business exceedingly considerable. This so important business was not agitated without the Catholick Deputies. For though those of the Walloon Provinces were wanting, and that there was no respect at all had to the Ecclesiastical Orders; yet were there a great many Catholicks in the Provinces, who leaned more to heresie: wherefore in this Assembly there were divers Catholick Deputies chosen together with the Hereticks. The Propositions which were made by the others, were generally very ill rescented by these. For though they did likewise greatly hate the Spaniards, yet they thought it a too desperate business to treat of changing a Prince, and almost altogether Religion. They shewed,

'How much the King would be irritated by both these. That if he would 'never tolerate any liberty at all of consequence in *Flanders*; how much less then 'would he suffer heresie to domineer every where. And what more unworthy 'thing could there be, then to make Religion subservient to the State? the anci-'ent Church to the new Sects? and the Piety for so many years professed in those 'Provinces, to rescent Doctrins, which had involved almost all *Europe* in mighty 'troubles? To this injury which should be done to the Church, and which cer-'tainly the King would own as his own; how much would the other add, which 'belonged wholly to himself; of bereaving him of his due soveraignty? which 'after so long a succession of his ancestors was past into him? and so strictly ac-'knowledged, and solemnly sworn unto by the Provinces? That therefore it was 'to be believed he would rescent both these injuries with the whole Forces of his 'Kingdoms. That his Forces had been formerly formidable; but how much 'more now that he had gotten the Kingdom of *Portugal*? That there could no 'relyance be had upon those of *France*, by reason of the divisions by which 'that Kingdom was at the present so terribly rent in pieces. And say the King of '*France* could, he would not assist his brother, lest he might thereby draw upon 'him the Forces of the King of *Spain*. That the Catholick Faction in *France* 'held already great correspondency with the King of *Spain*. And now, having 'so justifiable a pretence, how much more might that King foment it? and how 'many foreign evils might he add to those home-bred ones? That from *Eng-'land* they could not receive the benefit of a Prince of their own. So as the ad-'ministration must pass by the hands of Governours And what certainty was 'there that the English would give better satisfaction then the Spaniards? espe-'cially in a new Principallity, wherein they would never proceed so far by fair 'means, but that they would much more use force That the same King had 'great commodity of making diversions likewise against the Queen; and to in-'cite *England* to some insurrection, either by open war or under-hand practises: 'and much more easily *Ireland*; a Country which was almost altogether Ca-'tholick, greatly devoted to the Church, and well affected also to the Crown of

Spain.

'*Spain*. And thus the Provinces having no foreign helps, would be wholly expo-
'sed to the indignation and forces of a potent and injured enemy: from whom
'they were afterwards to expect the greater punishment, in that they had given
'so just an occasion thereof.

For these reasons the Catholick Deputies past on to this opinion.

'That above all things, an agreement between the Provinces should be endea-
'voured: for that if they were well united, their own union might furnish them
'with sufficient Forces; at least to defend themselves. That they should never
'lay down their Arms, till the ancient form of Government were first restored
'by the King. That touching Religion, the peace of *Gaunt* should be observed,
'which was so maturely handled and concluded by the full consent of the Provin-
'ces. That if things should be brought to that necessity as that the Provinces of
'*Flanders* must needs be severed from the Crown of *Spain*, they should procure,
'as it was most reasonable, a Prince of the House of *Austria*, or one of the Kings
'sons, if he should have more then one, or some other body who should marry
'with a daughter of the Kings, upon whom the Dominion of those Provinces
'might be transferred. And that at last, if they should fail of all these means,
'the Provinces should take the Soveraignty into their own hands. In which case,
'it was not to be doubted, but that they should have a much better Cause, more
'justifiable to the world, better made good by their people, and more favoured
'by their neighbours.

But the Hereticks did so far prevail in this Assembly, as there was little regard had to this opinion of the Catholicks: so as the question remained between the other two. But at last that which *Aldegonde* had maintained in the behalf of *Alanson* was preferred. *Orange*, out of some private considerations of his own, to boot with what concerned the Publick, leaned more willingly likewise to this side. For his Principality of *Orange* lay in *France*: his wife was at that time of French bloud. And great correspondency was had, as had always been, between him and the chief of the Hugonot Faction in that Kingdom. Yet by reason of the weight of the Affair, the ultimate conclusion was not at that time taken: but the Deputies departed that they might first acquaint each Province with their Opinions: and to bring from thence an integral resolution. This mean while the business of War past on but coolly on both sides, as hath been said. To say truth, the Walloons could not shew more willingnesse to defend the Kings Cause; but they had not Forces answerable to their wills. Wherefore the Prince of *Parma* made no considerable progress. He took *Cortray* by surprise; a Town of some moment in the Gallicant part of *Flanders*. But Count *Egmont*, who had laid the plot, was soon after taken prisoner by the enemy: who entring by stealth into *Nienove*, where he recided with his wife and a brother of his, they seased upon them all, and took them into their own power. The Walloons took likewise *Mortagne*, and St *Amonde*, places of but small concernment; and overrunning the Territories of *Torney* and *Cambrey*, they endeavoured to streighten both those Cities of victuals, that they might the more easily bring them into the Kings power. *Cambray* looks upon the Frontiers of *France* more towards the extream on that part; and *Torney* lies more inward, towards the Gallican part of the Province of *Flanders*. They are both of them principal Cities, and *Ferneſe* desired very much to recover them for only they two in all that Tract of the Walloons Country adhered to the Flemish Rebels: and he feared moreover lest *Insy* Governour of *Cambray*, might put that City into the hands of the French. But the Prince having not as then Forces sufficient to besiege either of them, he suffered the Walloons only to annoy them with inroads. On the other side the City of *Malines* fell again into the hands of the Rebels. For the heretical part prevailing lately there, they brought the enemy in; who meeting with little resistance, made themselves easily Masters thereof; and in hostile manner plundered it. They took likewise *Diste*, *Sichem*, and *Ariscot* in *Brabant*, rather by Treaty then by force. But at the same time the Marquis of *Rubays*, who had the chief command over the Walloons, much to his praise, deprived the enemy of one of their prime leading Commanders. He had intelligence that Monsieur *de la Nue* was gone with a good body of men to surprise *Lilla*, and that failing

thereof, he returned to his former quarters. *Rubays* not letting ſuch an occaſion ſlip, ſet upon *Nue* at unawares, as he retired, and purſued him into his quarters: where *Nue* made what reſiſtance the time and place would permit him. But ſuch was *Rubays*'s violence, and eſpecially that of the *Albanois* horſe, as *La Nue* was at laſt forced to yield himſelf, with ſome other perſonages of quality, and was brought priſoner into the Caſtle of *Limburg*, where he was kept for many years; and during his impriſonment, compoſed the greateſt part of thoſe his Politick and Military Diſcourſes which are of ſuch eſteem in *France*: For which he receives this praiſe from his Nation, That he knew as well how to handle his pen as his ſword, and to be as worthy in peace as in war. The ſame *Rubays* endeavoured under-hand to ſurpriſe *Bruſſels*: but becauſe his practices were mingled with deceit, they proved fruitleſs. The Signor *di Selle* had worſe ſucceſs in his plots againſt *Boucain*, a conſiderable Town upon the *Scheld* between *Valentiennes* and *Cambray*: For being come near unto the place, he was by double dealing taken priſoner, together with divers others. But the *Walloons* ſoon after beſieged the Town, reduced it to a neceſſity of ſurrendring, and much to their advantage took it.

The King, as we told you before, had it in his thoughts to ſend back the Dutcheſs of *Parma* into *Flanders*; intending that ſhe ſhould have the total adminiſtration of the Government, and that the Prince her Son ſhould have the particular charge of the *Militia*. And although the King had afterwards confirmed the Prince in *Don Johns* place, yet his mind ran ſtill upon it. And reſolving at laſt to doe it, he had by his own Letters, and by his Agents in *Italy* acquainted the ſaid Dutcheſs with his intention herein, and had earneſtly deſired her that ſhe would again take upon her the Government of thoſe Provinces. She was much troubled hereat: She was beſet on one ſide by a deſire to ſatisfie the Kings pleaſure, as alſo to procure new glory to herſelf; and on the other ſide by her deſire of ſeeing her Son more glorious in the full Government of thoſe Countries. But in fine the Kings preſſures were ſo inſtant, as ſhe could not keep from condeſcending thereunto. Wherefore beginning her journy, and leaving *Italy*, ſhe came to *Namures*: where ſhe ſtaid, and would go no further, till ſhe might more fully underſtand the Kings pleaſure. She found that the affairs of *Flanders* were in a very troubleſom condition; that ſhe herſelf was well advanced in years, and therefore much fitter to deſire her quiet, then to thruſt herſelf into new troubles; that the Prince her Son was in the full ſtrength of his age, and had given ſuch proof of his wiſdom and valour in this the beginning of his Government, as that the like progreſs was undoubtedly to be expected. Her motherly affection was ſo much the greater in her, by his being her onely Son. So as ſetting aſide all ſelf-reſpect, ſhe turn'd all her endeavours to the King as ſo many interceſſors in his behalf. He went immediately to *Namures* to meet her, and to pay her ſuch affection and reverence as in duty he was bound to doe. But being alſo full of generous thoughts, he could not well endure that his Government ſhould be any way diminiſhed, after having had ſo full Authority therein, and ſo proſperouſly exerciſed it. The Mother thought this her Sons reſentment very juſt, which confirmed her the more in her own opinion. Wherefore ſhe reiterated her deſires to the King, and wrote him a Letter, the Contents whereof were theſe.

How ready I have been to obey your Majeſty by returning into Flanders, *your Majeſties ſelf hath vouchſafed to witneſs, by being graciouſly pleaſed to like well of it. Now that I have obeyed your Royal commands in this behalf, I ſhall, for what concerns the Government, humbly lay before you again my ſenſe thereof; and that the more freely, for that it ſhall clearly appear I aim only at your Majeſties ſervice therein. I came not long ſince to* Namures, *as I quickly ſignified unto your Majeſty. And though whilſt in* Italy, *the troubles of theſe Countries were not unknown unto me, yet I confeſs I find them now, as an eye-witneſs thereof, to be much greater then I had conceived them. Which inforceth me humbly again to beſeech your Majeſty, as I did in* Italy, *to conſider how little available my ſervice will be unto you in this Government. Here is no more way left for fair means; all hope of accommodation is loſt; the Rebellion grows every day hotter: This wound muſt be dreſt by the ſword,*

sword, and cured by fire. Since then this Government is wholly to consist of Force, your Majesty cannot chuse but see how much fitter my Son is to serve you therein then my self. He is in the full strength of his age: After having spent his younger years in your Majesties royal Court, he hath imployed the rest either in the Theory or Practise of Arms; and as yet he hath so managed them in Flanders, *as every day greater additions may be hoped for to your service. His loyalty unto your Majesty is answerable to mine: nor should he be of my blood, if he were not of my opinion. To boot that he cannot but be the more like therein of himself, in respect of the so many gracious favours which your Majesty hath pleased to confirm upon him. The height thereof will now be in your being pleased to leave the Government of these Provinces wholly to him alone, and that he may bear the sole weight thereof, which is to consist in Arms, wherein my company can be of no advantage at all unto him. I humbly beg this of your Majesty, with as much affection and reverence as I am able. Quiet better becomes my age: And not being able to doe more, I will continually send my wishes from* Italy *into* Flanders; *and we will both at the same time conspire to serve your Majesty, I with my Prayers, and my Son with his Forces: Nor can we doubt but the one will be heard, and the other prospered by God; since the war first begun here, hath hitherto been continued, and is now prosecuted more then ever, more for the glory of his Name, then for any self interest of your Majesties.*

The King at last granted the Dutchess her desire. Whereupon she returned to her former peaceable condition into *Italy*, and the Prince her Son remained in his former full Command of *Flanders*. The Flemish Rebels had this mean while fixt upon their resolution of changing Prince; nor were the Catholicks able to counterpoise the Hereticks. Yet to satisfie the Catholicks, *Orange* had procured that the Treaty concluded in favour of *Alanson*, a Prince who profest and who might give hopes of favouring the Catholick religion. And to say truth, the Queen of *England* little valued his being preferred before her: For she considered very wisely the uncertainty of such a purchase, and how certain she had been on the other side to draw upon her the revenge and Forces of the King of *Spain*. Wherefore she in deep wisdom did rather favour the canvasing for *Alanson*; judging that it would make much more for her security, that the Forces of *France* should be wasted bootlesly in the wars of *Flanders*; that the King of *Spains* Forces should be likewise consumed at the same time; and that by the almost necessity of those two Kings going to war with one another, it must come to an open feud between them: Nor did she despair, but that the Low-Countries more involved in troubles then ever, the Flemish would at last have recourse to her protection; that she might then draw from thence such advantages as time and occasion should offer her When then the Provinces had resolved to transfer their Government upon the Duke of *Alanson*, they failed not to chuse a noble Embassie out of some of their Deputies, to acquaint him with the resolution which they had taken; the chief whereof was the Lord *Aldegonde*. They began their journey in *August*, and passing into *France* found the Duke at *Tours*, where they discharged their Commission to him. The Duke accepted of his new Dominion and upon the same Conditions which he was to observe on his part, if he would enjoy it. Which were these:

'That the Belgick States chose *Francis* of *Valois*, Duke of *Alanson* and of '*Anjou*, with the usual preheminencies and titles, for their Prince. That in case 'the Duke should have more Sons lawfully begotten then one, the States might 'chuse which of them they should like best for their Prince; and that if he should 'be a Child, they were to appoint him a Governour, and that in the interim they 'themselves should administer the Government of the Provinces. That if 'the Duke should die without heirs, it should be lawfull for the States to 'chuse a new Prince. That the Duke should inviolably maintain the Priviledges 'of the Country, and call together the States-Generall at least once every 'year; in whose power it should be howsoever to assemble themselves together 'upon any needfull occasion. That the Officers of War, Councellors of State, 'Governours of Provinces and Towns, should always be chosen by him, with the 'approbation of the States. That the Duke should reside in the *Low-Countries*; 'and upon any occasion of going from thence, should leave some Nobleman of

'the Country Governour, with the participation of the States. For what concerned Religion, that the Duke ſhould not have power to innovate any thing, but ſhould equally protect both the Catholick and the Reformed religion. That *Holland* and *Zealand*, in point of Religion and Government, ſhould continue in their preſent condition; ſubmitting notwithſtanding together with the other Provinces unto the Duke, in point of concurring to the neceſſity of Contributions, and in the coyning of monies. That the Duke ſhould procure all help and aſſiſtance from the King his brother, and from *France* againſt the common enemies; carrying it ſo as the War ſhould be made joyntly between them; yet ſo notwithſtanding as the Low-Countries ſhould not be underſtood to be incorporated into *France*. And that the Low-Countries ſhould furniſh him with 200000 pounds a year for neceſſary expences. That all former Confederacies ſhould be renewed; and that the Duke ſhould not make any new ones, nor treat of any alliance, without the conſent of the States. That all foreign ſouldiers, yea even the French ſhould quit the Country when the States ſhould deſire it. That if any other places of the Country would joyn with the States, and be under the Duke, they ſhould be comprehended within the preſent Treaty. That ſuch places as the Duke ſhould take by force, ſhould be by him diſpoſed of, with the approbation of the States. That if the Duke ſhould fail in the things promiſed and ſworn unto, the States ſhould be underſtood to be free from all ſubjection. And for what concerned the Archduke *Mathias*, who was called into the Low-Countries, and had plaid his part ſo well, the Duke and States ſhould give him all convenient ſatisfaction.

Upon theſe Conditions the Provinces of the Flemiſh Union, agreed to come under the obedience of their new Prince. An obedience notwithſtanding which bore with it ſo much of command, as certainly they were much more free then ſubject. In fine, the Duke poſſeſt almoſt nothing of Principality but the title. Nor could he exerciſe any other Authority in the Country, then what belonged to the bare Governour of a Province: to boot that in *Holland* and *Zealand* the whole Government was to be in the Prince of *Orange* apart. The King of *Spain* quarrelled very much with the King of *France* for this action. Who ſeeming not to blame it, excuſed himſelf notwithſtanding for the aforeſaid reaſons, as not able to hinder it. For as for the reſt, he confeſſed he very well knew how much the Rebellion of the Hereticks in *Flanders*, might aſſiſt that which the Hugonots had ſo often raiſed in his own Kingdom of *France*; where he ſhould more ſuſpect their ways then ever. *Alanſon* his new Principallity being proclaimed throughout the Provinces of the Flemiſh Union, when their Deputies were returned: the King thought it was no longer time to defer the utmoſt reſcentment of his indignation againſt *Orange*, who was the framer, and chief contriver of this action. And therefore by his Royal Proclamation in print, he declared him to be the Author of the troubles in *Flanders*, the Seducer of thoſe people againſt the Church and againſt their Prince; and therefore guilty of High Treaſon, both Divine and Humane, and to be a publick Rebel in both thoſe reſpects; and that as ſuch a one, he deprived him of all Dignities, Goods, and Honours, condemned him to the moſt capital puniſhments: and ſet 25000 crowns upon his head, to be given to whoſoever ſhould bring him to him either alive or dead, together with other greater rewards. *Orange* anſwered this Writing, with another very long one, in print alſo; and endeavoured therein to juſtifie whatſoever he had done. And for the better confirmation thereof, made it to be underwritten and confirmed by the States of the Provinces: exagerating again therein rather in an invective then bemoaning manner, the ſame things, which had been ſo often before both ſaid, written, and printed by him and his followers, againſt the King, againſt his Miniſters of State, and againſt the Spaniſh Nation.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK II.

The Contents.

The War proceeds on ſeverat ſides with diverſity of ſucceſs. Ferneſe *beſiegeth* Cambray *at a diſtance; but* Alanſon *by mighty Forces, ſuccours and ſecures it. Whereupon* Ferneſe *prevails with the Walloons to give way to the returning of Foreign Forces. The mean while he beſiegeth* Torney, *and takes it. The Archduke* Mathias *departs, and goes to the Emperours Court. The Duke of* Alanſon, *the new Prince comes from the Court of* England *into* Flanders. *His reception in* Antwerp. Orange *is treacherouſly wounded by a muſket ſhot in the face: but the wound proves not mortal. The danger which* Alanſons *French men run thereupon.* Ferneſe *is better encouraged by the daily increaſe of his Army. He begirts and takes* Odenarde, *and gets many other advantages. The Rebels ſtorm thereat, and complain of their new Prince. A Noble combate between the Royaliſts and the Enemy under the Walls of* Gaunt. Alanſons *expected men come at laſt. The opinion of the French Commanders to make the Duke lay the ground-work of his new Principallity upon arms. Their Councel chiefly to ſurpriſe* Antwerp. *They com to the execution thereof; but the ſucceſs is not anſwerable. The Confederate Provinces are hereat greatly offended. And though* Orange *re-unites them and* Alanſon, *yet great diffidence is had on both ſides.* Alanſon *reſolves therefore to return to* France. *And ſoon after his men do the like. By this means* Ferneſe's *advantages increaſe.* Orange *endeavours again to reconcile the Flemiſh and the French. But in the mean while* Alanſon *dies: and ſoon after* Orange.

THeſe were the novelties which *Flanders* was threatned withall from *France.* But in the mean while thoſe were no leſs felt, under which the Country already laboured; and though the Kings Forces were very weak, as were alſo thoſe of the enemy, yet ſuch endeavours were had on both ſides, as ſtill ſome atchievement, or loſs of importance was had and made by each of them. The Rebels took *Conde*, a Town of ſome moment in the Province of *Henault*, towards *Flanders*: But the Royaliſts ſuddenly recovered it: and each time that it was taken, it was miſerably plundered. The Walloons this mean while

while continued their inrodes into the Countries of *Tornay* and *Cambray*: And the Prince of *Parma* reſolved to beſiege *Cambray* at large at the preſent, till he ſhould have ſufficient Forces to beleaguer it nearer hand. That place gave him particular cauſe of jealouſie, out of the aforeſaid reaſons; and howſoever, he would have been willing to have bereft the *French* of ſo commodious and advantagious a place of receipt.

This year there was nothing elſe of importance done on this ſide *Rhine* towards the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders*: but there was ſomewhat done on the other ſide which was very conſiderable. *Ferneſe* endeavoured to advance the Kings affairs by the way of Treaty, as well as of Arms. He had ſecretly drawn over the Count *de Berg* to the Kings ſide, who was *Orange* his Couſin, and Governor of *Ghelderland* for the States. But *Orange* diſcovering the practiſe, was ſo much the more incenſed, as he leſs lookt for ſuch an action from one ſo near allied unto him: He made him be deprived of his Government, and ſought how to trouble him divers other wayes. Nor was this of any great conſequence to the Kings affairs, out of any ſelf-conſideration of the Count; for he was not verſt in the Military profeſſion, and was much more reſpected for his Houſe ſake then for his own Perſonage. Yet it made for the King by the acquiſition which he thereby made of his Sons, who were many, and who all proved valiant men, and were much imployed in Arms. Another ſuch like buſineſs fell out more luckily to *Ferneſe* at the ſame time, being of more advantage to the Kings ſervice. The Count of *Renemberg* was Governor of *Frieſland* and of *Groninghen* for the States, and he had done them very good ſervice in thoſe parts, as you have heard before: But reſolving at laſt to adhere unto the Catholick cauſe, and to the King, and being hereupon privately agreed with the Prince of *Parma*, he waited to declare himſelf by ſome act of conſequence, which might render his merit the greater with the Church and King. Yet could not this be ſo cloſely handled, but that *Orange* got ſome incling of it. The States therefore prevented him, making themſelves ſure of the Caſtles in *Leverden* and *Harlinghen*, which were kept by the Counts ſouldiers. Wherefore the Count fearing leſt they might doe the like in *Groninghen*, reſolved to be beforehand with them there, as he luckily was: He made thoſe that ſided with him within the City take up Arms, and made ſome other of his Followers that were without enter at the ſame time; and poſſeſſing the Town and Gates, made himſelf wholly ſure of that City. *Orange* was much enraged at this news: He made no delay, but raiſing ſuch ſtrength as he could in thoſe parts, he ſent the Count of *Hollack* away with them to recover *Groninghen*; who ſate down before it, but rather with a ſlow then ſtrait ſiege, by reaſon of divers difficulties which he met withall at the beginning. But his men increaſing every day, and coming to make Batteries, the beſiegers began to hope better, by reaſon the Kings forces were ſo ſmall, and ſo far off. *Martin Schinck* had won great renown in the wars, and more particularly on the other ſide of *Rhine*. He was of *Ghelders*, of no very great family: Quick of wit, and hand; and ſuch a one in dangers, as it might be queſtioned whether he were better acquainted with them, or valued them leſs; and therefore whether he ſhewed himſelf more cautious, or leſs circumſpect in his military actions. Amidſt theſe contrary mixtures, after having paſt through the common degrees of the *Militia*, he came to others of better quality. He then having by orders from *Ferneſe* gathered together ſome of the Kings *Germans* who were yet in thoſe parts of *Frieſland*, and aſſembled a good many of the ſelf *Frieſland* Souldiers, reſolved to relieve *Groninghen*, and to that purpoſe marched thitherward. *Hollack* would not wait this aſſault underneath the City-walls, for fear that at the ſame time he might be ſet upon by thoſe within the Town. Wherefore marching to meet *Schink*, who was fewer in number then he, he endeavoured to break him, at leaſt to keep him from his deſigned ſuccour: but he found the contrary; for coming to battel, after a fierce fight, *Hollack* was routed, the City freed from the ſiege, and *Schink* greatly renowned for this action. *Renemberg* being hereupon encouraged, marcht towards the Town of *Delfeziel*, and after ſome oppoſition took it. He afterwards upon a great encounter routed *Hollack*, and recovered the Town of *Coverden*, which a little before was fallen into the States hands: And carried on by one ſucceſs unto another,

Philip Count Holach Baron of
Langenberg &c. First Generall
for the United Provinces. / 198

another, he beſieged *Stenwick*, a place of importance. The year 1581. was this mean while begun; and the Colds being very great, the Enemies endeavoured divers times to relieve the Town by Ice, and were divers times beaten back. But Colonel *Norris*, an Engliſh-man, who commanded there in chief, and by whom this Relief was chiefly managed, having gotten more men, *Renemberg*, after he had maintained the ſiege three moneths, was inforced to riſe, and marcht away in good order with all his Camp. Nor was it long after, whilſt purſuing ſuch like actions, and whilſt he raiſed expectation of greater, he dyed; to the great grief of the Prince of *Parma*, who hoped for great good to the Kings ſervice from his fidelity and valour. The Prince made *Francis Verdugo*, a Spaniard, Governour of the Kings forces in *Frieſland*; who was equally good at councel, and action. At which *Schinck* was not well pleaſed, who aimed at that place; and he was the more offended, for that he did not look that a ſtranger ſhould be choſen thereinto. Wherefore for that and ſome other new occaſions, he after a while paſt over to the contrary part. But whilſt he continued yet in the Kings ſervice, he met with another occaſion of making himſelf famous: For he routed the Enemy who beſieged *Goer*, doing great execution upon them, and taking many of their chief Commanders priſoners. *Verdugo* this mean while began his Government alſo with good ſucceſs: For he preſently took *Embden*, a place thereabouts of great moment; and coming afterwards to grapple with the Enemy, he defeated them, and got thereby a notable advantage. But he could not get *Newziel*, which he afterwards beſieged; for the place was well guarded within, and opportunely ſuccoured from without.

At this time there happened a very conſiderable ſurpriſe in favour of the King on this ſide the *Rhine* in *Brabant*. By intelligence with ſome Catholicks, *il Signor d' Altapenna* was privately brought into the Caſtle of *Breda*; and entring from thence into the Town, he made himſelf wholly maſter of it, and the Prince of *Parma* placed a good garriſon there. *Orange* was hereat mightily diſpleaſed, for that Town was his own, wherefore he eſteemed the loſs to be wholly his. *Altapenna* by the like intelligence endeavoured afterwards to get by ſtealth into *San Getremburg*, and into *Heusden*; but he failed of both. As the States did likewiſe in the ſurpriſing of *Balduke*, which was endeavoured by *John Junius* Burgomaſter of *Antwerp*: who afterwards in his return took *Eindoven* and *Elmont* by ſudden aſſault, both of ſmall conſequence. Whilſt they proceeded thus on both ſides of the *Rhine*, the Prince of *Parma* had at large beſieged the City of *Cambray*. He would very willingly, for the aforeſaid reaſons, have ſate down before it with a Royal ſiege, to force it to return to its former obedience to the King; and the whole Country of the *Walloons* joyn'd with him in this deſire: but he had not ſufficient Forces Wherefore the Prince, after having infeſted that City with continual incurſions, and endeavoured ſtill to bring it to a greater ſcarcity of victuals; finally with ſome Forts from a certain place where he might moſt moleſt it, he was come ſo near it, as there was already great ſcarcity of all neceſſaries in the Town. In former times that City depended wholly upon the German Empire: but of later times, having always ſhewed great affection towards the Princes of *Flanders*, it at laſt permitted the Emperor *Charles* the fifth to build a Citadel there, that he might keep it ſo the better from ever falling into the French mens hands. It had ſtill kept in the ſame devotion to the King his Son. But in theſe laſt revolts, Signor *d' Inſy*, the Governour thereof, being deſirous to adhere unto the *Flemiſh* Inſurrection, the City was likewiſe induced by him to doe the ſame. The *Walloon* Provinces being afterwards reconciled unto the King, the Flemiſh Rebels could not provide ſufficiently for it, by reaſon of the impediments cauſed by the ſame Walloon Country, lying between thoſe parts which favoured the Rebels, and *Cambray*. The Governour therefore ſeeing it in ſo great ſtraits, and being of the ſame mind with the Rebels in favouring the Duke of *Alanſon*, he addreſt himſelf to the ſame Duke, and earneſtly deſired ſuccour of him proteſting that otherwiſe the City would ſoon fall into *Ferneſes* hands. The Flemiſh Rebels and *Orange* in particular had likewiſe with great fervencie intreated the ſame of the Duke. Wherefore he thought he muſt by no means loſe ſuch an occaſion to bereave *Spain* of ſuch an advantage, and to turn it to the benefit of *France*. The

Dukes

Dukes deſigne of ſuccouring *Cambray*, together with the hopes of winning it, being known in the King his brothers Court, the Nobility ran from almoſt all the parts of the Kingdom to be with him upon ſuch an occurrancy. Wherefore the Duke having in a ſhort time gathered together a gallant Army of 12000 foot, and 3000 horſe, he marched towards *Cambray*, to relieve it, and free it from the ſtraits wherein it was. *Ferneſe* knew he could not withſtand ſo powerfull a ſtrength; having ſo few Forces as he could neither incamp himſelf in face of the enemy, nor ſufficiently fortifie himſelf about the walls of the City. Wherefore forgoing the Forts, he reſolved to retreat. Some ſlight skirmiſhes happened upon this occaſion between the two Camps; and the Country being finally left wholly free to the French, the Duke had leaſure to relieve the City, and to furniſh it abundantly with all things neceſſary. He himſelf entred thereinto, and being ſolemnly received, he made a large Declaration, that he was come into it, as into a City of the Empire, and that as ſuch a one he would keep it and defend it: He upon this occaſion took likewiſe the Caſtle of *Cambreſis*. From hence he ſuddenly returned to *France*; though he was earneſtly deſired by the Flemiſh Rebels, who were now become his Subjects, to come further into the Country, and make good uſe of the ſo many Forces as he now had, upon that occaſion. But becauſe they were really to be eſteemed rather lent Forces, then any of his own, being haſtily, and tumultuouſly gathered together; and he not having monies to maintain the Army any longer at that time; he could not ſatisfie them in their deſires, but made ſuch excuſes as were neceſſary. He aſſured them notwithſtanding that he would be ſuddenly with them with good Forces. And that to that purpoſe, he would not only uſe all poſſible dilligence and induſtry with the King his brother, but go himſelf, if need ſhould be, into *England*, and uſe all other efficacious endeavours with his neighbours.

Theſe Forces of *Alanſons* being vaniſhed ſooner then it was believed they would be, the Walloons took courage again, and hoped for good ſucceſs. Yet was the Prince of *Parma* very much troubled within himſelf, as well by reaſon of his retreat from *Cambray*, as alſo for that he verily thought he ſhould never do any thing of conſequence by the ſole help of thoſe Countries who kept loyal to the King. He had upon divers occaſions endeavoured to make this known to thoſe who were of greateſt power amongſt the Walloons; and had dexterouſly ſuggeſted unto them, how much they themſelves ought to deſire, not only for the Kings ſervice, but even for the good of their own Country, that the foreign ſouldiers might again return. But he could not ſo repreſent the neceſſity thereof, but that they had their equal jealouſies: for all the Country deſired very much to be free of Foreign Forces. The Prince found not therefore ſuch a diſpoſition in them thereunto as he deſired. The Marquis of *Rubays* was in great eſteem amongſt the Walloons, as you have often heard. And doubtleſly he deſerved to be ſo, by reaſon of his bloud, valour, and adherency of friends. The Prince had contracted a particular friendſhip and truſt with him: wherefore he reſolved to uſe all the means he could to draw him over to his opinion of fetching back the Foreign Souldiers into *Flanders*. He therefore took him one day by the hand, and after a Flemiſh familiarity, joyn'd with a Military Authority, he ſpake thus unto him.

How weak the Forces are (moſt valiant Sir) which we have now here in the Kings Service, cannot be better known to any then to your ſelf, who have ſo great a ſhare in the Command thereof. The Agreement made with the Walloon Provinces hath certainly been of great advantage to the Kings Affairs. It is every day ſeen that their Forces can neither be more faithfull nor more valiant: But every day likewiſe confirms that which was then feared; that their forces alone would not be ſufficient to carry on the Warre. And to deſcend to particulars, tell me, I pray you, What thing of conſequence have we done, ſince the taking of Maſtrick, *wherein the Foreign Souldiers did intervene? Have we ever been able to take the field with any conſiderable Army? or by any ſufficient Siege forced any place of importance? rather how ſhamefully have we been compelled to riſe from before* Cambray? *and alſo with how much loſs? The French before our eyes have not only relieved the Town, but fully taken poſſeſſion thereof: which was the ſtrongeſt out-work your Countrey had*

towards

towards their Frontiers. How much is the union of the Rebels also encouraged by our weakness? Is not their rash perfidiousness come now to the greatest height? What more execrable thing could they devise to do, then so affrontedly, and by their own sole authority to chuse unto themselves a new Prince? Then since reason requires that such enormous faults should be punished, and that this cannot be done by the sole forces of the obedient part of the Country, why should it not be thought necessary to be done by strangers? Why should not the former souldiery be suffered to return again, and an Army be thereby made which may be worthy of our King, worthy of the Cause which he maintains, and by which this still renewing Hidra of Rebellion may be tamed? When this wicked Monster shall be corrected, and Peace and Loyalty shall be every where established throughout the Country, it is not to be doubted but that the King will presently of his own accord remove all foreign souldiers, and leave the Custody of the Country to their own Militia. And thus when the Kings forces shall be returned hither in their former vigour, how great shall our advantages be together with his? Then, when we with a flourishing Army shall be able to be Masters of the field, storm all places, win all battels, and compass all our desires; I, who am the Commander in chief, and you who next to me have the chiefest Command, What shall our share of glory be in all these successes? what rewards are not we to expect from the Kings bounty and goodness? and how triumphant shall we be in the Church by suppressing Heresie? Out of all these considerations, Sir! I most heartily desire you, that you will be pleased particularly to interpose your endeavours, and your Authority where need shall require it, that the foreign souldiery may return hither again with the good will of the obedient Party. Your desert was certainly highly valued by the King, when you reconciled your Provinces to his Royal Crown; but how much will it now be increased? and how glorious shall I make it appear? And I already pawn my faith unto you, that if this may be done, the King shall acknowledge it chiefly to be your work; for what remains, you know the friendship that I have promised you: which you may be sure shall be inviolably observed by me: in fine, either I shall be of no power in this Government, or your part therein next mine own shall be the greatest.

Rubays was much moved at these words. He thought himself too much obliged by the confidence which the Prince seemed to put in him; and he desired to signalize himself as much as he could in the Kings service. He considered moreover that the service of the Walloon Countries was sufficiently joyned to his good; since if they would not admit the company of foreigners who were their friends, they ran hazard of being inslaved by their ennemies, who were likewise foreigners; or under the like of their own Flemish Hereticks, or that of their Chieftain *Orange*; whose chief end was to abase the Nobility, and by the favour of the multitude to build up a Tyrranny to himself. Wherefore wholly inflamed, both with devotion to the King, and affection to the Prince, *Rubays* answered him in resolute terms, that he would do all that lay in him, to effect the Prince his desire. *Rubays* being won, it was not hard for *Ferneſe* to draw the rest to be of the same mind, who were the chiefest either amongst the Nobles, Ecclesiasticks, or Commonalty. So as the business was suddenly so well carried on by all sides, as the Walloon Provinces instead of hindring it, resolved to facilitate it as much as they could; and not only to give way for the return of the Foreign Militia, but by a particular person of their own, to desire it of the King. The Flemish Rebels were by this time come to the proclaiming of their new Prince. To which purpose a General Assembly being called in the *Hague*, the first by a long writing in Print, Declared, That the King of *Spain* had forfeited his Soveraignty over those Provinces, and strictly commanded that no further obedience should be given him. And the reasons which they alleadged for this were, Because he went about to oppress the people in their consciences, and by open force to violate their priviledges. Then the Assembly being fully informed of all that their Deputies had resolved in *France* with the Duke of *Alanson*, they publickly gave out that he was now their Prince, and resolved to receive him, and acknowledge him as such a one with all greatest solemnity. And being still fuller of hopes, by reason of those advantages which *Alanson* had so luckily atchieved by the relieving of *Cambray*, and taking of *Cambresis*, they did verily believe that he

would very ſpeedily ſend the people that he had promiſed, and would come quickly himſelf to take poſſeſſion of his new States. They notwithſtanding did much ſollicite him to haſten them both. But he ſaid, that he muſt needs firſt goe into *England* to ſpeak with the Queen, and that the Queen her ſelf did much deſire he ſhould doe ſo. And indeed it was true: For ſhe did deſire to engage him ſtill more and more in the revolts of *Flanders*, for the aforeſaid reaſons. And ſhe carried the buſineſs on with ſuch cunning, as ſhe fed him with hopes that ſhe would marry him. Which hopes were notwithſtanding judged to be but vain, by reaſon of the inequality of their ages; he being very young, and ſhe already inclining to old age. Moreover every one knew, that when ſhe was of a fitter age for marriage, ſhe being of a maſculine ſpirit, and very deſirous to govern, had always refuſed to take any for a Companion into her bed, for that ſhe would have no Companion in her Princely government. But howſoever the Duke was not diſpleaſed with this deceit; for he turn'd it to his advantage with the Flemiſh, by making his expectation the greater amongſt them, and by giving the greater cre. to his Forces. Which proved notwithſtanding ſo weak, as he could not as then ſend any conſiderable ſtrength to the Rebels.

Wherefore *Ferneſe* having this advantage, and encouraged the more by the ſpeedy return which the foreign Forces were to make, he reſolved to beſiege *Tournay*, wherein the obedient Provinces joyned fully with him. The City of *Tournay*, together with the Country of *Tourneſis*, hath a particular Government of its own; which was then adminiſtred by the Prince of *Eſpenoy*, who adhered to the Flemiſh Union. It lies upon the Gallican ſide of the Province of *Flanders*: wherefore the *Walloons* deſired very much to take it, ſo to reunite that tract of ground which joyns upon their Country, to its allegiance to the King. The Prince of *Eſpenoy* was not at this time in *Tournay*: but his wife *Maria de la Laign* was there; A woman of great ſpirit, and who performed in this Siege (as ſhall be ſhewn) whatſoever could be expected from her husband. *Tournay* may be numbred amongſt the nobleſt Cities of *Flanders*, as well for its antient foundation, as for being amply furniſhed both with people, trafick, and edifices. It is every where ſurrounded with fruitfull and pleaſant fields; and through the midſt of it, under divers bridges runs the *Scheld*, a River which begins there to ennoble it ſelf, not being well navigable before. Whilſt this City was under the *Engliſh*, in the time of *Henry* the 8. they built a good Caſtle there, eſteemed ſtrong in that Age, but not to be compared to the latter Royal Fortifications: It is only flanked with Towers, after the old faſhion; and the antient walls of the City have the ſame imperfection, yet theſe are in ſome parts helped by Ravelins raiſed after the modern faſhion. On the lower ſide the *Scheld* joyns to the Ditch, which on the upper ſide is wholly dry. In lieu of the Prince of *Eſpenoy*, *il Signor d'Etraal*, his Lieutenant, governed the City at this time: but he had but a ſmall Garriſon in the Town; for *Eſpenoy* being buſie with the Prince of *Orange* about ſome other imployment, had carried away with him many Souldiers who formerly belonged to that Garriſon. But the Inhabitants, who were for the moſt part Hereticks, ſupplied the defect of the Garriſon; who were therefore ſo bitter againſt the Kings party, as they could not appear more alienate from the one, nor more affectionate to the other: They had unarm'd the Catholicks, as not confiding in them; and in all other demonſtrations ſhewed themſelves ready to ſtand upon their defence. On the other ſide, *Ferneſe* was not ignorant how weak they were within, and how ſmall hopes they had to be relieved from without. Wherefore without any longer delay he marched with his Army, and about the begining of *October* drew near to *Tournay*, and began to order his Quarters. His Camp was not then very great, but he hoped to have it ſpeedily ingroſt by ſome *Germans*, which by his directions were raiſing in thoſe parts near *Flanders*. And the Abbot of *St. Wedaſto* being ſent from the *Walloons* into *Spain*, to ſollicite the King to ſend ſome new Forces again, as ſoon as might be, into *Flanders* from *Spain* and *Italy*; *Ferneſe* was in great expectation of having ſhortly one of the moſt flouriſhing Armies that was ever ſeen in thoſe Provinces. Having then ordered his affairs, and ſecured his quarters, the Officers of the Army conſulted on which ſide they ought to make their batteries: The opinion was, that they ſhould play

play upon one of the longeſt and worſt flankt Curtains on that ſide where the Ditch was dry. This ſpace lay between two gates, the one called S. *Martins*, the other *Valentiennes*. A good Ravelin was thruſt out for the defence of the former, and a great Platform ſtood over the other. Yet theſe two Defences were ſo far from another, and the Curtain which ran betwixt them bowed ſo far outward, as neither could the one defend, nor yet ſee the other. Wherefore to make good this defect, there was a great Cavallier of Earth raiſed about the midſt of the Curtain. But howſoever all that ſide was ſo imperfect, as the Prince of *Parma* judged it moſt advantagious for him, and therefore turned the ſtrength of his ſiege upon it. The Kings men coming before it with their wonted Trenches, they began to plant three Batteries, to deprive the beſieged of the three aforeſaid Defences. They within were not wanting this mean while on their parts. They with frequent ſhooting annoyed thoſe without, from the aforeſaid Works; and oppoſed themſelves unto them nearer hand by ſtout Sallies, though they were ſparing therein by reaſon of the paucity of their Souldiers. The Princeſs of *Eſpenoy* with great gallantry did herſelf encourage them; and with incredible vigilancie performing all the manlike actions which her husband could have done, exhorted ſome, intreated other ſome, uſed ſometimes threats, ſometimes a more moderate power; ſhe herſelf did ſometimes execute her own orders; and in fine ſhe omitted not any thing which might make for the ſuſtaining of the ſiege. On the oher ſide *Ferneſe*, having his eye every where, and playing himſelf alſo the part of a private Souldier more then of a Commander, did continually ſollicite all the Works, even the furtheſt off, that he might come the ſooner to thoſe that were nearer hand. So as within a few dayes the Trenches were ſo far advanced, as they might come to the Batteries, upon each of which were many Pieces of great Cannon placed, and they began to thunder apace upon the Enemies works. The Kings men were not long in falling into the Ditch; the which being dry, they might the more eaſily come to the wall, and by their Mathooks and Mines the ſooner throw it down. Yet thoſe within were not at all diſcouraged; but with inceſſant labour both by day and night, repaired the wall where it was moſt needfull, and prepared for every other part of greateſt danger. The Siege paſt on quietly ſome dayes amidſt theſe leſs noiſefull endeavours. But the Kings men renewing their batteries more hotly then ever, as alſo their works in the Ditch, they made ſuch breaches in the wall, as they thought they might by aſſault make themſelvs maſters of it: wherefore with a great deal of courage and alacrity they prepared for it. The beſieged were no leſs couragious, nor no leſs reſolute to defend themſelves. Great therefore was the fierce and bloody Conflict, when they came to it. Many of the beſt of both ſides were ſlain; and Fortune ſmiling alternately, ſometimes on this, ſometimes on that ſide, their hopes did accordingly vary. In the very heat of the fight the Princeſs ſhewed miraculous courage; and throwing herſelf where the danger was greateſt,

Am not I here (ſaid ſhe) *my ſelf? Doe not I here in mine own perſon repreſent the Prince my husband? I am here no leſs ready then he to deſpiſe death, that I may, as We all ought, be ſerviceable to the Country. Let us therefore reſolve, my ſouldiers, rather to loſe our lives then our ſtation: Let us undauntedly make it good, as We have done hitherto. The Enemy muſt at laſt yield: And the winning of this Battel, will ſecure the like ſucceſs unto us in all others.*

She accompanied theſe her words with no leſs manlike actions; for thruſting herſelf into the crowd, whilſt ſhe either fought herſelf, or encouraged others to fight, ſhe was wounded in the Arm. The Defendants ſtill more ſet on fire by ſuch an Example, continued making ſo ſtout reſiſtance, as the Royaliſts were at laſt forced to give over, and retreated with the loſs of many of their men. Beſides many Captains and other Officers, the Count *Rucquoi*, the Signor *de Gloine*, and *de Bours*, periſht in this aſſault; and the Marquis of *Barambone*, *John Baptiſta di Monte*, Signor *di Montigni*, and the Baron of *Bigli* were wounded. From the very beginning of this Siege, the Duke of *Alanſon*, who was then in *England*, had encouraged the beſieged, and aſſured them that he would undoubtedly ſoon relieve them, either by coming to them himſelf in perſon, or by ſending ſuccour. Wherefore they betook themſelves the more boldly to this defence.

Orange had fed them with the like hopes; and more then all others their own Governour *Espenoye*. But seeing that there came no men from *Alanson*, and that the Flemish Rebels did nothing to relieve them, their former vigour lessened with their hopes. Yet was not the Princess wanting in keeping their hopes alive as much as she was able. And *Etreel* the Lieutenant did the like. And some days after the assault, Colonel *Preston*, a Scotchman, forcing his way through some German Companies of the Kings Camp, got with some horse into the City; the besieged were at first somewhat inheartned by this success; hoping that after this small relief, some greater would shortly appear: But when they understood by *Preston*, that there was no tidings heard any where of the coming of any French into *Flanders*; and that there was no appearance of any succour from the Flemish, the besieged lost all hopes of being further able to continue their defence. The City was of a large circuit; the men in pay but few in number; nor were the Inhabitants so many as were any ways able to supply all necessary occurrences: besides, many of both sorts were perished in the actions; and they began already within the Town to have scarcity of many things. On the contrary the Kings Camp was increased by Germans And *Fernese* encouraged by his expectation of having more men speedily from *Burgony*, as also from *Spain* and *Italy*, renewed all such works as were necessary for the taking of the City, and speedy reducing it to the Kings obedience. There were notwithstanding some amongst the besieged, who blinded with rage, and desirous to confound the privat with the publick evils, would have had them stand it out till the last gasp: but at last the more advised Councels prevailed. For the City having no hopes of succour, they foresaw it would be taken by force, and like *Mastrick*, plundered, and put to fire and sword. They therefore thought of a Parley, wherein they might have the best conditions they could get. The Princess was akin to the chiefest of the Kings Camp; particularly to the Marquis of *Rubays*. Wherefore she by their means agreed to surrender up the City upon such conditions, as more honourable could not well be had. The Town was surrendred the last day save one of *November*; and the conditions were these.

That the City should receive a full pardon from the King. That the Citizens should return to the true obedience of the Church and King. That those who would not live after the Catholick profession, might enjoy their goods any where out of the Country, That the souldiers should be suffered to march out with theirs Arms, bagage, and Colours flying. That the City should pay 20000 *pound to keep from being sackt. And that the Princess of* Espenoy *might be suffered to go freely whether she pleased with all her wealth, goods, substance and family.*

Thus was T*ornay* yielded; and the Princess at her coming forth, was received with such applause in the Kings Camp, as it might be judged she came forth not as Conquered, but as Conqueress: The news this mean while continued that the Duke of *Alanson* would be quickly in *Flanders*; and that without returning to *France*, he would come directly from *England*, and land in *Zealand*. The Archduke *Mathias* had till this time kept in the Low-Countries, and agitated with many hopes, could never fix upon any. From the beginning he could not be Governour there by the Kings approbation. He had enjoy'd nothing but likelyhoods in the Rebels Government; and nothing but the Title in the management of the Militia: yet he thought he merited by suffering. Wherefore discovering the Rebels resolution of changing Prince, he flattered himself mainly upon that occasion, with new and ardent hopes. He omitted not to make those things be suggested which might make most for his advantage: and particularly his Austrian bloud of *Germany*, which for so many years, and with such satisfaction to the people had Governed *Flanders*. But being but little listned unto, and less considered, and afterwards excluded out of all, he was fain to be content, and to return to his friends, and former condition in *Germany*. VVhen therefore it was noised that *Alanson* was in *England*, and that he would be speedily in *Flanders*, *Mathias* tarryed no longer, but going by *Cullen*, past over the *Rhine*, and returned to his usual abode in the Emperours Court. This year ended with his departure, and with the *Signior d' Altapenna's* indeavour to surprise *Bergen ap Zome*; which Town he was very near surprising: for he and his men had

had already won one Gate, and were begun to get more inward; when the Garison betaking themselves to their Arms, and the people flocking from all parts, the Royalists were forced to go out many of them being slain, and many wounded. In the beginning of the year 1582. certain news was brought to *Flanders* at last, that the Duke of *Alanson* was departed from *England*, with intention of landing in *Zealand*. After having been entertained many days, with much feasting and honourable treatment, he went from *London*, and within three days came to *Flushing*. The Queen made him be attended with a great Fleet of her ships which were commanded by *Charls Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, and would have him waited upon by divers of the chiefest Lords of her Kingdom; amongst which was the Earl of *Lester*, who was then in great Authority and favour with her. When *Alanson* was come to *Flushing*, he was received by *Orange*, *Espeney*, and a great many other personages of quality who were come thither to that purpose. They brought him from thence to *Midleburg*, where staying a few days, he came to *Antwerp* attended by above 50 Flemish ships gloriously trimed; he landed upon the banks of *Scheld*, near the Citadel, and was met with an incredible applause, and concourse of people. After the wonted ceremonies of interchangeable oaths, he entred on horseback into the City, which was every where set out with triumphant Arches, and other publick demonstrations of joy for his arrival. *Alanson* being thus brought into his new Principality, it was not long ere he began to know that hardly was the appearances or shadow thereof left unto him. On the other side, the Flemish began quickly to comprehend that he had brought with him nothing but the outside of vain hopes, and of spetious titles. He could not obtain any Forces of consequence from the King his brother; and from the Queen of *England* such and so many only, as by his means the Dominion of those Countries might rather be taken from the King of *Spain*, then enjoyed by himself. Wherefore the heat of that first welcome quickly cooled; and the Inhabitants of *Antwerp* began to take some distaste at the Duke in point of Religion. The Hereticks were already so prevalent there, as but very little share of exercise remained for the Catholicks; who had recourse unto the Duke to remedy the oppression which they received. On the contrary, the others endeavoured by all means to continue their advantages: and though some satisfaction was at last given to the Catholicks, yet were not they therewithall quieted, nor did the Hereticks on their sides seem to be satisfied. But an untoward accident which happened not long after, had likely to have given him an ill favoured welcome, and to have indangered his life. Which was this, A young Spaniard of mean birth in *Biscay*, having resolved to kill *Orange*, and taking both time and place fitting for his purpose in *Orange* his own house, discharg'd a musket in his face, and wounded him so as at the first he was thought to be dead. The noise being heard, many hasted thither, and astonished at the spectacle, without further adoe slew the offender. The news of this flew suddenly from the house to the Piazza, and from the Piazza to every least corner of the City. Nor is it to be said what a commotion it caused amongst the people. Every one ran with anxiety from one place to another to know the truth thereof; and lamenting one another, and as if not only the Father of the Country, but even the Father of every particular Family had been slain, they bewailed the privat and publick misfortune which they thought had befaln them. In this agitation it was whisperred that the French had been the authors of this misdeed, that they might rid their hands of *Orange* and thereby make the Duke of *Alansons* Authority the more free. The baser sort of people turning their commisseration into fury, ran headlong to *Alansons* house intending to kill all the French that they should find there, and peradventure not to spare his own person. In this interim the first fear was seised in *Orange* his house, for the wound being searched, was found not to be mortal: the bullet had only past through both his cheeks, beaten out some of his teeth, and occasioned the loss of much bloud, which for a while hindred his speech. But when he knew it was a Spaniard who had shot him, and heard what danger the French were in, and even *Alanson* himself, he writ some Tickets with his own hand, and sent abroad divers in his own name, who cleared the business, and freed the multitude of their suspitions. When all tumults were ceased, they

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fell to search into the fact, that they might make the juster resentment. The most common opinion was, that the *Bischeyard* to gain the fine that was set by the Kings Proclamation upon *Orange* his head, and out of hopes of greater rewards, had rashly resolved to undertake the business. One *Jaspar Annastro*, a Spanish Merchant had a share therein, but he was broken, and therefore gone from *Antwerp*. And one *Antony Venero*, and a Votary of St *Dominicks* called *Antony Timmermanno* were put to death, and cruelly torn in pieces as complices in the misdeed.

This accident caused a great commotion in the Confedrate Provinces: And the Prince of *Parma* hoping that thereby some advantage might result to the Kings affairs, was not falling on his behalf to doe what was fittest upon that occasion. But *Orange* being quickly out of danger, and afterwards perfectly cured, all fear ceased amongst the Rebels, and they continued more firm then ever in their former resolutions. Whilst these things past thus in *Antwerp*, the Forces of both sides were not idle, though they did but little. *Verdugo* had made some further proceedings on the other side of the *Rhine*, and had taken some Towns in *Friesland*, and in the parts thereabouts. And on the contrary, the States had better secured the Towns of greater importance, and strove to preserve those advantages which they had got on that side. And they got one advantage of great moment at that time, by the taking of *Schink* prisoner as he returned from *Germany*, being sent thither by *Fernese* to raise more Horse. On this side the *Rhine* they had at unawares assaulted the Town of *Alst* with some of their men, and taken it. And the *Walloons* had done the like to *Gaesbeck*, a Town not far distant from the other. But this mean while *Fernese* growing stronger in men, and yet more strong in hopes after the success of *Tornay*, and after the accident which had befallen *Orange*, resolved to besiege *Odenhard*, one of the best esteem'd Towns in the Province of *Flanders*, both for its situation, traffick, and people. *Odenhard* lies upon the *Scheld*, almost in the mid-way between *Tornay* and *Gaunt*. It is begirt with a good Wall and the Wall with a large Ditch: within the Walls it is furnisht with good Platforms; but it hath never a Royal Bulwark without, and therefore is but imperfectly fortified every where: It hath on one side an eminent Rise, which commands the whole Town. *Fernese* incamped himself before it; but first he seemed as if he would besiege *Menin*, so to draw the greater number of the Enemy thither, and that *Odenhard* might be thereby the more weakned. And the effect did correspond with the design: For there were not left above 500 Souldiers in *Odenhard*, but under a very gallant Commander, called *Frederick Borch*; as he together with the Garrison made it appear to the very end of the Siege. The Kings Army having taken up their Quarters, *Fernese* quickly possest the Rise, and from thence began to play upon the Town with his Canon: he then came to the working of Trenches, and preparing of Batteries. The Prince was desirous to spare as much as might be the blood which is usually shed in Assaults; wherefore his intention was to make a less bloody, but more secure Siege. Yet a great breach being made in a Ravelin which fenced the Gate, they made an Assault; but the event proved not fortunate: For a Bridge which was to serve for passage over the Ditch, and so to get upon th Breach, not being so long as was requisite, was with great disorder thrown down, and those within made such resistance, as the Royalists were forced to give over the attempt. Wherefore *Fernese* was the more confirmed in his former opinion of proceeding with greater caution, and in lieu of Assaults to use the Pick-axe and Mines. This Siege did very much vex the Flemish Rebels: wherefore mustering a considerable strength of Foot, which were almost all of them *English* and *Scots*, under Colonel *Norris* and Colonel *Seaton*, together with a good number of Rutters, they sent them into the Province of *Flanders*, and disposed of them about *Gaunt*, intending to adde thereunto, and to endeavour the freeing of *Odenhard*. But *Fernese's* Forces being likewise increased by *Germans* and *Walloons*, and expecting the aforenamed others, he fortified himself so well on that side, as the Enemy could never bring in any the least succour into the Town. This mean while a Mutiny hapned in the Kings Camp for want of Pay, amongst some of the *Germans*; and the Enemy both within and without hoped to reap some advantage thereby. But the Mutiny being

being in a few dayes quieted, and the Prince having by the punishment of some made the rest more obedient, the Enemy despaired of holding out longer. The Siege lasted notwithstanding from the beginning of *April* till almost the end of *June*: And the Town was surrendred upon such Conditions, as the Garrison marched out honourably, and the Townsmen were contented. Soon after the Royalists took *Lira* also, a great Town in the bowels of *Brabant*, not many houres march from *Antwerp*, and therefore very proper to annoy that City. There was in it, amongst others, Captain *William Simple*, a Scotch-man, with his Foot-Company of the same Nation. *Simple* holding secret intelligence with *Alanpenna*, he under some other colourable pretence brought him in by night, and driving out the rest of the Flemish garrison, put the Town into the hands of the Royalists. The Flemish seeing these continual losses, not any assistance appearing as yet from *Alanson*, and not being very well satisfied with him before his coming to *Flanders*, they could no longer forbear breaking forth into sharp and spitefull speeches against him.

Where are (said they) *these so many promised Forces? where the Armies which would suddenly fall from* France *down into* Flanders? *and where the helps which should also come from* England? *That upon these assured hopes the* Flemish *had chosen, declared, and received him for their Prince; and that in lieu thereof what had he brought them save only vain Titles, and all other vain Appearances? That his so many in vain reiterated promises were every day renewed by him, but no performance seen. That this mean while their losses were still increased, and consequently the Enemies atchievements. That by the taking of* Tournay, *the Prince of* Parma *had gotten the whole Country of the* Walloons *into his hands. That from* Odenhard *he might goe even to the wals of* Gaunt, *and from* Lira *to the wals of* Antwerp. *That his Army was already ingrost with* Germans; *that he expected Recruits from* Burgony, *and soon after from* Spain *and* Italy: *So as now how did* Flanders *swarm with Foreigners? and in what danger were the chiefest Cities of the* Flemish *Union? That their new Princes succours would come just then, when they should make not the strength, but the scorn of his new Principality the greater.*

These and the like Complaints did the *Flemish* make against *Alanson* and the *French*. Nor did they spare *Orange* himself, complaining that under pretence of procuring the publike felicity of the Country, he had rather minded his own private advantages. He was not ignorant of these the passions of the Commonalty; but knowing very well how to make use of them, he was not offended that the vulgar should vent them; and maintaining such correspondencie as was needful with the graver sort, and minding with them the carrying on of the common designs, he slackned not a whit from his fervencie in advancing *Alansons* affairs. When the first Ceremonies of the new Principality were ended in *Antwerp*, *Alanson* past by Sea with *Orange* into the Province of *Flanders*, and made his solemn entry first into *Bruges*, and then into *Gaunt*. Here they stayed, expecting the Forces which were to come from without, and to reinforce those that were within. Those Souldiers which were first sent to succour *Odenhard*, were now almost within sight of *Gaunt*. But *Ferneſe* being past from hopes to manifest effects, had received the Militia which was expected from fartheſt abroad; which consisted of two Brigadoes of Spanish Foot, under the Camp-masters *Christopher Mandragone*, and *Peter Paze*,; and of two other Italian Brigadoes, under the Camp-masters *Camillo de Marcheſi del Monte*, and *Mario Cardoine*; together with many Troops of Horse of both those Countries. He then delayed no longer; but picking 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse out of the Army, he went to find out the Enemy. His Quarters were (as hath been said) near the wals of *Gaunt* in a Village well intrenched. At first the Enemy seemed not to refuse battel; they drew out in good order, but went not far from their Trenches, nor from the shelter of the wals of the City which were well furnisht with Artillery. Yet did not the Royalists cease advancing, but skirmisht with the Enemy; hoping that as the skirmish should grow hot, they might be brought to a full battel. But the Enemy making valiant resistance, and yet loth to lose his advantage, kept still in good order, till at last they resolved to draw nearer to the wals of *Gaunt*, as to a place of more safety. The Kings men advancing charged the Enemy very fiercely;

fiercely; and they, facing about, and ſuſtaining the Charge with their Horſe, retreated very valiantly and in good order to where they would be. *Alanſon* and *Orange* ſtood upon the wals looking upon this action, and encouraging their men without, and aſſiſting them with the Artillery from within, they made their Retreat the more noble, and the more ſecure. This Combat laſted many hours, being much more then a bare skirmiſh, and much leſs then a joyn'd Battel. The Kings men loſt moſt; and of the *Italians*, *Ferrante Gonzaga* was in particular grievouſly wounded. Of the Enemies, amongſt others, Monſieur *de Sanſoval* and Monſieur *de Rochepot* won great praiſe; both of them being French Gentlemen that were come with *Alanſon*. The Enemy being retreated, *Ferneſe* did for a while keep his men in good order, that he might to their faces taxe the Enemy for refuſing battel all that day, and challenge them to it again: But ſeeing they did not ſtir, he reſolved at laſt to retreat alſo, and to bethink himſelf of ſomwhat elſe. 'Twas ſaid that thoſe Forces which were to come from *France* into *Flanders* to ſerve *Alanſon*, were a gathering up about *Cambray*. *Ferneſe* therefore turn'd his men thitherward to oppoſe them: But underſtanding afterwards that the ſaid *French* were reſolved to enter by *Dunkirk*, he being more at liberty, begirt the Caſtle of *Cambreſis* and took it. He then threatned to beſiege *Cambray*, but they were only threats: For winter now drawing on, hindred him from proſecuting his deſign; and moreover neceſſity called upon him to oppoſe the Enemy elſwhere; who ſeeing *Ferneſe* ſo far off, and hoping thereby to reap ſome advantage, aſſaulted and took *Gaesbeck* in *Brabant*, and ſoon after they likewiſe took the Town of *Mega* upon the *Mauſe*. But *Ferneſe* returning ſpeedily upon them, he retook *Gaesbeck*, took *Nienove*, and ſecured *Lira*, which was in ſome danger. *Verdugo* this mean while continued making further progreſs on the other ſide the *Rhine*: He had tryed the Town of *Lochem*, and had lain ſome moneths about it; but not being able to get the Town by ſiege, he eaſily took *Stenwick* afterwards by ſurpriſe. On the contrary, the Enemy had ſtormed the Town of *Haſſelt*, ſituated upon the River *Haa*, and much advantaged their affairs on that ſide. But the whole body of both Armies was reduced to this ſide the *Rhine*: And now after ſo long expectation, *Alanſons* men were come. They were not in all above 3000 *Switzers* Foot, 2500 *French* Foot, and 1000 *French* Horſe. Their Leaders had brought them into *Flanders* by the way of *Dunkirk*: And becauſe winter was already begun, 'twas fitter thinking of putting them into garriſons, then of drawing them into the field. Their chief Commander was the Duke of *Mompenſiere*, a Prince of the blood-royal; and with him was the Marſhal *Biroun*, a very gallant Gentleman, and who was highly eſteemed throughout all *France* for his valour in war. The men were diſtributed to winter in *Dunkirk*, in *Newport*, in *Oſtend*, in *Bruges*, in *Dixmund*, and in *Terramonde*, and in ſome other part of the Country of *Vas*; all which were garriſons within the Province of *Flanders*. *Alanſon* having been ſolemnly received in *Bruges* and in *Gaunt*, was come to *Antwerp*. Here all the other French Commanders that were newly come, ſtaid with him. But when they ſaw how little account was made of *Alanſon*, that he hardly enjoyed the bare title of Soveraignty, that the Government was wholly in *Orange* his hands, that the *Flemiſh* did already diſcover themſelves not very well minded towards the *French*, and that in effect they did not pay the Duke the monies which they had promiſed him for the maintenance of his men, nor did adde ſuch men of their own as were needful to his: It is not to be expreſt how much the Marſhal, amongſt others, fretted within himſelf, as alſo did the other Commanders that were come with him. Thoſe who were of beſt eſteem with the Duke, and who were come firſt in with him, were likewiſe ſenſible of the ſame ſhame and anger, inſomuch as ſome of the forwardeſt of them could no longer contain themſelves. Entring then into a very ſecret conſultation, they reſolved to perſwade the Duke to ground his new Principality upon Arms, ſince the other Form of exerciſing it, which was preſcribed him, was altogether vain and unworthy. Monſieur *de Fervaches*, a Gentleman of a very Noble family, very diſcreet, and ſtout, and who during the Civil wars of *France* was alſo made Marſhal of that Crown, was in great favour with the Duke. This man eaſily arrogating unto himſelf the chief place in this deſign, took upon him the care of pro-

propounding it to the Duke; and taking a fitting time ſpake thus unto him.

How much (moſt gracious Sir!) had we who have the honour to enjoy the prime places in your Highneſs his ſervice, rather never have come into Flanders, *then in coming hither find the Royal blould of* France *ſo much vilified? conſider, Sir! your birth; and then ſee whether your preſent condition here doth correſpond therewithall or no. You the only brother of the King; you the Dolphine of* France; *you who are likely every hour to ſucceed to the greateſt Monarchy of* Europe: *in what poſture, I beſeech you, are you now here in* Flanders? *You the Ruler of theſe Countries? You the Duke of* Brabant? *Earl of* Flanders, Holland *and* Zealand, *and Lord of theſe Confederate Provinces? 'Tis true theſe are your Titles: theſe are your appearing greatneſſes; but ſet theſe vain ſhadows aſide, tell me I pray you, what do you enjoy here which makes you not rather ſubject to obey, then to Command? You cannot ſay a word but* Orange *muſt firſt put it into your mouth: you can frame no deſigne whatſoever, which muſt not firſt be aſſented to by the Soveraignty of the States General, nay by the particular States, not only of every Province, but of every City and meaneſt Town therein. And where are the monies they promiſed you? where are their paid men? where ſo many other conditions ſo ill made good by them? 'Tis* Orange *then that is rather the true Prince. And he will have the people to be their own Soveraigns, to allure them ſtill more with the bait of Liberty, that he himſelf may hereafter the more eaſily invade it, and reduce it to final ſlavery. And truly what honour is not given to him even before your face? whether doth not his opinion reach? and the authority of his name? And will your Highneſs ſit down ſtill by ſuch aſcorn? will you forget your ſelf, your Royal blond, and your glorious Nation? how much better will it become you to accompany your right with force of Arms? there is no ruling without Forces. Nor was the bare conſent of the people ever ſufficient to make a Princes Government ſo ſecure as it ought to be. The people alter hourly: and who hath had better tryal hereof then your ſelf? hardly was the Ceremonies of your firſt reception over, when out of a ſlight ſuſpition of the common people, you and all yours ran hazard of your lives Little leſs then 6000 choice foot, and 1000 choice horſe are brought hither for your ſervice: to boot with a great number of other French horſe and foot who are here in ſervice under the Union of the Confederates. The former are diſpoſed of in divers of the chiefeſt Towns of* Flanders. *Wherefore then do not you reſolve to make your ſelf Maſter of all thoſe places at once? but chiefly why do you not make this City of* Antwerp *your own? when you ſhall have made your ſelf Maſter of theſe places, as you may eaſily do; how can you doubt but that all* France *will be ſuddenly up in arms, and that the whole Kingdom will come in to your aſſiſtance? and that the King your brother will endeavour by all means to procure ſo fair an acquiſition to his Crown? an acquiſition of Countries, which your Royal blond hath in former times in a good part governed and enjoy'd? you will then be Prince of* Flanders *indeed. Then muſt* Orange *and the reſt receive Laws from you, and not you from them. And your new Empire being thus grounded upon force, you may afterwards as you ſhall pleaſe, uſe that other way of intreaties. It is not raſhly nor unadviſedly that I give you this Councel. It is the common opinion of all the beſt Commanders of your Forces. We all ſtrive who ſhall contribute moſt to your greatneſs, and raiſe up your honour as much as it is now abaſed here. I who am the firſt to adviſe you hereunto, will be one of the firſt who ſhall help to bring it to paſs: and ſhall account it my greateſt glory either to live to ſee this done, or to die in the endeavouring of it*

At the hearing of this Diſcourſe *Alanſon* was much more confuſed then perſwaded. On the one ſide the difficulties appeared to be very great which this advice brought with it; which he could not ſufficiently diſcern. And on the other ſide, he deſired it might be effected; but was not ſo reſolute as he ought to have been to go about it. After awhiles wavering within himſelf, he (as was his cuſtom) left himſelf to be diſpoſed of as the reſt ſhould pleaſe. Wherefore his anſwer was, 'That *Ferraches*, and the reſt of the Commanders ſhould do what they 'thought beſt for his ſafety and advantage.

They were not long about it. The reſolution was, That upon a certain prefixt day, (which was appointed to be the 17 day of *January*) all the Dukes ſouldiers ſhould take an occaſion to mutiny in the ſeveral places where they were quar-

tered, and ſhould drive the Flemiſh Gariſons out of them. The greateſt difficulty lay in the making of themſelves Maſters of *Antwerp*. They could not do it by open force, the City being ſo great and populous. And if they ſhould go about to ſurpriſe it, they might likewiſe meet with many impediments; yet neceſſity pleaded for the latter: but becauſe neither could it be done by ſurpriſal, unleſs at the ſame time that force ſhould be begun to be uſed within the City, another ſufficient force might be without; it was reſolved that a good ſtrength of the Dukes horſe and foot, ſhould be brought at the time appointed into ſome Villages near the Walls of the City, as if it were by the way of paſſage. The new year 1583 was then begun, and the colds were exceeding ſharp. The States therefore hoped by means of the Ice, which makes the low fields of *Frieſland* more paſſable then any other time of the year, to do ſomewhat for their advantage in thoſe parts. Wherefore they deſired the Duke to go with ſome good forces into *Ghelderland* to increaſe their other forces on the other ſide the *Rhine*; and to this end they had made certain ſums of mony be payed unto him. Nothing could have faln out more fortunately for the French then this. So as about the midſt of *January* all their men ſave ſuch as were to ſtay in their Gariſons in the Province of *Flanders*, to make themſelves Maſters of thoſe Towns as was reſolved upon, were in the Villages about *Antwerp*; this mean while there were many French with the Duke in *Antwerp*, and particularly the chief of the Nobility; as well for the honour which they rendred unto his perſon, as for ſome other feigned occaſions which the Duke had purpoſely cauſed ariſe at that conjuncture of time. Yet few were acquainted with the deſigne, which was thus ordered. On the 17 day the people which were lodged about the Town, were to be ſtirring early in the morning, as if they were to march towards *Frieſland*. The Duke was to go out by St *James* his gate, which was the neareſt, as if he were to make the ſame journy; when he ſhould be gone out, thoſe that remained behind were ſuddenly to poſſeſs themſelves of that gate. Another gate near unto it, called *Ceſars* gate, was ſuddenly to be poſſeſt alſo. The Curtain which runs between theſe two gates, being eaſily won, the Artillery which were upon it, were to be turned upon the Town, for the greater terror of the Inhabitants: the ſouldiers that were without ſhould ſuddenly enter the City and joyn with thoſe that were within the Town. And for a token to know themſelves the better by, the Dukes ſouldiers ſhould cry,

The Town is taken, may the Maſs proſper.

and particular order was taken that above all things the French ſhould not be ſuffered to plunder the City, leſt the ſouldiers might through avarice be diverted, and ſo the Inhabitants be the more incenſed to riſe up againſt them. In all ſurpriſes ſecrecy is of mighty importance, to have them ſucceed well, they muſt be done before they be declared. But it is often times found, that many orders cannot be executed becauſe they are not underſtood. And thoſe being confuſed, the whole deſigne muſt needs ſuddenly vaniſh. The buſineſs coming to the birth, the Duke, according to the agreement, went on horſeback from his houſe, and with many others in his company, rid towards St *James* his gate, ſo to get out of the City. When he was gotten out, thoſe that ſtaid behind ſeemed to fall together by the ears, and laying their hands upon their ſwords, turned upon them that kept the gates; and killing ſome, and driving away the reſt, they were eaſily maſters of the Gate. The people flocking together at the noiſe hereof, were much confuſed at ſuch a novelty. The *Antwerpians* were not at this time free of ſuſpition, ſeeing ſo many French men amongſt them; yet could they not fear ſuch a thing as this. They were in ſome poſture of taking up arms, upon any occaſion of tumult that might ariſe. The French this mean while poſſeſt themſelves eaſily likewiſe of the *Caſarean* gate, and of the aboveſaid Curtain. Hereupon the novelty appeared the greater on their ſide, and the commotion much greater on the behalf of the Inhabitants: and chiefly when the French began to run up and down the ſtreets, and in a loud and hoſtile manner to pronounce theſe words,

The Town is taken, may the Maſs proſper.

At

At the ſame time 15 Foot-Companies, and 10 Troops of Horſe entred the Town; and the *Switzers* being further off then the reſt, were the longer in coming. In this interim their happened an accident which much diſordered the French-mens buſineſs. S. *James's* Gate had a Percullis to ſhut out all entrance when need ſhould require, upon a ſudden. Were it either that the *French* had not thought upon it, or that they had neglected it, there was none of them that took care of it. Which the *Antwerpians* failed not to make uſe of; for they threw down the Percullis, and ſo inhibited all entrance at that gate. The French-men were entred by this gate, and by this gate were the *Switzers* alſo to enter. The Inhabitants were this mean while ſtill in greater commotion, and had better armed themſelvs; they were at this time very numerous, and by the ſo long experience of war, and their own ſo many ſufferings, well verſt in Arms. The French-men at firſt had the better: But having had the firſt ſlaughter of the people, believing that they ſhould not afterward meet with any conſiderable reſiſtance, and that their fellows that were without would ſhare with them rather in the prey then in the peril; neglecting, or peradventure not having received the Orders from thoſe few that were within, they fell immediately to plunder. The people then incenſed with anger and fury, joyned their Forces together, and behaved themſelves valiantly againſt the *French*: The love of their Country, Children, Parents, ſubſtances, and of themſelves, added to their ſtrength; but when 'twas known that no more of the Dukes men could come in by S *James's* gate, the *Antwerpians* were ſo encouraged, and the *French* diſcouraged, as the faces of affairs began wholly to alter. The *Antwerpians* without any further delay recovered the *Cæſarean* gate, and then ſetting upon thoſe that guarded the aforeſaid Curtain or Line, drove them eaſily away, and threw many of them down from off the wall; deceiving thoſe that were without, who thought it to be an effect of the ſurpriſe. This being done, the *French* that were within the Town could not much longer reſiſt the Townſmen, they were every where encompaſt by them. Of the Citizens, thoſe that were not armed, joyn'd with thoſe that were armed; and even the women with the men, to make at firſt the better defence, and afterwards to take the better revenge. So as the French-men having no whither to fly unto in the City, and not receiving any ſuccour from without, for any thing that the Duke and the other Commanders that were gone forth with him could doe, they were all at laſt either wounded, ſlain, or taken priſoners. About 1500 were ſlain, and of thoſe ſome of the beſt both for birth and valour. Thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners were almoſt as many; and theſe were alſo likely to have periſhed, had not *Orange* by his authority interpoſed and ſaved them. Of the Townſmen not many more then 100 were ſlain, but a great many more hurt. *Orange* had ſome occaſions which kept him from waiting upon *Alanſon* out of the Town, as otherwiſe he had in honour been bound to doe. And becauſe he lay in the Caſtle, which ſtands a pretty diſtance from the moſt frequented part of the City, he could not come in ſo ſoon as was needful; beſides, he thought it at firſt to be but ſome ſquabble between the looſer ſort of the People and the Souldiers. Notwithſtanding there were ſome who ſuſpected his cartiage in this buſineſs, as if he had had a hand in the ſurpriſal. But how was it poſſible to believe, that changing his principles, he ſhould deſtroy his firſt ends, and ſerve in ſtead of commanding? And therefore it was rather to be believed, that when he underſtood the truth, he thought it better to quiet the minds on all ſides, and not to break off the Agreement, which after ſo long, ſo many, and ſo doubtfull endeavours had been made with *Alanſon*. Thus ended the intended ſurpriſal of *Antwerp*. The common opinion was, that the Duke of *Mompenſier*, and the Marſhal *Birenne* were averſe to this deſign; and that judging it not feaſible, as partaking more of raſhneſs then of ſtoutneſs, they had oftentimes endeavoured to diſſwade the Duke from it, but ſtill in vain; for that the reſt who were the authors of it, and who were more in favour with him, had made him too fond of it. The ſurpriſals of *Dunkirk*, *Dixmund*, *Terremond* and of ſome other leſs conſiderable places, ſucceeded better. In the other Towns of greater conſequence, were it either that the *French* were too inferior in numbers to the *Flemiſh*, or that Fortune was more favourable to the latter then to the former, they took no effect at all. The Duke much

much confuſed, and not knowing what to doe, went from the walls of *Antwerp* to *Terramonde*, and from thence by letters, meſſages, and particularly by *Orange* his interpoſition, he began to uſe all means to return again to his former good intelligence and agreement with the Flemiſh. This ſo unexpected deſign of the French againſt the Flemiſh being divulged, it is not to be ſaid how much the Confederate Provinces were troubled at it. But the Province of *Flanders* was moſt troubled, wherein the deſign was laid, and in a good part effected. In ſo much as *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, and generally all the Flemicant part of the Province, broke forth into grievous complaints againſt the Duke, and ſeemed to be fully minded no longer to endure *Alanſons* Principality. The reſt of the Provinces were of the ſame opinion. But *Orange* his ſole power was ſufficient to make his ſenſe prevail over all thoſe who were of a contrary mind. At firſt he did very much blame this action of the French, that he might be of more credit afterwards in excuſing them. He laid the fault much more upon the Adviſers, then upon the Duke; alleadging,

'That of his own nature he was a Prince of great goodneſs; and that he was 'rather inforced by the others then adviſed to do what he had done. That an a-'greement ſhould not by any means be broken which had formerly been ripened 'by ſo many conſultations, and at laſt through ſo many difficulties eſtabliſhed. 'That it was apparent, if it ſhould be broken, their affairs would be in worſe con-'dition then before. For *France* would be thereby alienated and offended, where-'as otherwiſe they might receive favour and advantages from thence. That ſome-'times a great diſorder proves very beneficial. That therefore it was to be belie-'ved, that the French by this raſh action would learn to be better adviſed in their 'future proceedings: and the Flemiſh on the contrary would better ſatisfie their 'duties on their behalf. And finally that by all means it was neceſſary to piece up 'with *Alanſon*: ſo to get the French out of the places which they were poſ-'ſeſſed of by way of Treaty; ſince that to go about to get them by force, would 'be both a bloudy, difficult, and uncertain buſineſs: and that the mean while the 'King of *Spains* forces would the more freely, and with the more advantage o-'verrun all places.

The *Antwerpians*, and all the reſt being wrought upon by *Orange* his Authority, and by reaſon, liſtned to a new agreement with *Alanſon*. He firſt excuſed himſelf, and by expreſs Meſſengers, repreſenting the wrong that was done to his men by not paying them; and that afterwards it was not in his power to hinder them. Proceeding from hence to Treaties, 'The Duke obliged himſelf to re-'tire for the preſent to *Dunkirk*, taking with him but a reaſonable number of 'horſe and foot; to leave the other Towns free to the Flemiſh; taking a new 'Oath to imploy all his ſouldiery in all faithfullneſs in the common ſervice of 'himſelf, and of the Provinces. On the other ſide, the French priſoners were ſet 'at liberty; the Dukes men had ſome moneys paid them, and he was promiſed 'that they ſhould be well treated in all other kinds afterwards. And ſo affairs 'returned to their former condition between the Duke and the Provinces: but 'rather in a feigned, then real way of Demonſtration; for indeed there never paſt 'any good correſpondency betweem them afterward, though the King of *France* 'by very efficacious endeavours, and by Agents of his own, had ſtrove to appeaſe 'the Flemiſh, and to confirm them in their former favour to his brother.

The Prince of *Parma* hoped ſome notable advantage might accrue to the Kings ſervice, from this occaſion which had ſo exaſperated the Flemiſh againſt the French. To this purpoſe he opportunely moved the chief Cities of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, which were alienated from the King; thinking that if he could reduce thoſe two important Provinces wholly to their allegiance, the reſt might the more eaſily be reduced afterwards either by the way of Treaty or force. But theſe his endeavours wrought no other effect, then the others had done which he had uſed when *Orange* was wounded. He therefore reſolved wholly to uſe force; wherein he found himſelf already ſo far to exceed the enemy, as he doubted not but that by this means only he might promiſe unto himſelf all good ſucceſs in the Kings affairs. Before *Alanſons* Frenchmen had endeavoured the aforeſaid novelties, Monſieur *de Boniverre*, one of their Commanders, had at unawares taken the

the Town of *Eyndoven* in *Campigni*, which is a very considerable part of *Brabant*. Which *Ferneſe* was not ſlow in regaining; to which purpoſe he diſpatched away Count *Charls Mansfield* towards it with good forces. On the other ſide, the Confederate Flemiſh deſired greatly to keep that Town in their hands; wherfore after their agreement with *Alanſon*, they carried it ſo as ſome of his men went thitherward to make *Mansfield* raiſe the ſiege. But he had already ſo fortified himſelf about it, as thoſe within not receiving any relief from thoſe without, they were at laſt forced to yield. The French which were in *Eyndoven* went to joyn with the other French which were with Mariſhall *Byronne* in *Brabant*; on that ſide which lies neareſt *Holland*. Here he ſtormed the Caſtle of *Woude*, and took ſome other places thereabouts. On the contrary part, *Turnault*, *Hoſtrat* and *Diſte* fell into *Mansfields* hands, with ſome other places of leſs moment. This mean while *Ferneſe* arrived, who preſently marched towards *Byronne*. The French had fortified themſelves towards the Town of *Roſendal*: but yet the Prince aſſaulted them with ſuch reſolution, as they thought it their ſafeſt courſe to retreat to within the Town; which they could not do in ſuch order, but that what by ſlaughter, running away, and by being taken priſoners, they loſt a great many of their men, and *Byronn's* ſelf was hurt in the foot. *Ferneſe* reſolved afterward to take *Herentale*, and therefore incompaſſed it with conſiderable forces. But underſtanding that the Duke of *Alanſon* either for the ſmall ſatisfaction he received in *Flanders*, or for ſome other affairs in *France*, was gon from *Dunkirk* to *Callis*; *Ferneſe* changing his mind, marched ſuddenly with all his Camp towards *Dunkirk*, to recover that Town which ſtands upon the Sea, and which for other conſiderations is of very great conſequence. There was but a weak Gariſon in it, and the Townſmen could not be worſe minded towards the French. The States got *Bironne* to go with thoſe French which he had with him to ſuccour it. But ſuch was the abhorrition which the Flemiſh had for the French, as they could effect nothing in time to any purpoſe; wherefore *Ferneſe* within a few days recovered that Town, ſuffering the French to march out with all honourable conditions. He likewiſe recovered *Newport*, a Town of great conſequence likewiſe upon the ſea-ſide. And from thence he tryed to take *Oſtend*, a Town upon the ſame level: but he found it ſo ſtrongly ſituated, and ſo well provided of men, as he would not ſpend any long time in beſieging it; and leave ſo many other happy opportunities which preſented themſelves unto him in divers other parts. Having ſoon recovered *Dixmund*, he beſieged the City of *Ypri*; and ſet divers other practiſes on foot in *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, and other Towns in the Flemitan part of *Flanders*, to draw that whole Province again to the Kings obedience. This mean while the year 1584 began; nor did the Winter hinder the continuance of the ſiege before *Ypri*. The Rebels endeavoured oft to relieve it; but being either hindred or defeated, they could never effect it. The ſiege endured till the middle of *April*; and the City was ſurrendred vpon almoſt the ſame conditions as *Tornay* had formerly been. The Prince of *Parma* fared as fortunately in the getting of *Bruges* by intelligence. The Prince of *Semay*, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of *Ariſcot* was in it. The father adhered unto the King, but the ſon changing ſides upon various pretences, adhered afterwards to the States. And the Flemican part of *Flanders* was governed by him in their names, and in the name of *Alanſon*. The ſon being ſollicited by his father to come poſt to *Bruges*, obeyed him: for he knew how fitting an opportunity this would be to make amends for his former error, and to reingratiate himſelf with the King, by reducing ſuch a City as this under his obedience, and himſelf again under his ſervice. They came then to conditions; and the largeſt which upon ſuch an occaſion could be demanded were granted, relation always being had to their giving due obedience to the Church and to the King. This hapned in *May*: and this helped to further the Kings affairs in many other things in the ſame Province. At the ſame time *Verdugo* had very much advanced the Kings affairs on the further ſide of the *Rhine* by the taking of *Zutfen*. He got this Town of ſuch importance by ſurpriſe. And the enemy immediately endeavoured to regain it; wherefore Count *Hollach* was ſent thither with good forces, and was ſate down before it. *Verdugo* being thus begirt, craved relief; and *Ferneſe* knew very well how needfull

Anno 1584.

needfull it was to ſend it him. But being buſied in ſo many other affairs on this ſide the *Rhine*, which grew every day more ripe, he could not aſſiſt him ſo ſoon nor with ſuch Forces as he willingly would have done, or as the occaſion required. Count *Aremberg* was at this time about the *Rhine*, being ſent thither by the Prince of *Parma* with a conſiderable ſtrength of Foot and Horſe, to aſſiſt *Erneſtus* of *Bavaria*, newly choſen Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and to exclude the former Archbiſhop *Truxes*, who was depoſed for having gone about to marry, and for ſuſtaining his Apoſtaſie from the Church by favour of the Heretical faction thereabouts. The good cauſe prevailed at laſt: wherefore *Ferneſe* ordered *Aremberg* to go either with all, or a good part of his Forces to the relief of *Zutfen*. And this fell out ſo luckily likewiſe, as *Hollack* was forced to raiſe his ſiege, and to retreat. In this interim *Bironne*, with the reſt of the lately come French, was gone from *Flanders*, the *Flemiſh* having afforded them commodity to do ſo by Sea, for they could not without great danger have gone by Land. Diffidences and diſtaſtes did ſtill increaſe on both parts. Nor was *Orange*'s authority at laſt ſufficient to reconcile *Alanſons* affairs, though he ſtill laboured to doe it; by reaſon of the news which was come from *France*, that the King had declared himſelf much more freely in his Brothers behalf, in his intereſts of *Flanders*; and that he was much better pleaſed with him then he formerly had been. *Orange* took occaſion hereby to induce the States to ſend the Signor of *Schonowel* purpoſely to congratulate with *Alanſon* for this; endeavouring by this means the more to engage both parties in the formerly eſtabliſht reſolutions. But ſoon after came other news, that *Alanſon* was dead in the Caſtle of *Tierry*, after a long ſickneſs, with ſome ſigns that poyſon had been alſo uſed.

Thus he dyed, not being above 30 years old. He was a Prince, of whom it might be queſtioned whether he had been the cauſer of greater troubles in *France* or in *Flanders*. He was alwayes more ruled by others then by himſelf, wavering in all his actions, were it either out of weakneſs of underſtanding, or eaſineſs of nature. Suffering himſelf therefore in *France* to be carried away ſometimes by one Faction, ſometimes by another, and afterwards abandoning them with equal eaſineſs, he applied himſelf again to the Court-Faction, there to receive more ſcorn then reſpect. Wherefore either weary of expecting, or deſpairing of atchieving greater preferments in the Kingdom, he with the like fickleneſs was perſwaded to ſeek for them abroad; and therefore paſſing into *Flanders*, he carried Forces with him thither, and with thoſe Forces new Troubles. For what remains, his Conditions both of body and mind did no wayes correſpond with his Birth: He was low of ſtature, and not very well ſhaped; he was notwithſtanding of a gracious and lively aſpect: Nor were his actions ſo altogether worthy of blame, but that they were in many things praiſe-worthy; he was kind, liberal, not much given to pleaſures, and naturally inclined to follow the beſt advices, unleſs his Favourites prevailed too far with him to imbrace the worſt. He dyed, when together with his years his hopes did moſt flouriſh: For the King having no hopes of Iſſue, he did not only promiſe to himſelf to enjoy the Principality of *Flanders*, but by a greater fortune to ſucceed to the Crown of *France*.

His death was accompanied by the like of *Orange*: *Alanſon* dyed the begining of *June*, and *Orange* left this life in the beginning of *July* following. The manner thus. One *Baldaſar Serack* a Burgonian, a man but of mean birth, but of ſome natural endowments, had wrought himſelf into his acquaintance, and more domeſtically into that of his Followers, with an intention to kill him. *Orange* was then in the Town of *Delf* in *Holland*, about divers publike affairs; one of the chiefeſt whereof was, the better to reeſtabliſh the affairs of *Alanſon*. *Sirack* taking his opportunity, and coming to *Orange* in his chamber under pretence of ſome important buſineſs, he ſhot him with a Piſtol in the flank, and inſtantly ſlew him, he not being able before his death to ſpeak any one word. Then taking himſelf to his heels, he was got ſo far before he was overtaken, as he was already gotten upon the Town-wall with intention of throwing himſelf down into the Ditch, and ſo ſwim out, when he was overtaken by thoſe that followed him, who took him alive, and delivered him up to the hands of Juſtice. They endeavoured by moſt cruel torments to draw from him the reality of the act; and the common belief

was,

was, that he would have confeſt he had received orders for it, and that he expected a reward from *Spain*. But they could never get any thing from him, ſave only that he had ſlain *Orange*, moved thereunto only by himſelf, and to merit much more thereby from God then from the King. He was afterwards condemned to die, and ſuffered death by the moſt cruel puniſhments that might be. Thusdyed *William* of *Naſſaw* Prince of *Orange*, in the 52 year of his Age.

He was a man born certainly for very great renown; if contented with his own peculiar Fortune, he had not through precipices ſought after a greater. The Emperour *Charles* the 5. and his Son *Philip* the 2. did undoubtedly alwayes acknowledge him to be their chiefeſt Subject in all *Flanders*: and each of them ſeemed to ſtrive with the other which ſhould moſt favour him or put a higher eſteem upon him. He was notwithſtanding ſtill in the condition of a Subject; but he had ſo high-pitcht thoughts, as would not ſuffer him to be at quiet under the condition of a Prince. He aſpired therefore to raiſe himſelf thereunto, as hath been ſeen, by the Revolts of *Flanders*. And the heat of his ambition being ſtill carried on by the ordering of his deſigns, he had brought his ends to that paſs, as had he lived, there was little doubt to be made but that he would at leaſt have been Prince of *Holland* and *Zealand* Vigilancie, Induſtry, Liberality, Eloquence, and a quick inſight into any buſineſs, did vie in him with Ambition, Fraud, Audacity, Greedineſs, and with an application of himſelf to all Natures. And theſe his good and bad Qualities were accompanied with all others which the moſt skilfull School of Ruling could teach. At all publike Meetings, and in all other kind of Negotiations, no man knew better then he how to diſpoſe of mens minds, how to wheel about opinions, how to colour pretences, how to haſten buſineſs, or how to prolong them; nor in brief, how more artificially to take his advantage by all other means. He was therefore thought much better at the government of Civil affairs, then at the Military profeſſion. He altered his Religion, according to his Intereſts. Whilſt he was a Child in *Germany*, he was a *Lutheran*: Paſſing into *Flanders*, he ſeemed to be a Catholick: At the begining of the Revolts, he declared himſelf to be a favourer of the new Sects, but not an open profeſſor of any of them; till at laſt he ſeemed to follow *Calviniſm*, as that which of all other Sects is moſt contrary to the Catholick religion, which is maintained by the King of *Spain*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

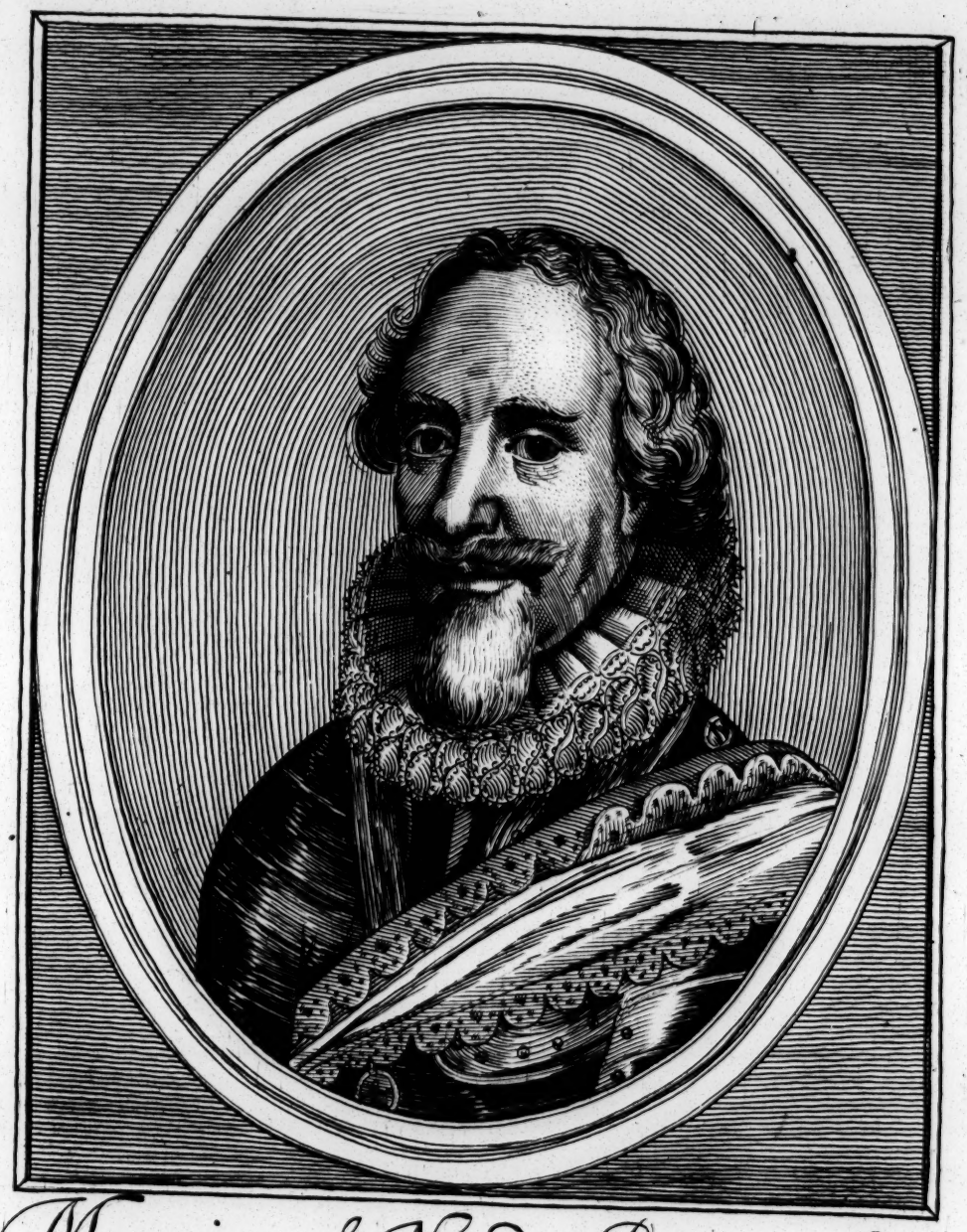
The Second Part.

BOOK III.

The Contents.

In this Book the memorable Siege of Antwerp *is described. The Prince of* Parma *resolves upon this enterprise the rather, because* Orange *is dead, and by reason of the great perturbancie of the Confederate Provinces. He sits down before that City. Its great advantages both in situation, and in all things else.* Ferneſe *in the first place treats of shutting up the* Scheld, *to hinder all succour on that side. To this purpose he designs a Bridge, and the difficulties in making it are mentioned: Howsoever it is resolved to be made.* Ferneſe *begins it: He raiseth a Fort-Royal at each head thereof; and these greater Forts are accompanied here and there with lesser. Oppositions made by the besieged. Their chief Fort at* Lillo *upon the* Scheld. *By this means the* Antwerpians *receive great Aids from the* Hollanders *and* Zealanders; *and therefore they pass freely up and down the River.* Ferneſe *causeth a Navigable Ditch to be cut, the better to bring the materials which were requisite for the Bridge. Hereby the labours are increased.* Ferneſe *endeavours likewise to keep the Enemy from succour by* Lillo *on the Land-side: And therefore secures himself still better there by a Counterdike. What is to be understood by a Dike and Counterdike.* Rubais *takes the particnlar care of the Bridge, and of some men of War to oppose those of the Enemy. The* Antwerpians *begin to be troubled: They use divers means both in* France *and in* England *for succour. The Lord of S.* Aldegonde *endeavours by a perswasive Oration to encourage them as much as he can. They therefore resolve to make all manly resistance. Divers of their preparations to that purpose. They build a Ship vastly great. Their Fire-ships. They first make use of them to the prejudice of the Bridge, which is already perfected; but doe no great good thereby, nor doth the great Ship prove more fortunate. They try their Fire-ships again, but still to no purpose. Then they bend all their might to prejudice the Counterdike, and hope by that means to bring in succour. Their first Assault does no good: They with better order, and greater*

Forces



Maurice of Nassau Prince of
Orange Count Nassau; Governour
of the United Provinces. /

Forces try a ſecond Aſſault. A bloody buſineſs thereupon. Fortune varies the dangers, and at laſt gives the victory to the Royaliſts. The Antwerpians *treat of a Surrender, and after many difficulties deliver up the Town.*

NEver was the loſs of Father, Benefactor, or Prince ſo bewailed, as was *Orange* his death by thoſe of the Confederate Provinces. And ſince they could no longer enjoy his perſon alive, they without any manner of delay ſubſtituted his ſon *Maurice* in his place, a Youth but of 16 years of age, conferring all thoſe ſelf-ſame honours and offices upon him, which they with ſo liberal a hand had beſtowed on his Father. Count *Buren*, *Orange* his eldeſt ſon, was ſtill detained in *Spain*, being ſent thither by the Duke of *Alva*, as hath been ſaid: And therefore the Confederate Provinces choſe *Maurice* to ſucceed in his Fathers commands. This *Maurice* was *Orange* his ſecond ſon, and by his ſecond wife, *Anne* of *Saxony*. They gave *Maurice* the Count of *Hollack* for his Lieutenant, and to be aſſiſting to his youth in the Government of Arms. The Prince of *Parma* hoped that this novelty might occaſion ſome great commotion in the Confederate Provinces, which would make for the Kings advantage; judging that having loſt ſuch a Governour, as their councels were thereby weakened, ſo would their courages be alſo. And truly ſo it fell out with many particular men. But in the generall, this action did ſo inhorrid and ſo incenſe the people, as they reſolved to continue their former reſolutions more obſtinately then before, and to keep dead *Orange* his ſenſe ſtill alive. Wherefore *Ferneſe* ſoon ſaw that he was to place all his hopes in Arms. He had then a very ſtrong Army; and ſuch were his advantages over his Enemies, as he thought he might aſſuredly hope yet for much greater every day. From the time that he had beſieged *Maſtrick*, he had ſtill had a great deſire to begirt *Antwerp*. But the then difficulties, and thoſe which every day aroſe, would never ſuffer him to undertake a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence. But all things ſeeming now to ſmile upon ſuch a deſign, he would no longer delay the doing of it. We therefore will here proceed on to the deſcription of this Siege: which we will doe with all brevity, and yet with great diligence; that by the one we may ſhun the tediouſneſs of trivial things, and by the other preſent you as punctually as may be with ſo cry'd up an enterpriſe. And doubtleſly ſuch and ſo memorable was this action, as by the common opinion it was ſufficient of it ſelf alone to make *Alexander Ferneſe* his merits be very highly valued by the Church and King, and his honour immortalized by the world.

Antwerp lies on the right ſide of the *Scheld*, and extending its walls for a long ſpace on that ſide which looks towards the River, it afterward makes a great compaſs toward the other which commands the Fields. That River cannot be maſtered by a more noble City, nor that City watered by a more noble River. Every one knows how *Antwerp* flouriſht before the wars, both in the number of Inhabitants, in the beauty of buildings, and in merchandizing: But howſoever, ſtill afterwards one of the greateſt Commerces of all the Northern parts is in it. Which is chiefly occaſioned by the commodiouſneſs of the *Scheld*, it being a River of ſo great a breadth and depth, and ebbing and flowing ſo far into the Sea, as it is there capable even of the greateſt Veſſel which ſails upon the Sea. Towards the fields ſide the City is invironed with one of the ſtateſieſt Wals that can be ſeen, as well for the breadth of the Platform within, as for the noble Baſtions without; and the Ditch is every where anſwerable. On the other ſide towards the River, the River it ſelf ſerves for a defence, and therefore on that ſide there is only a ſingle wall. The platform of the wall towards the fields is of ſuch a breadth, as many rowes of Trees ſtand round about it, ſo as it ſerves no leſs for delight then for defence. The Citadel enjoyed formerly alſo its praiſes apart: But being fallen into the Rebels hands, thoſe ſides of it were only maintained by them which lay towards the fields, and all the reſt which lay towards the City were ſlighted. *Antwerp* is in, or to ſay better, joyns upon *Brabant*; of it ſelf making one of the ancient 17 Provinces, by the name of the Marquiſat of the ſacred Empire. The Province of *Flanders* joyns upon the contrary ſide of the

River, which therefore partakes thereby of all the advantages afforded both by so large a River, and of a City of such Merchandizing. Here therefore had the Flemish placed the scene of all their most weighty negotiations; and the situation of the City, and its other advantages to withstand all sieges being considered, they could not dream of ever losing it by siege, but rather be confident of always preserving it. On the lands side, so strong a Wall promised them all safety. And as for shutting up the River, and keeping the City from being relieved by water, they thought *Ferneſe* would never be able to do it, both in respect of the nature of the River it self, and by reason of their Naval power, whereby they were wholly Masters of it. These difficulties were not unknown to *Ferneſe*; but yet he thought them not to be such but that they might be overcome. He saw that in the first place all succour must be cut off; and that consequently the River was to be blocked up, whereby it might continually be supply'd. And therefore laying aside all thought of assault, he resolved to besiege the City, and to build such a bridge over the *Scheld*, as might master the violence of the River it self, as also the enemies ships. When he should have bereft them of relief by water, he doubted not but that he might much more easily do the same by land, since he was so superior in forces, as he might at his pleasure be Master of the field every where. About three leagues beneath *Antwerp* the *Scheld* makes a great Arch: and here the ships do usually alter either their sails, or their course, and oftentimes do make some stay: wherfore that place is very opportune either to facilitate or to hinder the navigation of the River. The enemy had at this time two forts upon the banks of that Arch; the greater was called *Lillo*, being the name of a neighbouring village: and the other on the opposite bank was called the Fort of *Lifechenſuch*. *Ferneſe* therefore first of all endeavour'd to take both these at unawares, that he might make his advantage thereof in the siege. The Marquis of *Rubais* did so furiously assault that of *Lifechenſuch*, as within a few hours fight he took it; *Christopher Mandragone* had the charge of the other, who did likewise manfully assault it. But the enemy made such resistance, both through their souldiers worth, and the Forts condition, as he was inforced to retreat. He afterwards returned unto the siege; and *Ferneſe* this mean while went to besiege *Terramonde*, in the Province of *Flanders*. This Town is seated upon the *Schelds* side, almost midway between *Gaunt* and *Antwerp*. Wherefore it afforded great communication between these two Cities. It is a Town greatly peopled; and was then so well fortified, as it was thought it would have held out longer then it did. The Kings Camp drawing near it, they began to play fiercely on the Town, & came afterwards with no less fierceness to the assault. The besieged withstood the first assault with much gallantry; but seeing themselves threatned with a second, and considering the danger of not being able to withstand it; and that then the Town would be put to fire and sword, they resolved to yield: and thus within little less then a week, the Prince ended this enterprise. It cost notwithstanding the loss of some bloud; and in particular *Pietro di Paez*, one of the Spanish Camp-masters, and a greatly reputed souldier, perished in this action. *Ferneſe* having taken *Terramond*, he continued to begirt the very City of *Gaunt* with a siege at distance. *Antonio Oliviera*, a Spaniard, who was Lieutenant General of the horse, had formerly much annoyed that City by making incursions into all the Countries thereabouts; so as it began to suffer great scarcity of all things. But the Prince not content to reduce only the aforesaid City to straits, he endeavoured to make *Brussels* and *Malines* sensible of the like. He therefore made himself master of the most frequented passes, by which victuals were brought; and in particular he took *Villebruch*, and *Villeford*, two of the chiefest of them. And scouring the Country all thereabouts with his horse, he soon reduced both *Brussels* and *Malines* to such ill condition, as they were afterwards forced to surrender, during the siege of *Antwerp*; which *Gaunt* did likewise much sooner, inforced by the like necessity. But we will give you a more particular account of these passages when we shall have ended the siege of *Antwerp*, the narration whereof was not to be interrupted by any other diversion, but ought to be displaid in one continued narrative.

After the taking of *Terramond*, the Prince returned to before *Antwerp*, and knew how hard it would be to bereave the enemy of the Fort of *Lillo* by way of assault,

assault. They had already munited the Fort by way of the River (which was commanded by their Vessels) with all things that were at that time needfull; and by the same way they might at all times continue the succouring thereof. And though *Ferneſe* should have been master of it, yet might access have been had unto the enemy by the River, so far distant were the banks of the one and the other Fort, so strong was the ruling Tide, and so bootless would it have been, at least by night to have shot at the ships which should have been sent to bring succour to the City. 'Twas therefore concluded as necessary, that the *Scheld* must be block'd up by a bridg; and that this being to be done in some fitting place between the City and the Fort, they were not to lose any time in getting the latter but that howsoever it was much better to bend all their forces against the former. It was therefore thought that it would suffice so to begirt the Fort on the land side, as that the enemy might be kept from making excursions that way. *Mandragone* took the particular care of this, who still kept his quarters thereabouts during the whole time of the siege, as you shall upon all occasions hear. They came then to consult about the bridg. And in taking the business more seriously into consideration, so great difficulties began to appear, first in what concerned the making of it, and then much greater touching the keeping of it when it should be made, as many openly opposed it, shewing that it could never be successfully done. These said,

That an immence quantity of wood was to be had for such a Fabrick: and that when means should be found where to have it, there would be no means found how to have it brought. That this was not to be done by land; and that there was little or no hopes of doing it by water, since the enemy did fully command all the River about the banks of Antwerp, *and that between those banks all the materials were to be brought which were to make the bridg. That it was impossible ever to find rafters of such a length as might suffice to block up the deepest part of the River, as well for the natural depth thereof, as for the excrescency which the usual tides added thereunto. So as in this only respect all thought thereof would be but in vain. Nor would the difficulties be less if they should go about to make a bridge of boats. That the Kings Army wanted all materials for these also; and that these were likewise to be brought through the enemies ships, and under the walls of* Antwerp, *before they could come to the place where the bridge was to be built. But when the River should be block'd up either by the one or the other way, what hopes would there be to keep it? it was to be presupposed so difficult a siege would be of long durance; in which time why should it not be feared that the full and impetuous tides should not bear down the bridge? or that this might not be done by the enemies ships by annoying it hourly on all sides? or finally the river being so often frozen over in the winter, why should not the ice when it is broken and carried down by the violence of the tide, indanger the ruining of the bridg?*

But on the contrary, those that were for the making and maintaining of the Fabrick, reply'd,

That as for the first Objection of finding, and of fetching materials, there was no doubt at all to be made of it. That the Kings Army was every where Master of the field. That Tertamond *was already taken; and that in all likelyhood* Gaunt *would be presently surrendred. By these successes the* Scheld *would be free for the Kings occasions even almost to the walls of* Antwerp. *Wherefore by the vicinity of so large a Country, and of such Cities, it would be no hard matter to get timber enough, and by such means as necessity would instruct, to carry it where it should be requisite. That in the meantime to make the way more passable, they might raise divers Forts on both sides of the River, and thereby either keep the enemies ships from troubling them, or at least make their hindrance the less. That they might place their Summers in the parts neareſt the banks, and where the River was shalloweſt, and in the middle where it was deepeſt, their boats; which were neither to be so many, nor of such a condition but that they might be easily found. So the ice which the winter should occasion in the river, the force whereof would certainly be greateſt in the middle, where the tide runs strongeſt, might pass through the void places between the boats, and no ways prejudice those parts which should be filled up with the rafters and summers of wood.*

That then the Bridge being thus varied, and defended, and ſuch things done in the advantage thereof as daily experience would teach, why ſhould it not be built and maintained? And thus they might happily end their Siege, which otherwiſe could never be either begun or ended.

The neceſſity of blocking up the River was ſo apparent, totally to cut off all ſuccours, as the Prince of *Parma* not liſtening to any thing that made againſt it, reſolved immediately to have the Bridge made, and to divide it into rafters and Boats in form aboveſaid. And as for the place where to build it, it was thought fitteſt to be almoſt juſt over againſt two Villages, upon the two ſides of the River, the one called *Ordam* on *Brabant* ſide, the other *Callo* on the other ſide of *Flanders*. Here the Channel was ſomwhat narrower, and ſeemed to bend alittle, ſo as the Enemies Barks could not inveſt the Bridge on that ſide in a direct courſe. This place was ſome two leagues diſtant from the City; and it was judged fitteſt likewiſe for other works which were to be done, particularly for thoſe Forts which were to be made on both ſides. The Bridge being thus deſigned, the Prince betook himſelf with all ardencie to the putting of it into execution. He forthwith raiſed a Fort-royal on each ſide the river; and called that which was on *Callo* ſide S. *Mary*, and the other S. *Philip*. Theſe two chief Forts being raiſed, and well furniſht with Artillery, they began to build the Bridge, though but ſlowly at the firſt, there not being yet ſuch preparation had of things neceſſary for the building of it, eſpecially of rafters, as was requiſite for the work. Great diligence was therefore made every where thereabouts in gathering together what greateſt quantities all places either champian or chiltren could afford. The taking of *Terremonde* made much for this; and afterwards the taking of *Gaunt*, which hapned at this time: For all manner of commodities were to be had in this ſo great City, and ſo full of all things, firſt to begin, and afterwards to finiſh the building of the Bridge. The *Scheld* paſſeth through that City, as doe alſo ſome other Rivers which cut through it in divers places. The *Scheld* continues its courſe from hence to *Terremonde*, which was very convenient for the conveying of rafters and all other neceſſaries for the aforeſaid work. But as they came near the banks of *Antwerp*, the Enemies ſhips did ſo oppoſe the paſſage, as many of the Kings Barks were often endangered, and often ſunk. Therefore to ſecure the paſſage the better, ſome other Forts were added to the former chief ones of S. *Mary* and S. *Philip*. But the proof did not anſwer the deſign; for notwithſtanding any ſhot that could be made from the Royal Forts, the Enemies ſhips had ever the better of the buſineſs. For this ſo great difficulty this remedy was thought on. They made a great Cut in the bank of *Scheld* on *Flanders* ſide near to the Village *Burcht*, which lay higher then where the Bridge was made; and by means of that Cut they drowned all the neighbouring Country even to *Callo*, where by another opening of the bank the water paſt again into the River a little above the Bridge: and ſo the neceſſary preparations for the fabrick were at laſt brought with more ſafety. The adverſe ſhips ceaſed not notwithſtanding to moleſt that ſituation likewiſe; but to make the greater obſtacle, they raiſed a Fort on one ſide of the Cut, to the which the Kings men oppoſed another on the other ſide, but with little advantage, for it did not ſufficiently bridle the Enemies Fort; ſo as their ſhips keeping ſtill thereabouts, were always prejudicial to the Prince his Barks. The Bridge went therefore but very ſlowly on; the which did as much glad the *Antwerpians*, as it did trouble the Prince. Great numbers of Boats appeared daily from *Holland* and *Zealand* with victuals and all other ſort of proviſions to furniſh the City, and to put it in a poſture of ſtanding out ſtoutly. The great Fort of *Lille* was already munited anſwerable to occaſion; and Monſieur *de Teligni*, ſon to Monſieur *de la Nue*, was put in to defend it, one whoſe valour ſhewed him to be deſcended from his Father. Wherefore the Enemy full of hopes, thought that *Ferneſe* would never be able to finiſh the Bridge; and if he ſhould not thereby block up the *Scheld*, the Siege would in all other conſiderations ſignifie nothing. But no hinderance can be ſo great, which induſtry will not at laſt either overcome, or make more eaſie. The aboveſaid remedy of the Cut not proving ſufficient to convey materials by water anſwerable to the work, the Prince bethought himſelf of another expedient, which furniſht

furniſht afterwards all things ſufficient for the building of the bridg. By the gap or Cut which was made in the bank at *Burcht*, all the tract of Country from that Town to *Callo* was drowned, as we have ſaid. From the utmoſt inundation within land, the Prince purpoſed to make a deep and large Ditch, and to lead it away from that part of *Flanders* to a certain Town called *Stechen*, where the Ditch was to fall into a River which paſſeth by *Gaunt*; by which all things which were neceſſary for the building of the Bridge might be brought by water from that City. An egregious work; of great praiſe to him that firſt propoſed it, but of greater glory to him who undertook it, as did the Prince with very much reſolution; though many other were affrighted at the immenſe expence of monies, time and labour; for the Ditch was to be full 15 miles long. The Ditch was afterwards commonly called *Parma*; either for that it was firſt motioned by the Prince himſelf, or that the Kings Camp did willingly ſhew their approbation thereof by giving it that name. And not without reaſon: for it may truly be ſaid that this Ditch made the Bridg, and that the Bridg did afterwards fully compleat the Siege. On that ſide towards *Flanders* was *Ferneſe*'s own Quarters, in a Village called *Buren*, which lay very opportunely for the giving out of all requiſite Orders for all that was done thereabouts, and eſpecially for the making of the new Channel: To ſollicite the making whereof the Prince himſelf did almoſt continually intervene in his own perſon; nor was he wanting in doing the like in all the reſt of the proceedings: He encouraged others by his own example; ſometimes he himſelf would put his hands unto the work; he oft-times tranſformed himſelf from a General to a private Souldier, and ſet aſide all reſt and delight, that the burthen of ſo great and difficult an undertaking might be the better ſuſtained by his own labour and diſquiet. This was the condition of the Siege on *Flanders* ſide. On the oppoſite ſide towards *Brabant* was the Lieutenant of the Army, Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield*, quartered in the Village of *Strabuch*, a little within land; and *Mandragone* was quartered near *Lillo*, almoſt upon the river, and had intrencht himſelf there againſt that adverſe Fort, to keep the Enemy in on that ſide: who did what they could to advantage themſelves there; and their deſign would have been to overflow the inland Country, as well to incommodiate the Royaliſts, as to make uſe thereof themſelves for bringing ſuccours the more eaſily to *Antwerp*. But this their laſt deſign was conterdicted by a Counterdike, which came to joyn with the principal Dike of the River from the Village *Cowſtein*: For it was ſeen, that without either the breaking, or gaining thereof, they could by no means compaſs their ends. A Dike in Flemiſh, is a Bank in Engliſh; and a Counterdike, a Counterbank, (if I may ſo call it) which is drawn out againſt another bank. From the Village of *Cowſtein* there was a leſſer Dike thruſt out for the ſpace of a league, which went to joyn with the greater Dike of the River, which was commonly called the Counterdike of *Cowſtein*. This leſſer Dike was made that it might be gone upon, particularly in the winter; all that part, which lies very low, being then full of water and mire. It was not above ten or twelve handfuls broad, nor higher then was requiſite for the neceſſary ſervice of the Country people. This Counterdike was guarded by the Royaliſts, chiefly to hinder the excurſions which the Enemy might make from the Fort of *Lillo*, and out of no other fear of danger on that part. But when the Enemy letting in the water of the river, had drowned the Country thereabouts, *Mandragone* ſuſpected the truth; which was, that they would either make ſome Cut or gap in the Counterdike, or endeavour to make themſelves wholly maſters of it, ſo to have that paſſage free to bring in ſuccours into *Antwerp*. And at the firſt they did make a Cut: but the Royaliſts running quickly to where the danger lay, did ſoon remedy it, driving the Enemy from thence, and ſtopping the gap as well as for the preſent they could. And indeed if the Enemy had either ſooner, or with more forces endeavoured to cut the gap, the Royaliſts could never have brought their Siege to a good end. But all thoſe of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Antwerp* were ſo verily perſwaded that the River could never be blockt up by a Bridg, as they neglected the taking of the Counterdike, and even the victualling of the City more then it became them to have done, whilſt yet the paſſage by *Scheld* was but weakly ſecured by the Royal Forts.

Ferneſe

Ferneſe finding what danger the ſiege might incur on that part, gave order to *Mansfield* to munite it on the one ſide, and to *Mandragone* on the other. *Mansfield* therefore fortified the Village of *Cowſtein*, from whence the counterdike was thruſt out, and that Fortification was called the ſtrong Houſe; he inlarged and heightned the counterdike where it was moſt needfull; he planted a little Fort upon the one ſide, which was called *La Motta*, becauſe *Signor de la Motta* had the command thereof. He made alſo another on the other ſide, and named it *Palata*, becauſe for want of earth it was made of pales; which want was found almoſt every where in fortifying the counterdike: ſo as they were fain to ſupply it with fagots, and other ſuch like materials. Where the counterdike joyned afterwards with the chief dike of the river, *Mandragone* raiſed a Fort, and called it the Croſs, in relation to the poſition of the place, which was almoſt of the ſame form: and becauſe 'twas doubted that the enemy might make a great cut in the chief bank of the river beneath *Lilo*, which might have more prejudiced the counterdike: *Ferneſe* cauſed three Forts be raiſed in that place, which for that they were triangular, were called the Forts of the Trinity.

All theſe Works which we have named, were made from time to time, according as need required, which we have here ſet down, the better to preſent them before your eyes, and to give you the clearer intelligence thereof. The Prince had ſhut up the Paſſes towards the land ſide about *Antwerp*, which coaſted upon *Brabant* by Gariſons which were placed in *Hoſtrat*, in *Herentales*, in *Breda*, in *Lira*, in *Diſte*, and in divers other Towns, by which *Antwerp* was kept from being relieved on that ſide. Particularly the horſe ſcoured the whole Country every where; not only out of a bare intention of incommodating the Antwerpians, but to keep them from having any communication with thoſe of *Bruſſels*, or *Malines*, ſo to make both them Towns fall the ſooner into their hands. The ſiege being thus ordered on each ſide the river, it remained totally to block up the ſame river, which was the chief buſineſs, and which brought with it not only the greateſt advantage, but alſo the greateſt neceſſity, and met with greateſt oppoſition. The Marquis of *Rubays*, General of the horſe was of great authority and eſteem in the Kings Camp. Wherefore *Ferneſe* gave him the chief care of the bridg; and gave unto him likewiſe the command of a great many men of War, which were a preparing to facilitate the enterpriſe. *Rubays* was not wanting in acting his part in all theſe imployments. He was in action both day and night; he unceſſantly divided his labours, now on this ſide, now on that, with infinite induſtry and valour. So as by his dilligence, all neceſſary proviſions for the building of the bridg did in time ſo increaſe, as all the Army began to hope to ſee their work ſoon brought to perfection. Whilſt the Kings Camp was amongſt theſe labours and difficulties, the beſieged within the City were not agitated with leſs uncertainty and perturbances. From the very beginning of the ſiege, they had ſent expreſly into *Holland* and *Zealand*, and to the reſt of the Confederate Provinces, to deſire the beſt and ſpeedieſt aſſiſtance which could be ſent them from thoſe parts. But knowing that they could not receive ſufficient ſuccour from thence, they had ſent particular perſonages into *France*, and into *England*, to do the like in thoſe Courts, and endeavoured to intereſt both thoſe Crowns again if it were poſſible in their cauſe. They had good hopes from *France*, but the effects were not anſwerable. That Kingdom was ſtill full of troubles, and that King would not more irritate the King of *Spain*, who was already too much incenſed for what the Duke of *Alanſon* had done in *Flanders*. They received greater hopes from *England*, and might much more eaſily come by them. But the Queen after *Alanſons* death, willing to make ſuch advantage of the Flemiſh as ſhe could not do before, made them believe ſhe would aſſiſt them, but was very ſlow in doing it. It appeared at laſt, that her end was to ſee them reduced to ſuch neceſſity as they ſhould be inforced to throw themſelves into her hands; and contenting her ſelf at firſt with a bare title of protection, ſhe might come more eaſily afterwards ſo to be totally maſter of them. Theſe practiſes from abroad proceeding but very ſlowly, and with much ambiguity, the Antwerpians hopes conſiſted chiefly in ſuccours from *Holland* and *Zealand*; Provinces which were neareſt them, and which by their naval forces might beſt diſturb the ſiege, eſpecially by

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way of the river. Nor were theſe parts wanting in doing what poſſibly they could to this purpoſe. But the work about the bridg advancing every day, and the Forts of the Kings Camp being already increaſed on both ſides, and *Rubays* having commanded his barks to withſtand thoſe of the enemy; victuals could not ſo freely be brought to *Antwerp* by water as formerly. And all paſſes by land being ſhut up, they had leſs hopes of any relief from thence. Their wants therefore ſtill increaſed. But the Inhabitants were chiefly afflicted to ſee that Commerce began already to fail, and that by continuation of the ſiege, they were likely to be totally deprived thereof. And peradventure not without danger of new plunder and firing; which was that that they moſt apprehended; calling to mind what they had undergone not many years before in that kind by the Spaniards. A great part of their people, eſpecially of meaner ſort lived upon Merchandizing and Traffick; wherefore they began to complain very much of their already ſufferings, and of thoſe yet greater which they daily feared more and more. And thoſe who were of better condition, were not well pleaſed to ſee themſelves thus incommodiated. And thoſe that were of the beſt condition and wealthieſt amongſt them, the more they feared to loſe, ſo much more did they deſire to avoid the danger thereof. And though they did all of them abhor to return again under the Spaniſh Command, eſpecially thoſe who were moſt infected with hereſie; yet well weighing all Intereſts, they preferred that of their lives and eſtates before all other reſpects. The meaner ſort of people began already to ſpeak freely of theſe inconveniences and dangers: and whiſpers were heard to the ſame purpoſe amongſt the more civiliz'd people. So as wavering thus in their minds, it appeared that they could not but grow very cool in ſuſtaining ſuch a ſiege ſo vigorouſly as they ought to do. *Il Signor di Santa Aldegonda* was chief of the Magiſtracy which governed the City, by the Title of Burgamaſter. Before *Orange* his death he was put into that Office, that he might particularly advance *Orange* his ends, as he had always endeavoured to do, and as we have often told you. And when *Orange* was dead, there was not any one that more partially maintained his memory, nor his paſſions with more vehemency then did *Santa Aldegonda*. Wherefore occaſion being one day offered, when the Magiſtracy was much more great then uſual, for the heads of all Trades, and all thoſe who bore any Office amongſt the People, were then preſent, he ſpake thus.

Since we that are here (moſt worthy Citizens!) repreſent the whole body of the City, and that through your goodneſs I enjoy the prime place amongſt you; I conceive it belongs properly to me to propound unto you that wherein the publike ſervice in theſe preſent occurrences is moſt concern'd. We are beſieged round: doubtleſly a ſad ſpectacle, the inconveniences being great which muſt be ſuffered within beſieged wals: It is no wonder therefore if many amongſt us dde already wiſely foreſee this ſort of evil, and fear it. But then we muſt be wary, leſt through too much apprehenſion and fear of the neceſſity which thoſe that are beſieged muſt undergo, we forget not the miſchiefs which ſo cruelly doe oft-times befall thoſe who ſurrender. We have ſeen two memorable Sieges, theſe late years paſt in Holland; *the one of* Harlem, *the other of* Leiden. *The* Harlemiſts *would at laſt yield; and rather then to come to the laſt deſperate reſolutions, try the humanity and clemencie of the Conquerors: But how much did they repent it afterwards? and doubtleſly they had better have ſallied out, and with their ſwords in hand have willingly incountred their own deaths, then to die as many of them afterwards did, ſuffering ſuch barbarous and horrid puniſhments. On the contrary, theſe of* Leyden *reſolving rather to dye then ſurrender the Town, did ſo maintain it, though reduced to the utmoſt extremity of difficulties, as at laſt they were freed from that ſo cruel ſiege, by that ſo miraculous ſuccour. Which of theſe two examples ſhall we follow? I believe it will be ſoon reſolved. Who can doubt that it is not better to undergo not one, but a thouſand deaths, rather then to fall again under the cruel, proud, and unſupportable Spaniſh yoke? The Countrey groans every where through the ſo many horrible calamities which it yet ſuffers thereby. But eſpecially for the loſs of ſo much famous bloud. Where are the* Egmonts? *Where the* Horns? *Where ſo many of the Nobility of all ſorts? Finally where is our glorious* Orange, *that true Father of his Country? that unconquerable defender of the Liberties thereof? It is*

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no ways to be doubted but that as the first blow came from the hand of a Spaniard, *whereby he had then almost lost his life; so did the second likewise from Spanish orders, which brought him so miserably to his end. If this our City shall ever prove so unfortunate, (which God forbid!) as to fall into their hands, what doe you think their first actions will be? They will certainly put the Citadel into its former condition: which is as much as to say, they will put the former insupportable yoke upon us. To these and many other violences which they will use upon our persons, we shall suddenly have many no less intolerable put upon our consciences: The Reformed religion will be forbidden the very first day, and the Inquisition will soon after be brought in. And thus* Antwerp *being no longer a* Flemish *City, but a* Spanish *Colony, all Foreigners will forsake it, all Traffick will decay, and it will finally be intombed like an unhappy Carkass under its own desolate and decaying wals. But let us talk no more thus dejectedly: Let good augurries prevail. And very well they may doe so, if we consider the condition of the Enemies siege. It is in vain to think that they will ever be able to finish the Bridg, or to maintain it when it shall be finished. The River it self will oppose them; the flowing and reflowing of the Tide will oppose them; our Ships will continually oppose them on all sides: the Winter with her ice will fight against the Bridg; nor will there be wanting many other inventions to discompose and break it down, and leave that passage always free unto us. And how much more easily may We open their Counterdike? On* Lillo's *side our men have already begun to drown the neighbouring fields: We will doe the like on* Ordams *side towards the City. And the Counterdike being inclosed round between these two inundations, and between our two Fleets, it must of necessity either be born down by the water at the highest tides, or being so often assailed by us, we may cut it, destroy it, and freely receive all assistance likewise on that side. In which case, when we shall have commodity of being succour'd, the Enemies can have no hopes in the continuation of their siege. This mean while the Forces of our Confederates will still the more unite: they will be accompanied with aids from* France; *but chiefly with those which we may in greater numbers, and with much more ease receive from* England. *And having so many Forces both by land and sea, why shall We not hope to see* Antwerp *restored to her full and entire liberty, and to her former happy condition? Let us then (most honoured Citizens!) return all joyfully to our own homes; And being to encourage others, let us first take courage our selves. But let us return always with an immutable resolution of rather perishing, (let our condition be what it will) then of surrendring. In fine, Or Liberty, or Death!*

Thus ended stout *Aldegonde:* Nor can it be said what power this and his other discourses had alwayes with the *Antwerpians* in making them receive his advices. By his perswasion a new form of Oath was composed, by which the City obliged it self never to return to the obedience of the King of *Spain:* And an Edict was likewise published, wherein it was prohibited under severe punishment for any one to listen to any whatsoever agreement, which should at any time be propounded on the Kings behalf. They then applied themselves with great fervencie to withstand the Siege. Great care was had in the delivering out of victuals: Such Citizens as were fit to bear Arms, were put under Colours, and disposed of in several Companies, each of them having a Commander given them. But above all things they betook themselves by all possible means to hinder the building of the Bridg, and the defence of the Counterdike. To boot with the Men of War which annoyed the Bridg, they ordered some artificial Fire-boats, whereby to assault, indammage, and utterly destroy the Bridg, if it were possible. And because the Kings Forts which were upon the River banks did very much hinder any thing that could be done by the Enemies ships, the *Antwerpians* bethought themselves of building a Ship of such a vast greatness, as being too good for the Kings Forts, and furiously playing upon them with Cannon shot, the absolute command of the River might by means thereof remain unto the City. It was to be of a bulk answerable to a manageable Castle in the water. And the *Antwerpians* confiding mainly therein, and falling to work thereupon, they gave it a no less vast title then was the bulk, calling it *The Wars End.* They ordered likewise all things which were necessary for the opposing of the Counterdike. And though they could not much better their condition on the Fields side, where the Kings

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men commanded all; yet they lodged ſome of their Troops on that ſide, to curb the Royaliſts ſo much the more, and that they might be the better able to come by ſome victuals. Thus the *Antwerpians* ſought to advantage themſelves: but the Royaliſts were no leſs fervent in their endeavours. *Ferneſe* had divers times invited the *Antwerpians* with large proffers to return to the Kings obedience; but they refuſing them at firſt, and afterwards demonſtrating full reſolutions to the contrary, it was ſufficently evident that all hopes of negotiation ceaſing, he was to place them wholly in his Arms. He therefore by out-doing not only others, but himſelf in toil and labour, gave himſelf wholly to procure the defence of the Counterdike, and to proceed in the buſineſs of the Bridg; thoſe parts thereof which conſiſted of rafters and ſummers being ſo far advanced, as there wanted but little to the perfecting of them. *Rubays* with great diligence had got together a great number of Men of war, to oppoſe upon any occaſion thoſe of the Enemy; and ſcouring up and down every where, and chiefly where moſt need was, it is not to be believed how much he thereby advantaged the building of the Bridg. But the middle part was yet to be finiſhed, which was much larger then that of the rafters on both ſides. This was wholly to be ſupplied with Boats, and a requiſite number could not ſuddenly be got together; the void ſpace between the rafters was as yet made up with but about twenty. But experience ſhewed that that number was not near ſufficient; for the Enemies Boats found means to paſs through the void ſpaces, though they were linked together; either cutting in ſunder that which they were linked together withall, or breaking through them with full ſail by the force of the Tide. Some ſuccour was therefore by this means from time to time brought to the City; and much of action happened between the ſhips of either ſide, the Kings ſhips endeavouring to block up the paſſage, and the Enemies to keep the paſſage open. One of theſe Naval conflicts proved fortunate for *Rubays*: For *Teligni*, as he was going for *Zealand*, was found to be in one of thoſe ſhips which he took; and being taken priſoner, the Enemy loſt one of their valianteſt and wiſeſt Commanders. The next of beſt eſteem amongſt them was the Count of *Hollack*; who was not wanting on his part neither in giving good teſtimony of his valour, ſometime by water, ſometime by land. But for all they could doe, they could not keep the Kings men from bringing Boats enough at laſt to block up the middle ſpace between the rafters on both ſides of the ſhore. And thus after a long diſpute between hope and fear, wherewith the Royaliſts were a long time agitated, the miraculous fabrick of the Bridg was finiſhed, which we have ſo often mentioned, but never ſufficiently deſcribed, for we could never till now come to give you a full relation thereof. This was then the ſhape of it.

From the two contrary ſhores upon which lay the two greater Forts of *Callo* and *Ordam*, divers rowes of great Piles of Trees were thruſt out, and being driven into the River, extended as far as the current thereof would permit. Theſe which went ſtreight forwards, were cloſed together overthwart with divers others of the like greatneſs; they were called Steccadoes at the firſt, and ever after continued the ſame name. The Steccado of *Callo* advanced about 120 uſual paces, not being able to reach further, for on that ſide the river of *Scheld* grew preſently deep. The other of *Ordam* advanced about 150 paces, the river affording better commodity on that ſide. At the end of each of theſe Steccadoes, and where the Boats began to be placed, a large ſpace was compoſed, as if it were a *Piazza*, able to receive a great many Souldiers, for the better defence both of the Boats and of the Steccadoes. On the flanks of theſe towards the upper part a ſeries of Parapets were raiſed, which were made of great doubled boards well fill'd in the midſt with earth, ſo as the Souldiers might be thereby fenced or ſheltered, and endure a volley of musket-ſhot, and from thoſe Fences pour musket-ſhot upon the Enemies ſhips. Both the Forts ſerved for Curtains (if I may be permitted to ſay ſo) to both the Flanks of the Steccadoes, and to that purpoſe were alwayes furniſhed with good ſtore of great Ordnance. At the other end of the *Piazza's*, where the Steccadoes ended, ſome Peeces of Artillery were placed on both ſides, the better to defend that part. And adding new ſecurities without to thoſe within, both the outſides of thoſe *Piazza's* were garniſhed with certain great Rafters

of wood, armed with iron at the ends, which advancing for a considerable space into the river, and upheld by some others which were planted in the bottom thereof, might keep the enemies ships the further off, and make their assaults the weaker.

This was the form of the Steccadoes: from the ends whereof began the ank of boats, wherewithall the rest of the river was shut up, which was her deepest and largest part; and the space between the two Steccadoes might be about 4500 paces. This was filled up with 32 great barks; all of them of almost an equal body and form, they differed but little in their poup and forecastle, or in any other part. They were joyned together at the ends and sides with strong chains of iron; each end was furnished with a piece of Artillery, and the body of each bark with a convenient number of souldiers and Mariners. Ten men might walk abrest upon the Steccadoes; and sufficient commodity for passage was left likewise upon the barks. And because 'twas already known that the Antwerpians had prepared some fireboats to prejudice the bridg, and that they were always to provide for the assault of their other ships, and of those which their friends would send unto them; therefore the Kings men bethought themselves to shelter the barks of the bridg with another exterior defence, that they might the less fear being injured by the enemy. The invention was this, Many masts of ships were fastned together which made as it were a float; and as many of these were made as sufficed for the whole length which the barks took up. The one float was joyned to the other like a wall or great parapet, and then thrust out in a proportionable interval before the barks; and they were fastned to great anchors on both sides; so as they might not fear being moved or loosened by any assault of the enemies ships, or by the rage of any incensed tide. And because they floated upon the water, they were floats.

This was the whole Fabrick of the Bridg: a proud one of that kind; and which well deserved the glory of having perfected so memorable a siege; and of having at last reduced so important a City to the Kings obedience. Above six months were spent in the building of it; nor could it be fully finished till the beginning of *March* in the next year of our Lord 1585. The winter seemed even to smile upon this designe: for neither did it produce any ice, nor any unusual tides. The Antwerpians wondred very much, and were strangely astonished when they saw the bridg fully finished. Yet hoping to be able to disorder and open it by means of their fire-boats, and of that vast ship which they were preparing, they used all diligence in compleating both those and this. Much labour was requisit to such a work. An Italian Ingeneer born in *Mantua*, by name *Frederick Giambelly*, was then in *Antwerp*. This man took upon him to build the fire-boats, which he did thus: He built a Vessel made of very great and firm planks, and it was made in the midst like a good large Mine proportionable to the Vessel. The Mine was made of brick and lime, so closed up as it had only that vent which was necessary to bring the fire at its due time to the gunpowder, whereof it was to be full. All the rest of the Vessel was covered with stones, little and great bullets, and other such materials condenc'd together as much as might be, to the end that the Mine finding the greater opposition might doe the more mischief. 'Twas said the Ingeneer wrought thus for 8 months together upon several barks; but more time was spent in the building of the other so huge before mentioned ship. By these machines, though too long a making, did the Antwerpians hope to open the passage of the river; and this was what was to be expected on that side. On *Lillo's* side, their friends were to be in a readiness, and be sure to move with their men of war, at the same time when the fire-boats should play on the other side.* We told you how on the opposite side to *Lillo* there was another Fort built, called *Lifechensuch*, which *Rubays* took at the beginning of the siege. The enemies ships were much prejudiced from this Fort in their passage, and much more in their retreating under the Fort of *Lillo* where they used most to lie.

Anno 1585.

The Hollanders and Zealanders did therefore resolve to use all possible endeavours to take this place of offence from the Kings men: and they luckily effected it. They placed some Culverins on the contrary shore, which might reach the further;

further; and having prepared ſuch other ſhips as were neceſſary, with other peeces of Canon to batter, and with a good number of ſouldiers, they landed, and gave ſo furious an aſſault to the Fort of *Lifchenſuch*, as after having plaid upon it ſome hours, and threatned to put all thoſe that were within to the edg of the ſword, they made them come forth, and ſurrender the Fort. *Ferneſe* hearing of this danger, ſent ſome men preſently to remedy it, and went himſelf in perſon thitherward: but the ſurrender was made before the ſuccour came; and this miſchief drew ſuddenly on another: for the enemy did immediately aſſault another Fort which ſtood more inward, called St *Antony*, and took it with like eaſineſs. *Ferneſe* ſtormed to hear of theſe loſſes: and the two Captains of thoſe Gariſons, not being able ſufficiently to excuſe their miſdemeanours, he made both their heads be ſtruck off upon the top of thoſe dikes. He afterward planted new Forts to curb thoſe, and to ſecure the bridg the better; and continued his former diligence every where. By theſe two acquiſitions the enemy were ſecure on thoſe two ſhores whereon *Lillo* and *Lifechenſuch* were placed; wherefore they began to aſſemble a great number of their ſhips together on both ſhores under the ſhelter of thoſe two Forts; which made it be apprehended in the Kings Camp, that they would with ſome unwonted force aſſault the bridg from thence, and at the ſame time alſo endeavour to prejudice the counterdike. But the effect ſhewed that all their preparation was to expect the motion of the fire-boats from *Antwerps* ſide. Which when they ſhould play upon the bridg, and ruine ſome part of it, as the enemy well hoped, their ſhips might incontinently likewiſe move, and joyning both forces together, do the greater and more irreparable damage to the bridg. Winter was already over, and *April* was begun. Whilſt then the Kings Camp ſtood in this ſuſpence, and that *Ferneſe* with all diligence had reinforced the guards every where; ſome barks began to fall down upon the *Scheld* from *Antwerps* ſide, of ſuch a ſhape and appearance, as the Royaliſts believed they were the before mentioned fire-boats. Every one ſtood in great expectation of the ſucceſs, and ſeveral judgements were given thereupon, ſome thought that the ſequel would not be anſwerable to the invention; and others that the effect would equal it. Yet the curioſity of ſeeing the event was equal in every one. Wherefore the Royaliſts flockt in great numbers ſome to the Steccadoes, ſome one where, ſome another, upon the bare banks, to ſee what the ſucceſs of ſo new a ſpectacle would be. Two of the barks were greater then the reſt that followed. They fell down with the return of the tide; and not having any one to govern them, they were guided only by the tide, and were left unto themſelves. A while after they had begun their courſe, a circle of fire might be ſeen to riſe up above them, which continued for a while, till not long after to the great wonder of all the lookers on, that fire conſumed and vaniſhed quite away. Nor was it known whether this was according to the deſigne; or whether it were but a piece of art the better to diſguiſe it. In the mean time one of the leſſer boats, whilſt it was yet a good way off the bridg, blew up and vaniſhed, working no conſiderable effect. Nor did any of the reſt of the leſſer ſort do almoſt any other good. But the two greater following their courſe, were by the tide brought, the one of them to give againſt the left ſhore towards *Flanders*, but ſomewhat diſtant from the bridg; and the other more luckily where the Steccado began to joyn with the row of boats. Upon this Steccado was the Prince of *Parma* then himſelf in perſon, being come likewiſe to partake of ſuch a novelty. He was deſired by all means to go from thence to free himſelf from any danger that might befall; he refuſed, and knew not what to reſolve upon: for he would willingly firſt have known what news certain gunners and others of the Maritime profeſſion would bring back, who were gone down to enter into the boat, the better to diſcover what ſhe was loaded with and to hinder the effects thereof. But he was ſo much importun'd, as at laſt he retired himſelf to the Fort St *Mary*. And not without great good fortune; for hardly was he come unto the Fort, when with a terrible and fearfull noiſe, the firſt great boat which was faln upon the aforeſaid ſhore blew up, and ſlew many ſouldiers in a neighbouring Fort, and divers others who were thereabouts. But the other occaſioned much more bitter dread, and likewiſe much greater prejudice. Thoſe Gunners and Mariners were not well entred into the

Boat, when the fire arriving at its due time, made the Mine play, and ſuddenly devoured not only thoſe who were within the Boat, but moſt of thoſe who were upon the Boats of the Bridg, and upon the Steccadoes. It is not to be imagined, much leſs to be expreſt what horrible effects this raging fire made. The Air was for a good ſpace darkned with a thick cloud; the Earth ſhook for many miles about; the River broke forth out of her bed, and with great violence threw her waves beyond the banks: The bodies of men that were blown up by the fire, were ſo torn, as no ſhape thereof could be found; and the tempeſt and hail of great ſtones, and other leſſer materials of offence ſcattering abroad further off, ſo many of the Camp were ſlain, or wounded, as nothing was to be ſeen all thereabouts but a ſad and diſmall ſpectacle, of people either ſlain, or maimed, or ill acconciated. Above 500 of the Kings men were ſlain by this misfortune, and a great many others of them were maimed or wounded. But that which made the loſs the more fatal, was the death of the Marquis of *Rubais*; who while in order to his office he viewed all parts, and went from one place to another, was unfortunately kill'd. A death generally bewail'd by the whole Camp, but with a particular tenderneſs by *Ferneſe*, who had a ſingular affection and eſteem for him. *Jaſper Robles*, a Spaniard, periſht by the ſame misfortune, who was Lord of *Bigli*, and a Souldier likewiſe of great experience and valour, as may oft-times have been ſeen in the ſucceſſes of this Hiſtory. Divers other Officers of inferior quality were likewiſe loſt; and there was not any Nation who did not ſhare in the misfortune.

The confuſion and aſtoniſhment being ceaſed, which ſo ſtrange an accident had occaſioned in the Kings Camp; it was found, that the prejudice which the Bridg had received was not ſo great, but that it might be repaired. The greateſt harm that was done was on that part of the Steccado where the Fire-boat had diſgorged its fire; and the Flote likewiſe there was greatly diſordered. But a great danger yet remained, leſt the aſſault of the Enemies ſhips which were in readineſs for that purpoſe on *Lillo's* ſide, might ſucceed the fury of the fire. Wherefore *Ferneſe*, uſing all diligence for the defence of the Bridg, was come thither himſelf in perſon, and made the Forts on all ſides ſtand prepared with their Artillery. But whatſoever the matter was, none of the Enemies ſhips were ſeen to move: It was thought that the Tide hindred them; and that expecting the Wind to overcome it, that failing, they could not ſecond the *Antwerpians*. The danger being thus paſt which was then moſt feared, *Ferneſe* had leaſure to reſtore the Bridg to its former poſture: It was notwithſtanding thought beſt to take the Flote quite away which lay towards the beſieged, to the end that if any more of their Fire-boats ſhould fall down, they might the better paſs through thoſe of the Bridge; to which purpoſe an uſeful invention was found out, as alſo in the other Flote which was on the other ſide. The *Antwerpians* began to be very much troubled that their Fire-boats had no better ſucceſs; and even the ſtouteſt amongſt them began to loſe their courage. But *Aldegonda*, and thoſe that adhered moſt unto him, endeavouring to keep their hopes alive, ſtrove to make them believe that the next Fire-boats would be more ſucceſsfull then were the former: That the great Ship being now likewiſe finiſhed, would be in effect as it was in name, *The Wars End*: That certainly the Royaliſts would never be able to make ſuch reſiſtance as was needfull, to keep the double forenamed Forces from beating down the Counterdike; and that when the paſſage ſhould be once open, the City would be wholly freed from the Siege. Of theſe trials which were to be made for the benefit of the *Antwerpians*, that of the great Ship was the firſt. This immenſe moveable Caſtle began to appear upon the *Scheld* about the beginning of *May*, with mighty expectation on both ſides; on the *Antwerpians*, out of their hopes of reaping advantage thereby; on the Royaliſts, out of the curioſity of ſeeing ſuch a Fabrick, and to ſee what the effects thereof would be. The Ship drew near one of the leſſer Forts which the Royaliſts had on *Brabant* ſide, and began to play furiouſly upon it: There were above a thouſand Souldiers in the Ship, who accompanied the fury of the Cannon with the hail of Musket-ſhot. They then landed to annoy the Fort nearer hand. But the effect was not anſwerable to the deſign; for the Fort received no great harm from the battery, nor

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they who were within the Fort from the Souldiers that were landed; nay the ſhip was ſo torn and ſhattered, as they had much adoe to mend her, and to make her ſerviceable again This experiment coming to ſo little good, they fell to the other of breaking down the Counterdike; and the buſineſs was thus carried. The ſhips of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* were to fall from *Lillo* and enter into the drowned Country in that part by thoſe Cuts which were made in the chief bank of the River. The *Antwerpians* were to doe the like on the other ſide towards the City; and to that purpoſe they had likewiſe fitting Cuts in the ſame bank. Between theſe two drowned parts of the Country did the Counterdike run: but it was very hard to aſſault it on both ſides at once, becauſe the Tide could not equally ſerve both the one and the other in their uniform motion; wherefore ſuch a middle ſeaſon was to be taken, as that the conjuncture might not be loſt. This was the deſign of the Enemy; nor was it any news to *Ferneſe*, who had long before expected it. There were four of the Kings Forts which guarded the Counterdike: The one, that of *Croſſe*, where the Counterdike joyned with the greateſt Dike, which *Mandragone* had the charge of: About the middle in ſome diſtance one from another ſtood that of the *Palata*, then that *De la Motta*, commonly called S. *George* his Fort; and at the end where the ground began a little to riſe, was the ſtrong Houſe of *Cowſtein*, wherein Count *Mansfield* did uſually keep. To boot with theſe Forts a row of great Stakes were pitcht at equal diſtance on both ſides the bank, which roſe up above the water where the ground was therewithall drowned, that the Enemies ſhips might find more difficulty in accoſting. Theſe ſituations we have here again repeated, the more to awaken the memory, and to give the clearer intelligence of the Counterdike, where the Beſieged's chiefeſt hopes lay, and where the Royaliſts had finally the victory. *Ferneſe* gave order that all the Guards ſhould be every where reinforced. And to increaſe emulation amongſt the Souldiers as well as their numbers, he mingled *Spaniſh*, *Italians*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons* together: though there were moſt *Spaniards* with *Mandragone*, and with *Mansfield* moſt *Italians*. *Ferneſe* gave the particular command over theſe, upon this occaſion, to *Camillo del Monte*, who not long before had quitted his Brigado of Foot, being imployed about other affairs, wherein he won great honour and eſtimation in the Camp. Things being thus ordered, the Enemy made no longer delay. About the midſt of *May*, the Count of *Hollack* fell down from *Lillo*, and entred with more then 30 Bottoms into the parts that were overflown thereabouts: All his ſhips were well provided of Artillery to batter down the Counterdike, of Inſtruments to cut and open it, and of Earth and all other requiſite proviſions to fortifie the Cuts which the beſiegers had gained. *Hollack* made towards the Fort of the *Palata*: here the water was deepeſt, and the Counterdike was moſt reſtrained by reaſon of the difficulty that was found in enlarging it on that part. Wherefore for want of Earth, they were forced to aſſiſt the neighbouring Fort with Pales of wood, whence it was called the *Palata*. When the Enemy were come near with their ſhips, they began to play furiouſly upon the Counterdike; and having eaſily opened the Stakes that were pitched, they came to give the aſſault; and ſheltred by the Artillery on the Dike, they endeavoured to poſſeſs the Counterdike. But the Kings men fighting valiantly, made it good. The ſcuffle was not long: For *Hollack* not ſeeing the *Antwerp* ſhips appear, reſolved to retreat ſoon enough, having loſt above 300 of his men, ſome of which were of ſome conſideration. But few of the Kings men were ſlain, and none conſiderable but Captain *Simon Padilha*, a Spaniard, who wan much honour in that action. It was not known whether the uncertainty of the Tide, or ſome other impediment had kept the *Antwerpians* from ſending their ſhips according to the firſt appointment. But whatſoever the matter was, *Ferneſe* perceiving ſtill that the Enemies chiefeſt hopes lay in opening the Counterdike, he miſſed not viſiting thoſe Forts daily himſelf, and uſed incredible diligence to ſecure their defence. *Mansfields* men were therefore mightily increaſed with *Spaniards* and *Italians*, by reaſon of the accommodation of lodging in the contiguous Villages of *Strabuch* and *Cowſtein*; whereas there was great ſcarcity of lodging where *Mandragone* was. After this aſſault which the Enemies without made upon the Counterdike, thoſe within proceeded

to set upon the bridg again with their fire-boats. But by this time the Royalists had bethought themselves of an invention whereby either wholly to hinder their operation, or to make it little available; which was this. They prepared some boats with such Mariners as were requisite, who were to make up as soon as they could to the fire-boats, and quench that Train, if they could, which conveyed the fire to the Mine; which if they could not find, they were immediately to fall off, and with long ropes to draw the fire-boats after them to the naked shore, where they might have their operation with little or no prejudice to the Kings men. But the Antwerpians, considering that there was no float on that side the bridg which was next them, and that therefore they might the more freely set upon it on that side with their ships, resolved to assail it once more with a good number of them, taking a time when both wind and tide might serve them; whereby they thought they might give the bridg the greater shock, and find less resistance by the same. And that they might by a double assault, do a double harm, they resolved to send some fire-boats immediately after those other ships, which at the same time might do all the prejudice they could unto the bridg. This was their designe; and thus it was put in execution. They fastened 15 ships close together, and with full wind and tide sent them to assault the bridg; and to make the indamagement the greater, they garnished those ships in their prow with great and sharp irons, to the end that the shock assisted by the cutting of those irons, might work the greater effect upon the ropes and chains wherewith the boats that made the bridg were joyned together. After these 15 ships came 4 fire-ships. But it was too hard a business either for the one or the other of them to do what was designed, without Mariners to govern them, and souldiers to fight. The first gave a great justle to the bridg; but did it no great harm; for some of them were soon suffered to pass between the boats of the bridg, and the rest without any dispute fell into the hands of the Royalists. Nor had the fire-boats any better success: two of them were won with the aforesaid invention, and their operation hindred; the third fired after it was drawn aside where it could do no harm; and the fourth passed through the boats of the bridg, and being past on a good way, fired likewise to no purpose. For all this did not the enemies forbear to send new fire-boats to prejudice the bridg, not only from *Antwerps* side, but from *Lillo*. But as the forces were alike, the conformity of the success was almost always the same. Which we thought good to touch upon here only, not to nawseate the Reader, with oft repeating the same things, or others the like, varying but a little in circumstance.

Now follows the last essay of the Antwerpians, and of their friends, to make themselves thereby Masters of the Counterdike. And which was likewise the last essay of the siege: and in which such variety of fortune was seen in the fight which insued, as it was questionable for many hours whether the besiegers or besieged would have the better of the day. But at last the besiegers got it; and there was no hopes left but that *Antwerp* must irremediably be lost. The former agreement being again renewed between the Antwerpians and those of *Lillo* great preparation of boats was made on both sides, which were to move at one and the same time both from *Antwerp* and *Lillo*: to endeavour the getting of the Counterdike. In this double assault, they would likewise make use of that their great ship, which was at this time within the drowned Land of *Ordam*, it being brought thither by the Antwerpians to be calked. But that great bulk was afterwards so unmanageable, as oppress by her own weight where she ran there on ground, and was rendred totally unusefull. Setting then all delays aside, about the end of *May*, the two fleets moved according to their appointment. That of *Lillo* appeared first, very early in the morning: it consisted of above a hundred bottoms, better provided this time then they were before with souldiers, artillery, woolsacks, and all things else, to fortifie themselves in the Counterdike, and in the cuts thereof, when they should have compassed their intent. They directed this their first assault not as before, against the narrowest part of the bank, but towards the broadest part, that they might the better fortifie themselves there; and this happened to be about the Fort St *Georg*, which was neareſt the strong house of *Covesteyn*. The Royalists received the assault with much gallantry,

gallantry, and ſuddenly a great fight happened here; the one endeavouring to get upon the bank, the others to keep them down; the one incouraged by their ſhips, from whence iſſued a furious tempeſt of Artillery, and the others by the ſhot made from their Forts. This mean while the Antwerpians came in with a great number of ſhips likewiſe on their ſide; and furniſhed with the like proviſions as were thoſe of *Lillo*. The enemy then redoubled their aſſault with greater eagerneſs, and prevailed ſo far as they got upon the counterdike on both ſides. Nor did they only get footing in that one place, but in divers others. Whereſoever there was leſs of land, there was the bickering the more bloudy. And one ſouldier coming out of neceſſity cloſe up unto another, there was hardly any blow given without a wound, nor wound without inevitable death. Here the enemy began to make divers cuts in the banks. But their chiefeſt force was againſt the place of their firſt aſſault. The difficulty of making the cuts, though it was great, yet was it no ways ſo great, as that of maintaining them. They muſt there intrench themſelves with ſacks of earth, with ſacks of wool, and with other ſuch like materials. And this the enemy boldly did. *Hollack* and *Aldegonde* were both of them there in perſon. Neither of them were wanting, in exhorting, in inforcing, and in executing both by their voice deeds, and example.

Theſe (ſaid they unto the combatants) *ſhall be your laſt tryals; theſe your laſt dangers. When this paſs ſhall be opened*, Antwerp *will be free; and that City being freed, how glorious will your labours be? and how advantagious to all our other confederates? they will think that their wives, children, brethren, and whatſoever elſe they eſteem deareſt, are here preſent. And conſidering that the welfare of ſo many relations conſiſt in the ſucceſs of this conflict, be ſure to ſee the end thereof, either by death or victory.*

The enemy being ſtill more and more inflamed by theſe words, plaid their parts gallantly; but all they did coſt them dear. For the Kings men did valiantly likewiſe defend themſelves. Many men fell on both ſides; the ſlaughter was equal; and fortune altering the advantages, ſmiled and frowned alternately, now on one ſide, now on another. *Mandragone* ſent many men from his ſide continually to aſſiſt the Royaliſts. And though very aged, and ill handled by wounds which he had received in ſo long a war, and amidſt ſo many dangers, yet did he undauntedly preſent himſelf in his own perſon to all dangers. The like did *Manſfield*; though he were likewiſe very old, and even waſted with labours. In the ſtrong houſe of *Coveſteyn*, which was in his quarter, and from whence the counterdike began on that ſide, as hath been ſaid, he had raiſed a great platform, the better to defend the neerer Fort of St *George*, and the other ſomewhat further off of the Palata. This defence did excellent ſervice upon this occaſion. For playing in a right line upon the bank, the enemy could in no ways ſhelter themſelves from it. The Spaniards and Italians which were in thoſe quarters, incouraged hereby, fell fiercely upon the enemy, and began to put them into confuſion. At the firſt beginning of the conflict, *Camillo del Monte* did likewiſe excellent ſervice. For *Carbone*, of the ſame Family, and four other Captains, together with a great many other Officers, and ſouldiers being ſlain cloſe by him, yet he ſtill valiantly ſuſtained the violence of the enemy. Marquis *Hipolito Bentivoglio* our brother was with him, who not long before the ſiege was come into *Flanders*; nor was he wanting in behaving himſelf as became a man of honour upon ſuch an occurrency. And his actions were ſo well approved of by the Prince, as ſoon after he gave him a company of Launciers, and ſhewed him many other particular demonſtrations of eſteem. The fight being afterwards renewed by the Spaniards and Italians, their Commanders, *John del Aquila*, and *Camillo Capitzucchi*, the one Campmaſter of a Spaniſh Brigado, and the other of an Italian, did amongſt others ſignalize themſelves. And the valour of the inferior ſouldiers did ſo well correſpond with the like of their Commanders, as St *George* his Fort, which for a good while was in danger of being loſt, was at laſt ſecured. The Fort of the Palata was ſtill in hazard. To boot that it was but very weak of it ſelf the enemy had invironed it with the gaps they had made, and with their ſhips; playing upon it furiouſly every where with their Artillery and muskets. Here then was a fierce fight, but with ſuch advantage to the enemy, as they already

hoped for the victory, when the Prince of *Parma* appeared himself in person upon the Counterdike. He had been there the night before; and after having with great care viewed the Forts, and given such directions as was fitting every where, he was returned to his quarters at *Beveren* on the other side of the river. There was a considerable distance between that quarter and the Counterdike: but when the Prince early that morning heard the noise of the Cannon on the other side of the River, he quickly imagined that the Enemy had assaulted the Counterdike on both sides. He therefore lost no time. At his coming out of his quarters he heard that he had guessed aright, and ever and anon advertisements came of the fight, and of what danger his men were in. As soon as he was come upon the Counterdike on *Mandragone's* part, he heard by him and by others what danger the Fort of the *Palata* was in. The Prince was usually followed with many of quality and worth, and this occasion had increased their number. Wherefore marching in the head of them, he went together with them to where the fight was hottest: And when he saw how much his men were troubled, and the Enemy so much their superiors,

Is this (said he) *the valour which my Souldiers shew? Is this that which they learn under my discipline? Shall the Enemy glory of being Conquerors, after they were conquered? And are they not overcome, if after having lost the passage of the River, we keep the passage of the Counterdike likewise shut up? 'Tis here then, O my Souldiers, that you must either dye or overcome. I will share with you in the one and in the other. But if we shall overcome, as I hope we shall, I will content my self with the honour, all the rewards shall be yours: Nor can so impornant a Victory be sufficiently rewarded but by so great a King.*

The Prince accompanied these his words with actions. Arm'd only with his sword and shield, he gave strange proof of his valour: By which example there was not any one of them who did not willingly run upon the greatest dangers; and who did not endeavour to save their Prince his life, by exposing their own to danger. The Souldiers suddenly reassumed their courage: but that which did most inhearten them, was to observe that the Tide began to ebb, which would soon inforce the Enemies ships to retreat. But as this consideration incited the Royalists to doe their utmost, so had it the like effect upon the Enemies. They thought the Victory already so sure their own, as *Hollack* and *Aldegonda* were gone to carry the news thereof to *Antwerp*, which occasioned an incredible joy in those Citizens. The fight was then renewed more hot then ever upon the Counterdike, and particularly near the Fort of the *Palata*; and each side had their hopes and fears for a while: But it was clearly seen that the Enemies courage ebb'd with the Tide, and the courage of the Royalists did as much increase. In fine, the Enemy could no longer hold out; for many of their ships being already on the ground on both sides the Dike, they saw there was no more hopes left for them. All the rest was blood and slaughter; being void of all succour, they were hewed in pieces every where; nor did the Royalist thirst more after victory before, then they did now after cruelty. Above 2500 of the Enemy were slain, and many of them men of quality. Of the Kings side little less then a thousand, most of which were *Spaniards* and *Italians*, though the *Dutch* and *Walloons* did sufficiently act their parts. Some 30 of their ships fell into the Royalists hands; and but few of the Enemies were taken prisoners, for all but those that were slain got easily away by water. The fight being ended, *Ferneſe* gave forthwith order for filling up the Cuts which the Enemy had made in the Counterdike; he better secured the Forts, he reinforced the Guards, and did so provide for all things on that side, as the Enemy was either not to make any more assaults, or if they did, they were to hope for no good thereby.

But the *Antwerpians*, falling from so high hopes into so deep despair, knew not what to doe, nor how to evade their threatning misfortune. They could hope for no assistance from *France*: The Queen of *England*, by the aforesaid artifices, held them on in hopes: Their confederate *Flemish* could doe no more then they had done: To boot with *Gaunts* being long before fallen into *Ferneſe's* hands, as hath been said, *Brussels*, *Malines*, and *Nimínghen* the chiefest City in all *Ghelderland*, were likewise surrendred unto him; wherefore as the

Flemish

Flemiſh Union was brought very low by ſo many loſſes, the Kings party was as much advantaged by ſo many acquiſitions. *Antwerp* began long before this to ſuffer much in ſcarcity of victuals; which increaſing every day, they began to think daily more and more upon the horror of Famine, and upon the inevitable neceſſity of yielding to that enemy. The *Antwerpians* kept as yet ſome Towns about the walls of the City, and kept garriſons in them, that they might likewiſe enjoy ſome part of the open fields: wherefore all their hope lay now in getting maintenance by the means of that neighbouring Territory, expecting what might afterwards fall out to their advantage. But *Ferneſe* ſoon foreſaw this their deſign, nor did he loſe the benefit of the opportunity. *Rubais* being ſlain, he had given the chief command of the Horſe to the Marquis of *Vaſto*, who ſcouring the Country every where, ſuffered not the Enemy to breath, and had already laid waſte all that Territory of thoſe Country people. And the Enemy oppoſing the Marquis one day with ſome of their Horſe, they were by him routed, and defeated. Wherefore *Ferneſe* preſenting his Cannon before ſome of the forenamed Towns which were the beſt munited, he quickly reduced all the reſt. And ſo the *Antwerpians* were ſhut up within the precinct of their own walls. They began then all ſo far to deſpair, as there was no talk amongſt them but of their neceſſity of ſurrendring; and the mind of the moſt was, to begin a Parley, ſo to get the beſt Conditions that they could. *Hollack* and *Aldegonda* were ſtill obſtinate, and thoſe that did moſt pertinaciouſly adhere unto them; and by ſophiſticated Letters endeavoured to make the people believe that the Earl of *Leiceſter* was already parted from *England*, being ſent by the Queen with a powerfull Army to relieve *Antwerp*; that he was every day expected to enter *Zealand*; and that ſo many Foreign forces being added to thoſe of their own Confederates, they might very well hope to ſee that City quickly free from ſiege. This cheat might prevail for a while: but the deeds ſpeaking a contrary language, and famine together with other extremities which uſually are ſuffered by thoſe who are beſieged every day increaſing, the people would be no longer deluded: They were firſt ſeen to gather together in ſmall companies, and then in more open aſſemblies, which at laſt brake out into open tumults. They chafed at the obſtinacie of a few, ſaying, that for their own private paſſions they would make the City run hazard of ſuffering its late misfortune and miſery. Thoſe who were better accommodated, and who had moſt to loſe either by plunder, fire, or other miſeries which Cities are accuſtomed to ſuffer, when either taken by force, or ſurrendred upon diſcretion, began to be of the ſame mind. On the other ſide *Ferneſe* was not backward in inviting the *Antwerpians* to ſurrender, and not by ſtanding out to make their conditions the worſe. Thus the Magiſtracie reſolved at laſt to ſend ſome to the Army, to treat of ſurrendring the City. They were fairly received by the Prince, and ſo the Treaty began on both ſides: wherein at firſt was found a great deal of intricacie and difficulty, and therefore many dayes were ſpent in adjuſting them; till ſuch time as *Aldegonda* coming forth himſelf, with ſome others of the beſt of the City, the Articles of Surrender were concluded of about the midſt of *Auguſt*, which made up a juſt year ſince the firſt begining of the ſiege. The Articles in effect were theſe that follow.

That the City of Antwerp *ſhould return under the obedience of the King of* Spain *as formerly. That the Prince of* Parma, *in the Kings name, did pardon and forgive the Inhabitants thereof all faults committed in the late revolutions, as well in taking up of Arms, as in whatſoever elſe they had done againſt the King and his Royal crown. That to maintain Traffick in that City as much as might be, it might be lawfull for any body whoſoever to live there for four years next enſuing, without any particularity in matter of conſcience and religion, provided no ſcandalous act were committed againſt the Catholick religion, which was ſolely to be profeſt and exerciſed for the future in that City. That the aforeſaid four years being ended, thoſe who would not profeſs the Catholick religion might freely depart from thence, and carry all their goods away with them, without any manner of hinderance. That the City ſhould by the leaſt grievous way that might be, find means how to repair the Churches which were ruined either before, or upon the occaſion of this ſiege. That the City ſhould be fully reſtored to her antient priviledges, and to all her former liberty and prerogatives*

of Traffick. That in the mean while she was to pay 40000 *pounds sterling, to help to relieve the Army, for the so much pains and expence which it had been at in that siege. That the Antwerpians should give way to the receiving into the City, and longing of* 2000 *foot, and* 200 *horse in Garison: till it should be seen what resolution should be taken in* Holland, Zealand, *and the other confederate Provinces, of turning to the Kings obedience: which if they should do, the Prince promised to free the City of all Garisons; and not to remake the Citadel as it was before. That prisoners on all sides should be set at liberty; except Monsieur* de Tiligni, *concerning whose person, the Prince was of necessity to receive some particular Orders from* Spain; *and that the Signor de* Aldegonda *should promise not to bear Arms against the King of* Spain *for the space of one year.*

These were the chiefest Articles of the surrender: to which many others were added touching the restitution of Goods, the restoring of Traffick and Merchandizing to the City, and divers other petty interests, which respected the accommodation and satisfaction of the Inhabitants. This agreement being made, the Prince for his greater applause in having made such an atchievement, received the Order of the Golden Fleece which the King had sent him a little before. The Ceremony was performed in the Fort St *Philip*, accompanied with all the greatest Military celebration of joy and Jubilee: and 'twas done by Count *Mansfield*, one of the antientest of that Order in all *Flanders*. The Prince entred afterwards solemnly into *Antwerp*, not only as a Conqueror, but in Triumph: he appeared in stately Arms on horseback; many horse and foot in arms went before him: and many in the like sort followed him. Long files of armed foot were on each side. And a little before him was all the flowre of the Nobility on horseback; whereof there were very many then in the Army. Thus he entred by the Cesarian Gate, where he was received by the Magistrate, by the heads of all the Orders of the City, and by an infinite number of common people. He found many Arches, many Statues, many Colums erected in divers parts; with whatsoever else of glory could be shewn upon the like occasion, by the conquered to such a Conqueror. He then returned all due thanks to God in the chiefest Church; and being still accompanied with both Military and City-like acclamations, he lighted at the Castle, and staid awhile in *Antwerp* to put in order such things in the City as stood in most need thereof.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK IV.

The Contents.

The Cities of Gaunt, Bruſſels, Malines, *and* Niminghen *return to the Kings obedience. The Confederate Provinces are hereupon in ſo great ſtraits, as they offer the Queen of* England *the Soveraignty of their Provinces, that they may the more freely enjoy her protection. The Queen accepts not of the offer; but takes upon her their defence much more then formerly. In lieu whereof ſhe hath ſome of their Towns depoſited in her hands. The Earl of* Leſter *arrives in* Holland, *ſent by her as Supreme Head of the Confederate Provinces. The Prince of* Parma *reſolves to march into the field. He beſiegeth* Graves, *and takes it. He continuing his victories, takes* Venlo, Nuys, *paſſes the* Rhine: *and ſuccours* Zutfen, Leſter *looking on. Diſtaſtes between* Leſter *and the United Provinces. The Duke of* Parma *continues his acquiſitions; takes* Sluce, *a place of mighty importance. During the heat of War, an endeavour is moved between the King of* Spain *and Queen of* England, *to accommodate in ſome ſort the affairs of* Flanders: *but the endeavour is thought but artificiall on both ſides. The King this mean while conſiders whether he ought to make open War upon the Queen or no. Conſultations had hereupon in* Spain. *The King at laſt reſolves to ſet upon* England *with moſt powerfull forces. Preparations made hereupon in* Flanders *and in* Spain. *Preparations made by the Queen. The Spaniſh Fleet begins to move, and with an unhappy beginning, is detained many days by a great tempeſt; it comes to the Engliſh Channel. The Engliſh Fleet haſts to incounter it. The Spaniſh ſhips begin to ſuffer prejudice. Fire-boats like thoſe of the ſiege of* Antwerp. *The Spaniſh Fleet is afraid of them, and grows into great confuſion. At the ſame time the ſea grows rough, and makes the diſorder the greater. Some of the Spaniſh ſhips are loſt; and*

the reſt at laſt are forced to return for Spain. *A horrible tempeſt ariſeth, which occaſions the loſs of many of their ſhips as they return; and their whole Fleet is parted, torn and ſhattered by the fury of the ſea.*

THeſe were at this time the advantages of the Kings Forces. We told you before, that ere *Antwerp* was taken, *Gaunt*, *Bruſſels*, and *Malines* were reduced. And not to interrupt the ſiege of *Antwerp*, we forbore as then to acquaint you with what befell them; if at leaſt they may be called ſieges: For they were taken by only ſtopping up their Paſſes, and keeping the Cities from victuals on all ſides. We will now briefly relate the ſeveral ſucceſſes, together with what inſued in other parts, during the ſiege of *Antwerp*. After that the City of *Bruges* was faln into *Ferneſe's* hands, *Gaunt* began to ſuffer great ſcarcities, eſpecially of victuals. The Confederate Provinces held two places of very great importance on that Maritine Coaſt of *Flanders*; to wit, *Sluce*, and *Oſtend*. And becauſe relief might be ſent from thence to *Gaunt*, *Ferneſe* after the getting of *Bruges*, endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of all the Paſſes thereabouts, ſo as there could no communication be had between *Gaunt* and thoſe two places: and the ſucceſs was anſwerable to the deſigne. Thoſe of *Gaunt* not being able to receive any help from abroad, fell ſuddenly into great neceſſities: yet they continued ſtill to be contumacious. And perſiſting in their opiniatracy against the Church and King, they ſeemed as if they would rather undergoe any thing, then ſubmit themſelves again to the Kings obedience, and to the Catholick Religion. On the other ſide *Ferneſe*, though already buſied about *Antwerp*, ceaſed not to uſe all diligence to reduce thoſe of *Gaunt* to the utmoſt neceſſity of Famin. Wherefore ſcouring the Country round about with his horſe, and deſtroying all every where, he kept thoſe Inhabitants from receiving any help or ſecurity from without their own walls. There were not wanting many in the City who were well minded towards the Church and King. Famine increaſing then every day more and more, thoſe that were better inclined, took occaſion to leſſen the obſtinacy of the moſt contumatious; which *Ferneſe* had formerly indeavoured to moderate by many gratious offers. And ſo finally to keep from falling into greater miſchiefs, the Gauntesſes reſolved to come to an agreement, which followed about the end of *September* the preceding year.

They obliged themſelves to give all due obedience unto the King; to admit onely of the Catholick profeſſion, as formerly; to rebuild the Caſtle, which was ſlighted on the ſide which lay towards the Town, and to pay twenty thouſand pound for maintenance of the Kings Army: and Ferneſe *on his part did in the Kings name grant them full pardon; they were reſtored to their former priviledges, and thoſe who would not profeſs the Catholick Religion had two years ſpace allowed them to be gone, and to carry away their goods whether they would.*

By the ſame way of ſiege at large, the Cities of *Bruſſels* and *Malines* fell likewiſe ſome moneths after into the Prince his power, and were ſurrendred upon almoſt the ſame conditions: The getting of *Nimenghen* was alſo of great conſideration, which was taken likewiſe during the ſiege of *Antwerp*, as we then told you; but it was effected by the ſelf reſolution of the inhabitants; among which, thoſe who were faithful to the King, and well affected to the Church prevailing, they inforc'd the others, and gave up the Town to *Ferneſe*, who reaped great advantake thereby, by reaſon of the expeditions which followed afterwards in thoſe parts. At the ſame time that *Antwerp* was beſieged, two very conſiderable ſurpriſes were indeavoured, the one of *Balduke*, in *Brabant*, by the united Flemiſh; the other of *Oeſtend*, in the Province of *Flanders*, by the Kings party: The firſt was managed by Count *Hollack*, and he himſelf indeavoured to effect it, being got privately before the gate, by means of ſome intelligence which he held in the Town; his deſign ſucceeded ſo well at the firſt, as he put in ſome of his men through the gate; but the people taking up arms, and *il ſignor d' Altapenna* being then caſually in the Town, the enemy were ſoon driven out, and with much loſs cauſed to retreat from thereabouts. The ſurpriſal indeavoured

Adolphus Solm: Count de Mevrs
Governour of Gelderland & Vtrecht

red in the Province of *Flanders* by the Royaliſts, had the ſame good beginning, and unfortunate end. Monſieur *de la Motte* was ſent about it by *Ferneſe*, with ſuch a ſtrength of men as was requiſite. He aſſaulted the old Town of *Oſtend* ſo at unawares, as he ſuddenly made himſelf maſter of it; but his men having been careleſs in the keeping of a bridge which joyned the old and new Town together, the enemy growing couragious, firſt regained the bridge, and then drove the Kings men out of that part which they had won: theſe were the events of the Forces in *Brabant* and *Flanders* during the ſiege of *Antwerp*. On the Rheins ſide Kings men during the time got no conſiderable advantage over the Enemy, unleſs it were the recovery of *Nimineghen*; but the affairs were ſo equally ballanced on both ſides, as each Party was better able to withſtand, then to overcome the other. Colonel *Francis Verdugo* commanded the Kings Forces on that ſide; and next him, *John Baptiſta de Taſſis*, both of them Spaniards; theſe aimed above all things to preſerve the City of *Groninghen*, together with the little remainder which in thoſe parts continued under the Kings obedience; and they met with ſome occaſions, wherein meeting with the Enemy, they both broke their deſigns, and weakned their Forces. *Adolphus* Count *de Meurs*, a man of quality, both in conſideration of his Family and valor, commanded in thoſe parts for the united Flemiſh; and he had with him *Martin Schinck*. already turned from the Kings ſervice to ſerve the Enemy, for ſome il uſage as which he pretended he had received; theſe two with ſuch forces as they could gather and keep together, indeavoured to keep the Kings men from making any farther progreſs, and to do alſo what they could to advantage their own party. They had ſurpriſed the Town of *Nuis* upon the Rheine, which belongs to the Arch-biſhop of *Cullen*, and had much advantaged themſelves thereby thereabouts: but finally, the ſucceſſes of neither ſide were, as we have ſaid, of ſuch conſequence, during the ſiege of *Antwerp*, that in reſpect of the others which did precede, or of thoſe which ſhall follow, any farther diſtinct relation ſhould be made of them here. Returning then to the Kings Army, and to the more important affairs which calls us elſewhere: when the Prince of *Parma* had ſet in order the affairs of *Antwerp*, he reſolved to depart from thence, and to go whether the beſt occaſions ſhould invite him: during that little time which he tarried in *Antwerp*, he had ſufficiently diſcovered, that *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the reſt of the united Provinces (ſo we ſhall call them hereafter, for ſo they were already begun to be commonly called) would continue in their reſolution of not returning to the Kings obedience: wherefore before his departure he made the Citadel be rebuilt towards the Town, though for the preſent but with a ſingle plat-form, which was ſoon after clad with walls; after it was plainly ſeen, that the aforeſaid Provinces did not only ſeem not to reconcile themſelves to the King, but that rather out of new deſperate Councels they were reſolved to offer the Soveraignity of their Country to the Queen of *England*; the carriage whereof was thus. The aforeſaid Provinces had formerly intreated the Queen of *England* to aſſiſt them in the ſo important buſineſs of *Antwerp*; but ſhe entertaining them with bare hopes, never did any thing for them; to ſay truth, the Queen expected to have them reduced to ſome greater neceſſity, ſo as ſhe might have thereby received thoſe advantages which the Duke of *Alanſon* could not do; as we touched upon before. The fear of looſing *Antwerp*, increaſing daily in thoſe Provinces, and their onely recourſe being to the Queen, they reſolved to ſend her a ſolemn Ambaſſy in the common name of them all; and to this purpoſe they choſe ſuch Deputies as ſufficed to repreſent each of them, and ſent them into *England* about the end of the preceding *May* laſt. They were received by the Queen with particular grace and honour; they fell then to the buſineſs, and this was the offer which they made unto the Queen.

That in the firſt place, their Provinces did in all integrity of ſoul thank her, for her having been ſo gratiouſly pleaſed to favour them and protect them againſt the King of Spain's *violence, ſince the very firſt time that he uſed any againſt them; That he continuing more then ever to oppreſs* Flanders, *and thoſe Provinces not being able of themſelvs to defend themſelves from ſo powerful and cruel an enemy, were inforced to ſeek for neceſſary protection elſewhere; That therefore they had reſolved*

ſolved to fly unto her for it. A Princeſs ſo conjoyn'd to them in territories; ſo united in religion; and ſo intereſted in the cauſe. That to ſay truth, they were then in a very low condition, that notwithſtanding they were yet poſſeſt of Oeſtend, *and* Sluce *in the Province of* Flanders, *which were both of them Maratine Towns of great concernment; That* Holland, Zealand, *and* Freiſland, *Provinces which lay all of them upon the Sea, were yet wholly free from the Spaniards, and that within land there were yet many of the moſt ſecure places under their union, and a great part of the beſt of the Country. That they doubted not but that ſo puiſſant a Princeſs as ſhe, would Patroniſe their defence, much more out of magnanimity then out of Intereſt; ſo as leaving the firſt part to her, and conſidering themſelves the ſecond, they repreſented unto her how great an advantage the addition of ſuch Provinces, and particularly thoſe of the Maritine Coaſt, would be to* England: *And what doubt could it be, but that theſe two Naval Forces being joyned together, would give the Law by ſea to all the Weſtern, yea and Northern parts? That they then offered to ſubmit themſelves wholly to her Soveraignity, ſo to injoy not onely her ordinary protection, but to be defended by her abſolute authority, as by their Princeſs; hoping that ſhe would be pleaſed to admit of ſuch an offer, under ſuch fair and reaſonable conditions, as their people were to enjoy, according to the moderate form of their ancient Government: for what remained, ſhe might aſſure her ſelf, that the Flemiſh would alwayes vye for Loyalty towards her, with the Engliſh; in readineſs in concurring to all her greater exaltations, and in joy to ſee all her ends effected according to her own deſire.*

This was the ſubſtance of their Propoſal. Having ſaid this by word of mouth, they preſented it in writing to the Queen; who graciouſly received it; and did in as gracious a manner reply.

That ſhe would with all attention ſtudy to ſend them back as ſpeedily as might be to their Provinces, well ſatisfied. That ſuch an offer bore with it matter of great conſequence; and that therefore ſhe would take particular care that it ſhould be diligently diſcuſt by her Councel.

The Engliſh had at firſt ſeemed very much to deſire this. But as uſually ſeen things move more then ſuch as are but meerly imagined; ſo when the weight of this affair was ſeen nearer hand, the Councels differed much in their opinions concerning it. Some more boldly were of opinion,

That ſo fair an offer was by all means to be imbraced. That the United Provinces had already lawfully made themſelves their own Soveragins; out of their ſo requiſite neceſſity of not being able to ſuffer the King of Spains *ſo great oppreſſion. They might therefore lawfully diſpoſe of that their Soveraignty as they ſhould beſt pleaſe. That they had once already confer'd it upon the Duke of* Alanſon; *and wherefore might they not now confer it upon the* Queen? *The King of* Spain *would undoubtedly be ſcandalized hereat; and would peradventure make war again upon* England. *But how oft had he already offended the* Queen? *Were not the Inſurrections in* Ireland *fomented by him? had he not a deſigne to do the like in* England? *Did not he favour the Queen of* Scots *Cauſe as much as he might? and did not he upon all other occaſions ſhew his ill will to the Engliſh? That if he would fall into open war with the Queen, it was to be conſidered how greatly her uſual ſtrength at ſea would be increaſed by this new Maritine addition of* Flanders. *Let therefore the King of* Spain *aſſault* England *when he ſhould pleaſe, he ſhould finde it as ſecure in forces, as inexpugnable by ſituation.*

But there wanted not thoſe that were of a contrary opinion. They ſaid, *It was the common concernment of all Princes, that their ſubjects ſhould keep within their due obedience; what a ruine would it be to Principality, if the rendering or denying of obedience ſhould be at the Subjects pleaſure? That hitherto the Queen had favoured the Flemiſh, not as free people, but as thoſe that were oppreſt: that ſhe might ſtill, without proceeding any farther, do the ſame juſtly for the future; but to acknowledge a Soveraign power in them, and then to accept of that Soveraignty offered by them, was an action of bad example for other Princes; and particularly of very dangerous conſequence for the Queen her ſelf: How much more juſt reaſon would the King of* Spain *have in ſuch a caſe to make her taſte of the ſame evils at her own home? How great a diſpoſition was there generally thereunto in* Ireland? *And how great in the ſo many Catholicks which were yet in* England? *By her example the*

King

King would doubtleſly paſs from fomenting ſecretly, into open invaſion. To his Temporal Forces, the Pope of Rome *might likely enough add his Spiritual ones. And it would then be ſeen what would be got by making ſo uncertain an acquiſition in neighbouring Countries, when by doing ſo, certain hazard muſt be run at home in her own Dominions.*

Amidſt theſe two contrary opinions there was one in a middle way between them, which was,

That the Queen, without accepting of the Soveraignty, or uſing any other title of Protection, ſhould aſſiſt the Flemiſh with a good ſtrength of men. That for ſecurity of the expence which ſhe ſhould be at in aſſiſting them, they ſhould put ſome good Town of Zealand *into her hands, and ſome other alſo in* Holland. *And that the Forces which ſhould be maintained by the United Provinces ſhould be under his command whom ſhe ſhould ſend in Chief with her men Thus having gotten footing in thoſe Maritime parts, and her Authority likewiſe being in the aboveſaid manner extended further within Land, the Queen might wait for what time would produce, who is the beſt Councellor, and whoſe advantages are infallible to thoſe that can diſcern and make uſe of them.*

The Queen inclined to this opinion. And becauſe *Antwerp* was already in very great danger, ſhe gave order for the immediate ſending over of 3000 Foot into *Zealand* to facilitate the relief of that City And the Flemiſh reſolved to put *Oſtend* for the preſent into her hands. But this was not performed, becauſe the Aid came not time enough. Wherefore they paſt on to the chief Negotiation, and theſe following Capitulations were agreed upon between the Parties intereſſed.

That the Queen of England *ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt the States of the United Provinces with* 5000 *Foot and* 1000 *Horſe, (all of them to be paid by her) and that ſhe ſhould ſend a Commander in chief over with them, who ſhould have the Government of their Forces, and the chief Command over all their Souldiers. That to ſecure the repayment of the monies which the Queen ſhould ſpend, the States ſhould put* Fluſhing *and the* Ramekins *into her hands in* Zealand, *and the* Bril *in* Holland, *and leave the ſame Artillery and ammunition of war in them which was at the preſent. That when the war ſhould be ended, and the monies repaid, the Queen ſhould be bound to reſtore the ſame Towns, in the ſame condition as they were now aſſigned over unto her. That the United Provinces ſhould not make peace with the King of* Spain, *nor league with any other Princes, without the Queens conſent; neither ſhould the Queen come to any particular treaty with the King of* Spain, *without the knowledge and approbation of the United Provinces. That to boot with the Queens General Governour two other of her State-Miniſters might intervene at all the Councels and negotiations of the United Provinces. That in the default of any Governour of Province or Town, the States ſhould name two or three perſonages, of which one ſhould be choſen by her General Governour, with the participation of the Provinces Councel of State. That in caſe war were to be made by Sea for the common ſervice, the States ſhould concur thereunto with equal Forces to thoſe that the Queen ſhould therein imploy, and that her Admiral ſhould have the chief Command over them all. That the General Governour, and the other of the Queens Officers ſhould ſwear obedience not only to her, but to the States alſo. That all of them ſhould inviolably maintain the wonted Priviledges of the Country, and that there ſhould be no the leaſt alteration of Government made in thoſe Towns whereinto there ſhould any Engliſh garriſons be put; and that ſuch Garriſons ſhould be ſuffered to live, for matter of Religion, according to the manner of* England.

Theſe were the moſt eſſential Articles. Which being agreed upon, ſudden order was given for the putting of them in execution. The Queen declared the Earl of *Leiceſter* for ſupreme Head of her Forces, of whom mention is made in other parts of this our Hiſtory; and many of the Nobility of *England* prepared to go along with him. That year in this interim ended, and the year 1586 inſued. *Anno* 1586. In the begining whereof, *Leiceſter* being imbarked with all his people, arrived at the *Hague* in *Holland* about the firſt week of *February*, where he was received with all the expreſſions of Honour and joy that the States could make. The Places which were aſſigned over unto him were of very great importance. *Fluſhing* and

and the *Ramechins* were the chief Key of *Zealand*; and the *Bril* was likewiſe a Port-Town of very great concernment in *Holland*. The Garriſons being placed according to agreement, the States did ſo very much intreat *Leiceſter*, that to boot with the chief Command of their Forces he would likewiſe accept of the general Government of their whole Country, as he inclined to yield thereunto. At which the Queen ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, and forthwith ſent an Expreſs to complain thereof. But the States renewing the ſame intreaties to her, ſhe did not any further repugn it; thinking perhaps that ſhe had already ſo highly offended the King of *Spain*, as he would be but little pacified though ſhe ſhould forbear this ſecond irritation. Beſides, to ſay truth, 'twas hardly to be believed but that this declaration of the States had been ſecretly made known unto the Queen, and that *Leiceſter* would not have accepted of it without her tacit conſent. But howſoever it was, *Leiceſter* accepted of the Adminiſtration: He diſtributed his own men, and thoſe of the Provinces where it was moſt needfull, and prepared to impede the progreſs of the Kings Forces as much as might be, and to doe all that he could expect was to be done by his men.

Ferneſe, through the acquiſition of ſo many chief Cities, and particularly that of *Antwerp*, did verily believe to put an end to the troubles of *Flanders*, either by ſome way of fair Agreement, or by abſolute Conqueſt. Wherefore he was wonderfully moved to ſee this Victory which he had ſo aſſuredly fancied unto himſelf either by the one way or the other, taken from him by this Engliſh ſuccour; and the King thought himſelf thereby ſo highly offended, as he did not long delay the reſenting of it, as you ſhall ſhortly hear. But though the Enemy had received ſuch a ſuccour, yet *Ferneſe* did not doubt but that as his Forces were far the greater, ſo likewiſe ſhould his ſucceſſes be. He therefore reſolved as ſoon as the winter ſhould be over, to march with his Army into the field. The Enemy, though they had loſt *Maſtrick*, were yet maſters of two Towns of great concernment in that lower ſide of the *Mauſe*; the one was *Graves*, which belongs to *Brabant*, and the other *Venlo* in *Ghelderland*. It made very much for *Ferneſe* to have all thoſe parts at his devotion, to the end that he might the better unite his Forces on both the ſides of ſo important a River, and that he might likewiſe with the leſs impediment carry them on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. Wherefore he reſolved by all means to make himſelf maſter of thoſe two Towns. And though the winter were not yet over, he reſolved to ſend Count *Mansfield* to ſtraiten *Graves* at a diſtance, and gave him ſuch men as were requiſite for that purpoſe. He gave order likewiſe for the beſieging of *Venlo*, after the ſame manner. And being much preſt thereunto by the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, he likewiſe ſent the Signor *d'Altapenna* Governour of *Ghelderland*, to make the like preparation againſt the Town of *Nuys*, where the Enemy had ſtill fortified themſelves more and more, and ſtill more prejudiced the adjacent parts by their continual excurſions. When *Mansfield* was come before *Graves*, he planted two Forts upon the two banks of the *Mauſe*, that he might have the freer paſſage over the river; and he raiſed ſome others more within land, towards where the Town ſtood. The River did very much help the fortifying of the Town on the River ſide, and on the Land ſide the Enemy had likewiſe very well baſtion'd the walls. The Souldiers that were in it were moſt of them Engliſh Foot, part of thoſe that *Leiceſter* had brought over with him; and their Commander in chief was the Lord of *Hemert*, a Dutch-man. The Enemy did very much ſtrive to preſerve that place, and *Leiceſter* prepared to relieve it: He to that purpoſe ſent out a good proportion of Horſe and Foot; and the Kings men were not wanting in making ſuch oppoſition as was needfull, though they had not men enough as then to keep thoſe that were within from making excurſions, and hinder the deſigns which the Enemy had without. During this uncertainty of the Siege on the one ſide, and of the Succour on the other, there hapned divers actions and skirmiſhes, one of which proved very bloody. The Engliſh intended to relieve the Town chiefly by the way of a greater Dike which ran along the *Mauſe*; and to this purpoſe they had fortified themſelves upon the Dike, & had likewiſe prepared divers Barks upon the River. Wherefore taking their time, they began to march with ſome Squadrons of Foot, and advanced very boldly towards the buſineſs. The Royaliſts were very watchfull on their part;

part; and reſolving to keep back the ſuccour, they likewiſe marched boldly to encounter the Enemy. The buſineſs was very hot for a while, till the Engliſh began to give back and to retreat, which made the Kings men the more forward in advancing; but being too jovial in their purſuit, they did ſo diſcompoſe themſelves, as being ſet upon by a freſh Squadron of Engliſh Foot, they were driven back, and routed with much ſlaughter. The moſt of theſe were Spaniards, of *Don John d'Aquila's* Brigado, and the loſs was great, for there was ſlain above 200. of which ſeven Captains, together with divers inferior Officers. Yet could not the Engliſh force the Dike which was firſt poſſeſt by the Spaniards: but by their favorable ſucceſs they ſuccored the Town by ſome Boats by the way of the River, and ſo made them continue the longer in their vigorous defence. The P. of *Parma* was much diſpleaſed with this ſucceſs; wherefore he gave preſent order to *Altapenna* to leave the Siege of *Nuis* for the preſent, & to come to that of *Graves*. And he himſelf came thither ſoon after in perſon, and brought the whole body of the Kings Army with him, the ſooner to end this Siege. *May* was already over; and the Prince being exceedingly deſirous to end the Siege of *Graves*, that he might the ſooner go to thoſe of *Venlo* and of *Nuis*, he cauſed great haſte be made in finiſhing the Trenches, Batteries, and whatſoever elſe might the ſooner expedite the making of Aſſaults. Great ſpeed was then made of all the Works, in ſo much as within few dayes two Batteries were raiſed, and a dozen Peece of Artillery placed upon each of them, wherewith they began to play upon the Town; the one was placed on the River ſide, the other on the Lands ſide. The former plaid upon a Flank, wherein the Enemies chiefeſt defence on that ſide lay; but they might notwithſtanding reſiſt a long while. And the Earl of *Leiceſter* being already come firſt to *Utricht*, and then to *Arnhem* with good Forces, he gave the beſieged good hopes of being relieved; when the Lord of *Hemert* with ſome of his Captains, being poorly timerous, began to treat of a ſurrender. Nor did the Prince refuſe to give them any Conditions they could deſire, that he might the ſooner rid his hands of that enterpriſe. He came forth then with ſafety to Perſons, Arms, and Baggage: but he ſoon repented his doing ſo; for not many dayes after *Leiceſter* put him, and all the Captains that partook with him in the Surrender, to an ignominious death.

The ſiege of *Graves* being ſo happily ended, *Ferneſe* went ſuddenly to that of *Venlo*. He had then a very gallant Army: For he muſtered above 20000 foot, and 3000 horſe, all choice men. And the ſeveral Nations whereof they conſiſted, vyed which ſhould outdoe other in each Military action. *Ferneſe* being incamped before *Venlo*, he quickly took and fortified all the chiefeſt Avenues without; and then turned himſelf to begirt thoſe within, with his wonted works. A certain Iſland which they had fortified, ſerved the beſieged for a good defence on the river ſide. *Ferneſe* would by all means deprive them of this advantage. And becauſe the river was not fordable, and that it was not ſufficient to annoy the defendants in the Iſland barely by Artillery, he made four of the greateſt Barks that were in thoſe parts to fall down from *Maſtrick*, reſolving to aſſault them therewithall nearer hand. On their flanks he raiſed a firm parapet of planks, the better to ſecure the ſouldiers who were to enter into them: and he put into each of them a Company of Spaniſh foot, with a Captain over each Company. The Barks accoaſted the Iſland on divers ſides; and the order which was given them was, That the ſouldiers which were within them, ſhould all of them make the attempt at one and the ſame time; and that they ſhould be ſeconded from the river ſide by the Artillery. Nor could the event have proved more luckie: For the Fort being played upon from the river ſide by the Artillery, the Spaniards diſcharging of their muskets, their landing, and the driving of the enemy from the Iſland, was almoſt done at one and the ſame inſtant. There were but few of them ſlain; the reſt ſaved themſelves in ſome boats. This infuſed much terror into the beſieged: But they were incouraged by *Leiceſter*, and chiefly by *Schinck*, who had his wife and a ſiſter within the Town: wherefore his private Intereſt concurring with the common Cauſe, he did all he could to bring in ſome ſuccour: But *Ferneſe* had ſo ſhut up all the Paſſes, as it was too hard a matter to effect. Yet *Schinck* did ſeveral times endeavour it, till all hopes being loſt, he

gave over the deſigne. The Kings men this mean while played furiouſly upon the Town from ſeveral parts; and thoſe Nations who before ſtrove who ſhould advance furtheſt, ſtrove now who ſhould be the firſt to give the aſſault: But the defendants not willing to expect it, reſolved to yield. The Conditions were almoſt the ſame that were given at *Graves*. From hence *Ferneſe* went with all ſpeed to before *Nuis*. And with him did the Elector of *Cullen* joyn, at whoſe intreaties it was that the Army marched thither. The Town was already a little curbed by ſome Forts; but thoſe within had not forborn making of many ſtout ſallies; and ſeemed ſtill more reſolute to defend it. This Town lies upon the *Rhine*, as you have heard: and the River makes an Iſland juſt in the face of it, not far from the walls of the Town. Here the enemy had particularly fortified themſelves; and from thence *Ferneſe* would by all means drive them. The care of this was given unto the Spaniards, who did attempt it boldly. But the enemy iſſuing out with like courage, made good the Iſland, and ſlew ſome of the Spaniards. Who notwithſtanding returned more reſolutely then before, and at laſt the defendants were forced to yield. *Ferneſe* allotted all that ſide to the Spaniards, to accoſt the Town on that part; and planted a good number of Canon againſt the walls. On the land ſide he placed the Italians with a like battery. In other places he likewiſe ſet thoſe of other Nations againſt the Town; in ſo much as the beſieged were ſoon brought into great ſtraites. One battery play'd after another, and ſometimes they plaid all together. The wall towards the river was very well defended by a great Tower; but the Spaniard did aſſault it ſo fiercely, as at laſt they lodged themſelves there. Whereby the Town was ſtill more infeſted on that ſide, and was ſtill in more danger to be taken. Nor had the Italians reduced them to leſſer ſtraits on their ſide. Wherefore the beſieged failing in their courage, and the Governour of the Town being ſorely wounded, they began to think of ſurrendring. The Army was much incenſed againſt this Town; for they found that the Townſmen were inclined to receive in the enemy; beſides, many of the Inhabitants were hereticks, and were ſtill openly diſpoſed to favour that aforeſaid Apoſtate Biſhop *Truxes*. Whilſt then there was a ceſſation of Arms by agreement, and that they were upon Treaty of Surrender, and that they were weighing the Conditions: The Spaniards and Italians deſpiſing all good Military diſcipline, aſſaulted the Town with blind fury on two ſides at once. The enemy aſtoniſhed hereat, endeavoured as much as they could to defend themſelvs; but had no good ſucceſs. For the Royaliſts being thereat more incenſed after they had overcome all obſtacles, entred the Town in a hoſtile manner, and in exceſs of anger, which ſoon turned into down right fury, they put all they met with to the ſword. Nor did bloud ſatisfie their cruelty. Neglecting the avarice of plunder, they fell to fire the Town; which they did in ſo many places, as the Town which was almoſt wholly built of wood, was ſuddenly all on a fire. One houſe ſerved to fire another; and the diviſion of ſtreets no whit availing, the flames flew from one ſide to the other, and in a rapid motion ſpread themſelves over the whole Country. And that the Town might be the ſooner, and the more miſerably deſtroyed, the wind conſpired with the fire, whereby it was in very few hours wholly reduced to aſhes. With much adoe two Churches were ſaved, whereinto many ſacred virgins, together with other women of the Town, had recourſe for ſhelter. And the Marquiſs of *Vaſto* did in particular ſhew himſelf generouſly pious in ſaving them all from the fury of the ſouldier; he being greatly reſpected by the Army, no leſs in conſideration of his bloud, then of his valour and imployment.

Before the Duke of *Parma*, (for ſo we ſhall call him hereafter, his father Duke *Octavius* being now dead) went from about *Nuys*, the Biſhop of *Vercelles*, who was the Popes Nuntio in the City of *Cullen*, came unto him, and in the name of Pope *Sextus Quintus* preſented him with the Trunchion and Helmet, which the Popes do uſe to beſtow as a token of their eſteem and affection, to ſuch Princes as deſerve well of the Church. The Ceremony was ſolemnly performed in the Camp; and the Elector of *Cullen*, and Duke of *Cleves* would be preſent at it, for he was likewiſe come at that time to viſit *Ferneſe*. And at the ſame time the Marquis of *Vaſto* received the Order of the Golden Fleece. Which the King had

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ſent unto him a little before; and *Ferneſe's* ſelf put it about his neck. The enterpriſe of *Nuys* having received this Tragical end, the Camp paſt to before *Reinburgh*, which Town depends likewiſe upon the Biſhoprick of *Cullen*, and lies lower upon the *Rhine*. It was then in the enemies poſſeſſion; and the Archbiſhop and *Ferneſe* did both of them deſire to ſee it reduced under the Catholick power. The enemy had fortified it very well: and had likewiſe munited a certain Iſland, which ſtands before the Town. *Leſter* thinking it too great a ſhame, that *Ferneſe* after having made ſo many acquiſitions, even as it were before his eyes, ſhould likewiſe make this; reinforced his Army as much as he could, reſolving either to relieve the Town, or to make ſome diverſion by beſieging ſome of the Kings Towns. He was on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, in the Province of *Overiſel*; ſo called for that the river *Yſel* runs through it. On the right hand thereof ſtands *Zutfen*; one of the Towns of greateſt importance in all thoſe parts. *Leſter* bethought himſelf to take this place; and in order thereunto, he would firſt take *Deoſburg*, a little Town upon the ſame river, but which might help him in his chief deſigne. There were 300 Walloon foot in *Deosburg*, who aſſiſted by the ſituation of the place, might make it good a long while; but as ſoon as the enemy had opened their Trenches on their ſide, and ordered their Batteries, the defendants offered to parley; and put the Town into *Leſters* hands. From hence he went with his whole Camp to *Zutfen*: the City had a great Fort made of earth on the ſide oppoſite to the River; and two leſſer ones which did ſo much the more defend it. *Leſter* incamped himſelf on both ſides the river, and having made a bridg of boats, the better to joyn his Camp together, he endeavoured firſt to take the Fort, hoping that the taking thereof would facilitate the taking of the Town. *John Baptiſta di Taſſis*, of whom you have heard before, was Governor of the Town. Who forthwith advertiſed *Ferneſe* what danger the City was in of being taken, unleſs it were very ſpeedily relieved; for they had not proviſions anſwerable to the circuit of the place. *Ferneſe* had already made ſome progreſs againſt *Reinburg*, and had taken the Iſland; yet fearing he ſhould not take the Town time enough to ſuccour the other, he left the Iſland well munited, and reſolved to tarry no longer before *Reinburg*, but to go ſpeedily to the relief of *Zutfen*. Wherefore in great haſte making a bridge of boats over the *Rhine* at *Burick*, and raiſing a Fort at each end thereof, he went with all his Army to the other ſide, and marched towards the enemy. As he was upon his march, he was advertiſed that there were 2000 Rutters on that confine of *Germany*, who were raiſed by the Count de *Meurs*, to aſſiſt the enemy. He therefore choſe out 1500 horſe, and put one of the Spaniſh foot behind each of them, commanding them that with all ſpeed they ſhould march thitherward. And he himſelf followed with more men to back them.

The Rutters expected not ſuch an incounter, and therefore marched not in any good order, nor any waies provided to fight; wherefore meeting at unawares with the Kings men, they were ſoon routed and defeated. The Duke continued his march from hence, and came ſo neer *Zutfen*, as he prepared to ſend in ſuccour; to this purpoſe he put all his Camp into battel array, and made the Marqueſs of *Vaſto* advance with ſome Troops of Horſe, all of them almoſt Italians; with a great Squadron of Foot, compoſed of Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, and with many Cart loads of the neceſſarieſt proviſions to be brought into the City. The Horſe went in the Van, with whom the Marqueſs coming up unto the Enemies, ſome Troops of Engliſh Horſe boldly oppoſed them, and charged ſo home, as they diſorder'd them, and inforc'd them to give back; but reaſſuming courage, they fell to fight again; and the combat was ſuch, as for a while the ſucceſs was doubtful: The Marqueſs plaid his part manfully: The Italian Troops were commanded by *Apio Conti*, the Marqueſs *Hanibal Gonzaga*, the Marqueſs *Bentivoglio*, *Georgio Creſſia*, and Count *Nicolas Ceſis*; who ſtrove all of them who ſhould moſt ſignalize themſelves upon this occaſion. But the conflict ſeemed moſt to favour the enemy; for *Creſſia* was taken priſoner, and *Gonzaga* dangerouſly wounded. When the Kings ſquadron of foot advanced, and beartning the horſe, ſtopt the violence of the enemy; and afforded time for the Duke himſelf to come up. He came in battel array, with reſolution to fight,

if the enemy ſhould endeavour with all his forces to hinder the ſuccour. But *Leiceſter* would not hazard himſelf ſo far; but making a retreat be ſounded, ſuffered *Ferneſe* to paſs on; who entred himſelf in perſon into *Zutfen*, and left the Town well provided. Then going ſuddenly out again, he entertained himſelf thereabouts till *Leiceſter* had quite given over the ſiege; and winter drawing on, after he had put good Gariſons into all the Towns that formerly and of late were reduced into the Kings obedience in thoſe parts, he returned about the midſt of *November* to *Bruſſels*, with much honour for having made ſo many and ſo conſiderable expeditions in ſo ſhort a time. The Duke being gone from *Zutfen*, and having diſtributed his Army into their quarters, *Leiceſter* returned again to aſſault the Forts which were raiſed on the banks oppoſite to that Town. One of the leſſer was ſuddenly taken by aſſault. And Count *Hollack* was the firſt that entred it, the more to incourage the reſt; and in the action he received an honourable wound. The other leſſer Fort made no better reſiſtance. The greateſt Fort yet remained, which might have held out longer; but *Taſſis* inclined rather to withdraw the men into *Zutfen*, the better to defend the City in caſe the Enemy ſhould reſolve to beguirt it. *Leiceſter* did notwithſtanding diſpoſe of all his men about it, and did as it were beſiege it at a diſtance, that he might do it neerer at hand when the ſeaſon ſhould permit him; he returned from hence to *Holland*, and made his abode in the *Hagne*, where the States of the Provinces were then met: They ſeemed but little ſatisfied with *Leiceſter*, either in his Civil or Military Government; they ſaw what atchievements the Duke of *Parma* had continually made, whilſt he was a looker on in moſt of them; nor could they endure that together with the Towns depoſited into the Queens hand, he ſhould put Engliſh garriſons into divers other Towns as he had done: they therefore ſtill grew more and more ſuſpitious, judging that ſuch proceedings tended more to domination then to defence; and that *Leiceſter* intended to uſe rather an abſolue, then a limited power; nor did they forbear to acquaint him with their ſenſe, in a decent and moderate way: but he ſtriving to juſtifie his actions ſundry waies ſought to appeaſe the States, and to diſſolve the Aſſembly; which not being able to do, he reſolved to go for *England*, ſeeming to depart angry; and the States ſeemed no leſs offended: The diſtaſtes on both ſides paſt afterward ſo far on, as the Provinces ſent ſome of their Deputies to the Queen with complaints againſt *Leiceſter*: and he on the contrary ſought to croſs all their negotiations. Theſe diſcords made much for the Duke of *Parma*'s advantage; which as he very well knew, ſo

Anno 1587. did he not fail to make uſe of it. The new year of 1587 was already begun; and the Souldiers were all in their winter quarters; wherefore by divers practiſes he wrought it ſo as that ſome Towns of very great importance fell into his hands. *William Stanly*, an Engliſh Gentleman, was Governor of *Deventer*, and Colonel of a Regiment of the ſame Nation: This man agreeing with *Taſſis*, who was Governor for the King in *Zutfen*, reſolved to put the City of *Deventer* under the Kings obedience. *Stanly* was a Catholick, and ſeemed to do it chiefly out of the zeal to Religion; yet he was largely rewarded by the King; and ſo much the rather, for that he drew along with him to the Kings ſervice all the Engliſh which were with him at *Deventer*; which were the greateſt part of his Regiment and he ſtill kept the command of them, together with the title of Colonel. By his example, *Rowland York*, who kept the Forts of *Zutfen*, delivered them up not long after to *Taſſis*. The Caſtle of *Vouve* not far from *Bergenapzome* was likewiſe a little before faln into *Ferneſe*'s hands, which is a ſtrong place, and might much facilitate the taking of *Berghen*. The people of the confederate Provinces did mightily ſtorm at theſe new loſſes made by treachery, to boot with thoſe which were formerly taken by force.

Were theſe the aids; were theſe the advantages which they expected from England? *Was this the fruit that they reaped by the Earl of* Leiceſter's *Government? At his coming into* Flanders *he made miracles be expected at his hands: but how ſoon were theſe miracles turned into ſhame? How many places had the Duke of* Parma *taken whilſt he looked on? And how much to his diſhonor, had he in particular relieved* Zutfen? *That hereupon departing for* England, *inſtead of ſiding with* Flanders, *he was become their enemy. Nay, he had rather made himſelf Soveraign*

then

then Governour thereof; having placed Engliſh *where he pleaſed in lieu of native* Flemiſh. *That he did now oppugne the cauſe of the Provinces before the Queen, inſtead of defending it. Since then it was not known when he would return, or how minded, wherefore ſhould not the Provinces the mean while by their own authority reſolve upon what was beſt for their common ſervice?*

They delayed no longer, but immediately ſummoned the States Generall. Who when they met, it was reſolved amongſt them, that Count *Maurice* of *Naſſaw* ſhould immediately take upon him the Government of the Militia, and that having Count *Hollack* for his Lieutenant, he ſhould provide for all neceſſary occurrences of the war. The Aſſembly took alſo divers other reſolutions, and ſent their complaints again into *England* againſt *Leiceſter*, and againſt the other Engliſh Commanders which he had left in *Flanders*; and preſt very much that the Queen would remedy ſo many diſorders. The Queen was hereat troubled: wherefore ſhe ſuddenly diſpatcht away the Lord *Buckhurſt*, one of her prime Privy-Councellors; to the end that he, together with Colonel *Norris*, (who had many years before ſerved the United Provinces with great praiſe and reputation) might endeavour to compoſe the differences between thoſe Provinces and *Leiceſter*, and free the Flemiſh from thoſe jealouſies which they ſeemed chiefly to be fallen into by reaſon of him. This mean while the ſharpneſs of the winter was over, wherefore the Duke of *Parma* reſolved to take to the field again. He much deſired to cleanſe the Province of *Flanders* ſo throughly, as that the Enemy might be maſters of no place there. They had ſtill therein (as hath been ſaid) *Oſtend* and *Sluce*. The Duke therefore reſolved firſt to beſiege the latter, that he might afterwards doe the like to the other, according as he ſhould find opportunity. His Camp was at this time very much leſſened; for many of his Souldiers were loſt in the ſo many expeditions of the laſt year, and many were imployed in guarding the Towns that were newly taken. He thought notwithſtanding that he might beſiege *Sluce* with but a moderate number of Souldiers, that Town ſtanding as it were in the midſt of Mariſh places, and having but little dry ground about it, where it was requiſite to take the Paſſes, and to defend them. He therefore reſolving upon this, try'd firſt to deceive the Enemy by feigning another enterpriſe. He ſent *Il Signor d'Altapenna*, together with Marquis *Vaſto*, into the utmoſt Confines of *Brabant*, and gave them ſo many Horſe and Foot as he thought neceſſary for that purpoſe. They went their wayes, and with ſeveral appearances infuſed fear into the Enemies in thoſe parts; in ſo much as Count *Maurice* and Count *Hollack* came ſuddenly thither. Having made this diverſion, *Ferneſe* turn'd preſently upon *Sluce*, and towards the end of *May* incamped before it. *Sluce* does not lie altogether upon the Sea-ſide, as doth *Oſtend* but a little more within land: yet there runs a Channel on the right hand of it, whereinto the Sea enters, and is large enough to receive any whatſoever Veſſel; on the other ſides thereof ſome other leſſer Channels joyn with this greater, ſo as there is but little manageable earth, unleſs it be of one ſide only, which is towards the part called *Bruges*, becauſe it lies neareſt to that City. An Iſland of about two leagues about lies almoſt over againſt *Sluce*, between the bigger Channel and ſome others on that part, which fall all of them into the Sea; and it is called *Caſſante*. *Sluce* might be relieved by Sea from *Fluſhing* particularly by this Iſland, and by Land from *Oſtend*, which lies upon the ſame Sea coaſt towards the Weſt about ſome five leagues from *Sluce*, *Fluſhing* lying much upon the ſame diſtance towards the Eaſt. The Enemy had a Fort midway between *Oſtend* and *Sluce*, which was very commodious for bringing ſuccour to the beſieged on that ſide, which was called the Fort *Blanchemberg*. When the Duke was incamped about the *Sluce*, he forthwith went about to take the Fort. The Enemy had not provided very well for it; as well for that they were buſied about other things of greater neceſſity, as for that they did not expect the Kings forces at that time thereabouts. This Fort being ſet upon by the Kings men, made not much reſiſtance; yet thoſe within it would wait till the Cannon was brought, which when they were preſented, they made no further defence. The Fort being left well guarded, the Duke returned preſently to his already begun enterpriſe. He had not much above 8000 Foot with him, and but a very few Horſe;

Horſe; for there was no need of any more, in that ſo low and watery ſituation. Many of his Souldiers were gone to the diverſion which was to be made by *Altapenna*, and the Marquis *Vaſto*. The Quarters being taken and fortified, the firſt thing the Duke did was to plant a Fort upon the Iſland of *Caſſante*, in a certain bending of the greater Channel which waſheth *Sluce*. By it ſuccour might be brought from *Sluce*. And becauſe the Fort was not able to hinder the bringing of it, there were ſome great Barks placed in the midſt of the Channel, faſtned one to another, and well furniſht with Mariners, Souldiers, and Artillery, whereby the paſſage of the Boats with which the Enemy might endeavour to relieve the Town was ſo much the more diſturbed. The Duke, the better to defend the Boats, made ſome Works over againſt them on each ſide of the River. The Channel was not notwithſtanding above three quarters of a mile over; and as for the reſt, no relief could be brought by them. Yet to be the ſurer on that ſide, the Duke ſent ſome Horſe and Foot into the Iſland of *Caſſante* to watch over all the proceedings of the Enemy on that ſide which was neareſt *Fluſhing*. He then bent towards the taking of the Town. He could not accoſt it (as hath been ſaid) ſave only on the ſide towards *Bruges*; and the ground was there likewiſe very ſoft. *Min heer Groneveld* was Governour of *Sluce*, a valiant Souldier, as he very well proved himſelf to be in this defence: He had with him 2000 good Souldiers, part of which were ſent unto him by the Governour of *Fluſhing*, at the firſt appearing of the Kings men. No ſooner then did the Kings men begin to approach, but that the Defendants iſſued out in accuſtomed ſallies to oppoſe them. The Fort of *Bruges* was well fortified with good Flanks; and the beſieged had likewiſe raiſed a Fort without the Gate to keep the Kings men the further from the Ditch. *Ferneſe* knew that this Fort was by all means to be won, which he reſolutely went about. It was oft-times aſſaulted, and as oft ſtoutly defended; but at laſt the Enemy were glad to quit it. Hereby the Royaliſts had the better conveniencie to make their approaches. The Marquis of *Renty* had the chief care of the Trenches, who was one of the chief Lords of *Flanders*, and of moſt credit for valour and fidelity. By him the Works were with great vigilancie led on: but being too fervent and forward therein, he was ill wounded, and was inforced to withdraw from thence. Monſieur *de la Motte* ſucceeded in his place, a man of quality likewiſe, and of like valour and fidelity: But he proved no more fortunate; for as he was with equal fervencie ſurveying the Works, he received ſo dangerous a wound in one of his Arms, as to ſave his life it was cut off. In the defence of the Trenches, *John d'Aquila* a Spaniſh Camp-maſter, together with many Captains, and Souldiers of inferior condition were ſo ſorely hurt, as the Royaliſts could not pay dearer for their endeavours on that ſide. And yet they ſuffered very much on another ſide. To come to the Trenches, the Kings men were of neceſſity to paſs over a Bridg which lay ſo open to the wall of the Town, as thoſe within might with great ſafety to themſelves ſhoot at them. The Royaliſts placed a great Cloth before it, ſo to make the Enemy ſhoot at leſs certainty. But notwithſtanding this, the damage was very great which they received, and continued ſo to be till the Royaliſts had advanced further, and ſo bereft the Enemy of that advantage. This was the condition of the Siege, when the Earl of *Leiceſter* being ſent by the Queen, who had agreed the buſineſs between him and the Flemiſh as well as ſhe could, returned from *England*. He arrived in *Zealand* about the middle of *June*, and brought with him a good recruit of Engliſh Horſe and Foot. When he came to *Fluſhing*, he met Count *Maurice* there likewiſe, who had left *Hollack* to grapple with *Altapenna* and *Vaſto*. When they came to treat of relieving *Sluce*, the reſolution was to endeavour it by Sea. To this purpoſe as many ſhips as was needfull being provided, about 5000 Foot and 600 Horſe were put aboard them, with all other neceſſaries to ſecure the City when they ſhould have brought in the ſuccour. Within a few houres the Fleet appeared in the Channel, and *Leiceſter* within ſight of the beſieged ſtrove to encourage them, and ſignified to them by ſigns, that for certain he would relieve them. But having diſcovered further into the Channel, he found that paſſage ſo blockt up, and ſo ſecured, as he thought it was impoſſible to be overcome. The Fleet ſtood in ſuſpence three dayes in the ſame place, between their deſire of effecting

fecting the ſuccour, and the difficulty of doing it; at laſt weighing anchor, he ſteered towards *Oſtend*, the Councel having reſolved to endeavour the ſuccour on that ſide by land. *Ferneſe* being aware of the deſigne, forthwith reinforced the Fort of *Blanchemberg* with ſome foot and horſe: which obſtacle was to be removed by the enemy, before they could relieve *Sluce*. And ſo they reſolved to do, as ſoon as they had landed their men, to whom they added the whole Gariſon of *Oſtend*; they marched againſt the Fort of *Blanchemberg*. The loſs thereof was of as great conſequence to *Ferneſe*, as the getting of it was to them: wherefore leaving the ſiege every where well provided, he himſelf together with all the reſt of his men, marched towards the enemy. They were already ready to play upon the Fort; but when unexpectedly they ſaw they Kings men in their faces, after they had awhile conſulted whether they ſhould fight or retreat, they would not at laſt joyn battel; but withdrew again to *Oſtend*. From thence they returned again with the ſame Fleet, to the ſame place where they were formerly near *Sluce*. But *Ferneſe* returning likewiſe ſuddenly back, gave them no greater hopes of ſuccouring the beſieged. So as they fell off again, and appeared there no more.

The hindring of this ſuccour did much incourage the Kings men; and though it had the contrary effect upon the beſieged, yet did they not omit to make reſiſtance. The Kings men had not as yet made any formall batteries. The work of the Trenches was prolonged longer then they thought it would have been, by reaſon of the condition of the ground, of the oppoſition made by the enemy, and divers other things. But at laſt the Trenches were advanced as far forward as was requiſite: wherefore they delayed no longer to play upon the Town. This could only be done (as hath been ſaid) on the part towards *Bruges*. They raiſed but one only battery; marry it was one of the greateſt that hath been ſeen in as many ſieges as hath been made in *Flanders*. For 40 great pieces of Canon were planted thereupon. And at the firſt bout in the ſpace of eight hours they made above 4000 ſhot, as was particularly counted: which made a breach in the wall neareſt the gate, of above 20 yards long. The breach being made, before the Royaliſts reſolved upon the aſſault, they ſaw that the defendants had raiſed a great half moon behind the wall, and that they had ſo fortified themſelves there, that it would have coſt them much bloud to enter by aſſault. Nor were ſome defences wholly taken away which were thruſt forth from out the wall that was plaid upon. So as *Ferneſe* thought it better to advance by the wonted way of filling up of ditches, with mathooks and mines; and ſpare his ſouldiers bloud, though he were ſomewhat longer in getting the Town. By which way at laſt (after the enemies had made all poſſible reſiſtance, in defending the ditch, in meeting with their Mines, and in all other manner of oppoſition) the ſiege was brought to an end, and the Town ſurrendred upon all the moſt honourable conditions that could be deſired. The 2000 of the Gariſon that were in it, were reduced to little more then 600. and more of the Kings men were loſt in this ſiege, then in the three preceding ones of *Graves*, *Venlo* and *Nuys*. This mean while the before mentioned diverſion was made by *Altapenna* and *Vaſto*; but the motion was afterwards turned to neceſſity: for the enemy thinking likewiſe to raiſe the ſiege from before *Sluce* by diverſion, had aſſembled a good ſtrength of mens about *Balduke*, and threatned that City. The Kings men being then paſt from *Brabant* into *Ghelderland*, had no other end but to wait upon the enemy, and rather to hinder their proceedings, then to make any further progreſs themſelves. They notwithſtanding advantaged themſelves by getting the Town of *Ghelders*, which by Treaty was delivered up to *Altapenna*. Colonel *Paton*, a Scotchman was Governour thereof; who fearing leſt *Leſter* would take that Government from him, and beſtow it upon ſome Engliſhman, would by this act of perfidiouſneſs prevent the act of injury, at leaſt by him ſo reputed. But the Royaliſts on the contrary received two great loſſes. The one was, that *Altapenna* as he would have relieved the Fort of *Engelen*, received a mortal wound whereof he died the next day. The other, that the Count of *Hollack* did within a few days take that Fort. The name whereof was afterwards changed to *Creve-coeure*, alluding to the ſorrow which the loſs thereof would cauſe in the Kings men; they were both really

really great losses. For *Altapenna* was a Gentleman of much valour, great command, and of very great fidelity; and that Fort guarded a Pass over the *Mause*, which was of the greatest importance for the service of *Balduke* of any that was thereabouts. The Duke of *Parma* having taken *Sluce*, would presently have besieged *Ostend*. But the enemy had so well munited that place, and it was so difficult a business to keep it from being relieved by reason of its situation, as the Duke forbore doing it at that time. Moreover the resolutions which the King of *Spain* had put on against the Queen of *England*, summoned him to other designes. The loss of *Sluce* had this mean while caused much quarrelling between the Flemish and the English; each blaming the other for not relieving it. The Flemish imputed it to *Leicester*, as having endeavoured it too late; and *Leicester* complained of the Provinces, for that they had not time enough furnished him with requisite provisions. Wherefore the Queen weary of hearing so many complaints; as also of being at so great expence; or rather finding her self disdeceived in her hopes of coming to greater Authority amongst the Flemish: she thought it better to move some Treaty of accommodation in the Affairs of *Flanders*. Which it may be believed she was chiefly perswaded unto, thereby to try whether she could avoid the Tempest of Arms which the King of *Spain* already threatned her withall. She thought the King of *Denmark* might be a fitting Instrument for this purpose, wherefore she turned her self to him. Nor was he backward therein; but readily imbracing it, sent *John Ronsovio* forthwith to *Brussels*, who was well received by the Duke of *Parma*, and was afterwards well approved of by the King of *Spain*. The Schools from whence the negotiations of Princes proceed, are always full of deep mysteries. And though it be desired, their hidden and reserv'd ends, either cannot or ought not to be penitrated into. It was notwithstanding conjectured, that the Queen and King desired interchangeably to delude one another in this kind of negotiation, so as those provisions which were making on both sides, might be a little slackned. The United Provinces seemed most averse to this kind of negotiation. For their answer to *Leicester*, who had sundry times made several propolals to them about it, was resolutely this.

That they would never return again under the King of Spains *obedience: and that though the Queen should abandon them, they would not notwithstanding desist from doing what they could in their own defence even till the last gasp.*

But whatsoever should come of it, or what ever the end of this Treaty might be, the King and Queen resolved to set it on foot; and chosing *Burborg*, a little Town between *Dunkirk* and *Gravelin*, for the place, they sent some perticular Commissioners thither to that end. In the Kings name there did intervene Count *Aremberg*, Knight of the golden Fleece; Mousieur *de Campigni*, Lord Treasurer; and *John Richardotto*, President of the Councel of *Artois*. And for the Queen, the Earl of *Darby*, Knight of the Garter, and two others of her privy Councel: whilst arms were handled in *Flanders* in one part, and this Treaty was in hand in another, many frequent consultations had been had, and were yet had in *Spain*, touching in what manner the King should resent the injuries done unto him by the Queen of *England*. The King had been provoked long before this by the Queen of *England*, by her continual fomenting the troubles of *Flanders*; yet he thought he might dissemble the offence, because she dissembled the injuries: But the King was so moved at this last action, wherein she had by so many helps so openly revived the rebellion of *Flanders*, when it was almost extinguished, as he thought he could no longer forbear, shewing how ill he took it, by declaring open war against her: Yet openly to make war upon *England*, was of great consequence to the affairs of *Spain*; so as the King before he would resolve thereupon, would have it very well disputed by his ablest ministers of State. *Alvaro di Bassano* Marques of *Sancta Croce*, a Personage very much cryed up for Naval Militia, was one of those that perswaded him most to this enterprise: he bore a great command at this time over the Kings Fleets in the Ocean; and by reason of his imploymenr, hoped it would fall to his share to be the prime man in this famous expedition. Wherefore, whilst they were treating one day of this business in presence of the King, he spoke thus.

When

When I conſider (moſt mighty Prince) the glory and advantage of the propoſition in hand, and the hopes of ſeeing it happily effected, I confeſs I cannot forbear exhorting your Majeſty with all the power and efficacy I have, by all means to lay hold of it. your Majeſty may chiefly glory in the Auguſt Cognomen *of moſt Catholick: and that you have much more made it good in your actions, then uſed it in your Title. What greater glory can you then deſire, then, in the firſt place, to reſtore ſo great and ſo noble a Kingdom, as is* England, *to due obedience to the Church, and to the ancient veneration of the Altars? And what greater renown, then to beat down Hereſie there, where her moſt rebellious enſignes are raiſed up; that Iſland being made as it were an inexpugnable Sanctuary thereof? How much hath Piety and Religion flouriſh'd formerly in that Kingdom? How many Catholicks are there yet there? And how do they long to ſee an end of that bitter perſecution which they ſuffer there? And to proceed to the advantage of the propoſal: It is well known, that* Spain *can reap no greater advantage, then in being no longer oppoſed by* England. *From thence are the Indies infeſted, and your Fleets threatned. From thence is the Rebellion of* Flanders *fomented, and the manifeſt uſurpation of the Dominion therefore aſpired unto. And finally, From thence proceeds all the greateſt damages which the Crown of* Spain *ſuffers at this preſent: and from thence will the greateſt evils alwaies derive which ſhall at any time hereafter befall it. And for the happy ſucceſs of the enterpriſe; why ſhould not your Majeſty aſſure your ſelfe thereof? Your Forces at Sea have formerly been moſt powerful: How much more formidable will they be made now by the addition of* Portugal? *And your reſent ſucceſſion to that Kingdom does plainly denote, that God hath been thereby pleaſed the more to facilitate this enterpriſe: 'Tis then to be beleeved that the Spaniſh Fleet by Sea will be of that Potency, as it will not to be withſtood by all the maritime Forces of* England, *though aſſiſted by* Holland *and* Zealand. *The Army by land which the Duke of* Parma *hath lately increaſed in* Flanders *may at the ſame time correſpond with the Fleet which ſhall come from* Spain. *When the Channel ſhall be poſſeſt by your Fleet, the Army may be eaſily conveyed over into the Iſland: where when it ſhall be landed, and all your Majeſties Forces joyned, what ſhall withſtand them from entring ſuddenly into the heart of the Kingdom? For it being an Iſland, nature defends it onely by ſituation, no uſe being made to fortifie it by induſtry. When this ſhall be once done, and* England's *fomenting be ceaſed, it is not to be doubted, but that the Rebellion in* Flanders *will ſoon ceaſe likewiſe. Fire laſts as long as do the materials wherewith it is fed; when thoſe fail, the greateſt fires go out, and end in aſhes.*

John Idiaques, one of the Kings Officers moſt imployed in Court at that time, appeared in Councel to be of a contrary opinion. *Idiaques* had been for many years Ambaſſador, firſt at *Genua*, then at *Venice*; and after his return to Court the King had always imployed him in managing the moſt important affairs of the Crown. He ſpake thus.

The firſt thing that is to be taken into conſideration (moſt mighty Prince!) is, in my opinion, the difficulties of the undertaking which is now in diſpute. And to ſpeak my mind freely, I think them ſo great, as there is but very little hope of good ſucceſs. England *(as every one knows) is ſo ſituated, hath ſuch Forces, ſuch Inhabitants, and is governed after ſo peculiar a manner, as it will be too hard a matter for any Foreign Nation to land there, much more hard to keep there when they are landed. That Kingdom is incloſed and fortified on all ſides by the Sea; the Havens there are but few, and any Fleet may be eaſily kept from entring thereinto. The* Engliſh *yield not to any Nation of the world for ſkill in maritime affairs; and their maretime Forces, together with thoſe that will be added to them by* Holland *and* Zealand, *may without doubt oppoſe whatſoever Fleet* Spain *can ſet forth, at leaſt by way of defence. But ſay that our men were landed in the Kingdom, how can we hope to eſtabliſh them there? Uſually in the making of Conqueſts, ſome internal diſpoſition is required, and there is a continual neceſſity of external aids to maintain them. There can no ſafe correſpondencie be hoped for from the* Engliſh, *it being a Nation which will ſuffer no other Government then its own: And ſuccours from elſwhere will be ſo hard to be effected, ſo expenſive, and ſo uncertain, as the Forces of* Spain *which are already ſo diſtracted will never be able to ſupply them. Hath not your Majeſty experience by your marriage with Queen* Mary, *how much the* Engliſh *doe hate all manner*

of Foreigners, and how contrary all the Laws of the Kingdom are there unto? Is not the Rebellion of Flanders *sufficient to let out the best blood of* Spain, *without adding thereunto that which you shall suddenly see arise in* England? *Then since there is so little hopes of any good success in this affair, methinks it were better to let it alone, and so to resent the wrongs done unto you by the Queen, as fighting with her at her own weapons, not to come to open war upon her States. If war shall be made, and the design not succeed, how much more will she oppress the Catholicks of* England *and of* Ireland? *How will she foment the troubles in* Flanders? *nourishing still her own desire of usurping the government thereof? And how much more justly shall she plot all manner of mischief with the* Hollanders *and* Zealanders *to the Crown of* Spain *in the* Indies, *and in all other parts? So as by this enterprise no glory or advantage will redound to your Majesty, but shame and loss. Let your Majesty therefore bend all your might to end the Rebellion of* Flanders. *The Duke of* Parma's *Army being reinforced by Land, and the Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *being set upon by Sea with the same Forces which would be imployed against* England, *your Majesty may safely believe to see that Rebellion subdued, and the Church restored to its former right, as also your Royal Crown. If in the mean while the Queen of* England *shall continue to aggravate her offences yet more against your Majesty, then may you resent your self against her in open war with more expedition, more advantage, and more happy success. The former success will doubtlesly very much help the other: whereas on the contrary, if the design of assaulting* England *misgive, as it is to be feared it will; for my part I fear (and I wish my fears may prove false) the Rebellion of* Flanders *will never have an end.*

The Duke of *Parma* being desired to signifie his mind in this point, seemed to incline to this second opinion. And howsoever, if the business concerning *England* were to precede, he said that some Port or Haven in *Zealand* was first to be won; and this out of two very important reasons: The one, that upon any occasion the Spanish Fleet might have some safe and near refuge; and the other, that the Kings Havens in the Province of *Flanders* might not be hindred by the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, in the Duke of *Parma's* transporting his Army into *England*. The King staggering between these two opinions, was a while in dispute with himself which of them to follow: But in fine it appeared, that the securing of *England* did so absolutely draw with it the putting an end to the Rebellion of *Flanders*, as it was resolved in *Spain* to make all the speed and all the greatest preparations that might be for the execution of this enterprise. The King was afterwards the more encouraged herein, by the disposition he found in the Pope not only of approving, but of favouring the design. *Sixtus Quintus* was then Pope, who appeared very zealous in maintaining the universal cause of the Church. In the particular of *England*, he considered what had befaln in the time of *Pius Quintus*, by whom he had been made Cardinal. When Pope *Pius* found that the Queen of *England* grew still more perverse in prosecuting the Catholicks, and to doe all ill to Religion both at home and abroad, he at last published an Apostolical Bull, wherein was contained such punishments against her, as the Church in like cases had alwayes wont to inflict. But instead of being thereby bettered, the Queen grew more cruel and impious: Nothing was seen or heard of in that Kingdom, but a perpetual, irremissible fury against Catholicks; some were banisht, others imprisoned, others deprived of their goods together with their Country, and many bereft both of goods and life: The Priests were chiefly persecuted; and Heresie triumphing over their punishments, and to see their Ministery already wholly routed out, 'twas thought the Queen intended fully to extinguish all the remainder of Catholick Religion, and all the footsteps of that Piety which for so many Ages had so exceedingly flourisht there. Nor was her hatred towards the Church bounded within her own Dominions; it was known how greatly, and how continually she fomented the Heretical factions of *Germany*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to nourish troubles there, and particularly to beat down the Catholick religion: by her means likewise *Scotland* was greatly subverted; and her beheading of the Queen of *Scots*, who had been alwayes very zealous in the Catholick cause, was generally detested by all the Catholick Princes of *Europe*, and in particular had caused much horror in the Pope. Wherefore

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joyning this with many other actions whereby the Queen did ſo cruelly afflict the Church, and diſturb the publike peace almoſt every where, he conſidered he was not to let ſlip the occaſion now preſented of favouring the King of *Spains* aforeſaid enterpriſe, thereby to advantage the Catholike cauſe univerſally over all *Europe*, and particularly in *England* and *Ireland*. To this purpoſe he thought it fit to make a Subject of *England* Cardinal; and this was Doctor *Allen*, who was one of the antienteſt and moſt qualified Eccleſiaſticks, both for learning wiſdom, and goodneſs, of all thoſe of that Nation that were abroad. *Allen* was then at *Rome*; and the Popes intention was to ſend him into *Flanders*, and then into *England* (in caſe the deſign ſhould ſucceed) there to exerciſe ſuch Miniſterial duties, as ſhould upon ſuch an occaſion be moſt needfull for the ſervice of the Church, and particularly for thoſe Catholicks.

The Pope being thus minded, the King applied himſelf with all fervencie to the buſineſs, and to make very exceeding great preparations both by Sea and Land. He gave the care of the maritime preparations to the Marquis *de la Croce*, and deſtin'd him to the Naval command. As for the Land, he would have the greateſt Forces be raiſed in *Flanders*; and that the Duke of *Parma* ſhould carry that Army which was under his command over into *England*, and that he ſhould have the chief command thereof, as alſo of all the reſt who were brought in the Fleet to land in the Iſland. Theſe Orders being given out by the King, the noiſe thereof began to be heard throughout all his Kingdoms; each of them ſtrove which ſhould provide moſt ſhips, greateſt ſtore of victuals and warlike ammunition, in ſo great ampleneſs as ſo high a deſign did require. Great preparations of all theſe things were made in *Sicily* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and in all the maritime Coaſts of *Spain*, and eſpecially in the building of great abundance of ſhips whereof the Fleet was to be compoſed. Such men as were neceſſary for the ſervice were alſo raiſed in all parts; and in fine, the reſolution was to make an Armado ſo powerfull in all conditions, as the like had never been known at any time to be upon the Sea. The Duke of *Parma's* diligence in making preparations in *Flanders* in behalf of the enterpriſe, was this mean while no whit leſs. After the getting of *Sluce* he went to *Bruges*, and kept there as in the fitteſt place of all the Province of *Flanders*, to diſpoſe of all things neceſſary for the tranſporting of his Army into *England*: To recrute it with men, the King had given order that *Biaggio Cappizucchi* in *Italy* ſhould raiſe a Brigado of Foot in the State of *Urbin*: and that *Carlo Spinulli* ſhould do the like in the Kingdom of *Naples*; That the Marqueſs of *Brogaut*, brother to the Cardinal *Andrea d' Auſtrea*, ſhould raiſe another in *Germany*, greater then ordinary: That the reſt of the German Nation that were on foot, ſhould be filled up; and that the like ſhould be done amongſt the Burgonians and Walloons: That a good body of men ſhould be ſent from *Spain* to recruit the old Brigadoes: That in in fine, the field Army of *Flanders* ſhould be compoſed of 30000 Foot, and of 4000 choiſe Horſe; all of which, or at leaſt the greateſt part were to be imployed in the expedition for *England*. An infinite proviſion of things was required to tranſport ſuch an Army, and to provide it with all things neceſſary to lead on the enterpriſe ſucceſsfully on that ſide. They purpoſed to embarke the men at *Newport* and *Dunkirk*; and a great number of veſſels was neceſſary to tranſport them: And though theſe were rather to be for burthen, then war, and rather low built then high; yet the aſſembling ſo many of them, brought with it both great expence of time and monies: and amongſt other things, a great number of Artificers were requiſite to be had to do the workmanſhip, and of Mariners to govern them. The Duke of *Parma* had great ſcarcity of both theſe, and was likewiſe jealous of them, by reaſon of ſuch mens being inclined to follow rather the Hollanders and Zealanders, (in whoſe Seas they were for the moſt part born and bred up) then the Kings party, where their profeſſion was but little practiſed; inſomuch as the Duke was glad to ſend for ſome from the *Baltick* Sea, and to make proviſion of them in divers other parts of the lower ſide of *Germany*. The aforeſaid Veſſels were moſt of them built in *Antwerp*, and many in *Gaunt*, *Newport*, and *Dunkirk*. Thoſe of *Antwerp* were to be brought by the *Scheld* to *Gaunt*, and from thence to *Bruges* by a Channel cut by hand, which goes from the one City to the

other. And upon this occasion the Duke cut another channel likewise from *Bruges* to *Newport*, to the end that the Vessels might fall the more commodiously into the sea, and there joyn with those of *Dunkirk*:

Anno 1588. During the noise of so great preparations made in all parts of *Italy*, *Spain* and *Flanders*, to assault *England*, that year ended; and the year 1588 commenced; which was particularly remarkable for this enterprise sake. The designe was not notwithstanding publickly declared; but the King striving as much as he could to conceal it, made it be given out, that so great a preparation by land and by sea, was intended against the Rebels in *Flanders*. And to keep them likewise in suspence, he caused the begun negotiation between him and the Queen touching the accommodation of the Affairs in those parts to be continued. Other reports were given out, that the King intended a good part of the Fleet by sea for new designes which he had upon the *Indies*. Some times the preparations seemed to cool: But at last they grew to such a greatness, and so many signes appeared of their being precisely destin'd for *England*, as there was no room left for doubt. The Queen, seeing her self threatned by so great a tempest, betook her self to make all such preparations likewise on her part, as might be necessary to withstand it. She gave order to *Charls Howard*, Admiral of *England*, a Lord of a very Noble Family, and of great imployment, that he should powerfully reinforce her usual Fleet; and that he should make all other such provisions as were needfull to furnish it with Souldiers, Mariners, Victuals, and Ammunition of War. But she gave unto him Sir *Francis Drake*, for a particular assistant herein; one that was then the most esteemed amongst all the English for sea affairs, and famous likewise thorowout all other Nations, for many memorable sea-voyages which he had made, and for many enterprises which he with great boldness had effected. Such a preparation required great expence, and a great inclination of the Kingdom to effect it: Wherefore the Queen called a Parliament: without the Authority whereof the Kings of *England* cannot receive any supplies of monies upon any extraordinary occasion: The Parliament being met at *London*, the Queen would one day appear there in person, and went thither in the greatest glory that might be. Where being placed under her cloth of State, and having so composed her countenance, and other gestures of body, as might most take the Assembly, she spake thus.

What a weight of war, my Lords, and you my beloved of the House of Commons, is threatned against me at this time by the King of Spain, *each of you who know the preparation, will easily believe the designe: nor is the pretence less apparent. That King complains that I have always favoured his Rebels (as he is pleased to term them) of* Flanders. *And especially with so many forces, and so openly in these their last necessities. I confess the action; and do still more commend the advice given unto me therein by my Council. Since in effect I could do nothing which was more praise worthy for Justice, or more necessary for convenience. Every one knows the near Confederacies which past between the Kings my predecessors, and the house of* Burgony, *whilst the Provinces of* Flanders *were under the Government thereof. Nor was this a bare Union between Prince and Prince; but it extended from Nation to Nation; and almost from private man to private man; so great were the considerations both of neighbourhood, Traffick, and the conformity of Government, and of all other Interests, to make both peoples as it were but one and the same. Every concern being then so united between the Flemish and the English, how could I abandon those, and not abandon these? Nothing is more just then to defend the oppressed: nothing more becoming a regal condition, then to take such into protection. And if the most remote people may merit such a favour, how much more may our neighbours deserve it, and those between whom and us there is so near a conjunction. Nor ought the Flemish to be ere a whit less assisted by me, out of justice, then out of conveniency. You see whether the vastness of the Spanish Empire is arrived. And how much more this Kingdom in particular, is now indangered by the addition of the Crown of* Portugal *thereunto. The designe of oppressing* Flanders *is apparently seen, to the end that such Forces both by land and by sea, may be planted there, as may serve to make* Spain *impose what Laws it shall please, both upon the North and West. In this case* England *and* Ireland *being incompassed therewith, why may we not fear that they may*

may ſuffer the like evils as Flanders *ſhould have done? So as by my ſuccouring of thoſe Provinces, I pretend to have at the ſame time ſecured my own Dominions. Here it is that the King of* Spains *ſhoe wrings him; and hence it is that he accounts that an injury, which I have done in mine own neceſſary defence. And could I appear more moderate then in refuſing the Soveraignty which the United Provinces did ſo freely and unanimouſly offer me? And yet how juſtly may I complain of ſo many injuries done to me by him? What, hath he not endeavoured to make* Ireland *rebel againſt me? What are his continual machinations to the ſame purpoſe with the Catholicks in* England? *and what doth he not in all other parts in hatred to my Kingdoms and to my perſon? It may then be ſafely concluded that he now makes open war upon me, not out of any true reaſon, but out of a falſe pretence: and that his true end is to invade this my Kingdom, and to endeavour by all the power he hath to get the Dominion of it. I therefore ſummon and exhort you my faithfull Subjects to the defence thereof: to the defence I ſay of a Kingdom which is more yours then mine; I being more yours then mine own. The marriage from whence I derive, was eſtabliſhed by Parliament: by the Authority of Parliament was I brought to the ſucceſſion of the Crown which I wear. The Religion which I follow is imbraced by the Parliament. I have acknowledged the Parliament to be my Father: and as I may ſay, have taken the Parliament for my Husband. For I have forborn marriage to avoid bringing of a foreign Prince hither, who by new Cuſtoms and imperious demeanours might trouble, not ſo much my own quiet, as the common happineſs of the Kingdom. By the miſeries of* Flanders *it may be comprehended, what thoſe of* England *would be, if the Spaniards ſhould enter here. We ſhould ſoon ſee new Tribunals of Inquiſition, new yokes of Citadels, new Laws, new burthens, new Cuſtoms, horror, cruelty and violence every where. I know you would not willingly fall into this condition; and that to keep from doing ſo, you will of your ſelves do all that lies in your power. This conſiſts chiefly in providing ſuch ſubſidies as ſo great an occurrency requires. Wherefore I beſeech you to give them ſo, as that the preparations on our ſide, may juſtly counterpoiſe thoſe which the enemy doth by ſo many ways order on his behalf. For what remains, every one knows what advantage the aſſaulted hath over thoſe that do aſſail. We ſhall particularly have the advantage very much, by defending a Kingdom to which the ſea ſerves for a Bulwark on all ſides. With our Forces, thoſe of our Confederates in* Flanders *will joyn; and all the Northern parts will unite themſelves with us, when they ſhall ſee this new deſigne of the Spaniards to invade* England, *after having endeavoured ſo cruelly to oppreſs* Flanders. *I the mean while, who may term my ſelf no leſs your ſervant then your Queen, will perform what it becomes me to do; and though a woman, reſt confident you ſhall find a manly ſpirit in me. And that I will cheerfully incounter death, if it ſhall be requiſite, ſo to end my life upon ſo worthy an occaſion.*

The Queen was indued with a very great wit, and with almoſt all ſorts of learning: which ſhe had particularly ſtudied in her younger years. And by reaſon of her then great age, and the opinion which was had of her ſingular gift of Government, ſhe was generally no leſs reverenced then beloved by her Subjects. Wherefore it is not to be expreſt, what affection her Parliament ſhewed towards her, and what indignation againſt the King of *Spain*, in their anſwer. 'She was 'aſſured by both the Houſes, that in her ſervice, and the ſervice of the Kingdom 'they would ſpend both their fortunes and their lives; and that they would be as 'ready to give Subſidies, as ſhe had been in deſiring them.

To this their diſpoſition of will, the univerſal diligence of effects did ſoon correſpond. Exact Guards were forthwith put into all the Ports of the Kingdom. Many men were raiſed for the Fleet by ſea, and to make two Armies alſo on land. The one under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was ſent for back into *England* by the Queen; and the other under the Lord *Hunſdon*, who was likewiſe very much eſteemed of in the Military profeſſion. *Leiceſter* was chiefly to defend the banks of the Thames which runs through *London*, and to keep the Spaniſh Fleet from entring thereinto. And *Hunſdon* with his Army, which was the greater, was to keep more within land, and to guard the City of *London*, and the perſon of the Queen. All this while the aforeſaid Treaty of agreement in *Flanders* was continued by their Commiſſioners between the King and Queen. But this

th is Treaty ſuddenly vaniſht: For the Spaniſh Fleet being ready to put to Sea, and ſuch preparations as were needfull being likewiſe made in *Flanders*, the King would no longer defer the execution of his deſign.

The Fleet conſiſted, as it was generally reported, of 160 Sail of Ships, moſt of them Men of War, the reſt were for Carriage: They were almoſt all of them Galleouns, except ſome Galleaſſes and Gallies, which were to be rowed upon any occaſion. The Galleouns were like ſo many Caſtles in the Sea; they had high Towers in their Fore and Hinder-Deck, their Maſts were of an unmeaſureable greatneſs, their bodies were of a vaſt bulk, and the very leaſt of them bore no leſs then 50 great Guns. 22000 Foot and 1200 Horſe, all of them almoſt Spaniſh, were imbarked in the Fleet; amongſt the which there were above 2000 Voluntiers, all of them of the beſt Families of *Spain*. Of ſo great expectation was this enterpriſe, and ſo much had the King laboured to have it perform'd in the gallanteſt way that might be. The Fleet was to ſet forth about the beginning of *May*, and to hoyſt ſail. To haſten the which, the Marquis of *Santa Croce* was gone to *Lisbon*, where he was ſeiſed upon by ſo ſudden and ſo fierce a diſeaſe, as he dyed thereon in a few dayes ſpace. A great loſs, and whereat the King was very much grieved; who preſently ſubſtituted *Alonſo Peres di Guſman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, in his place; a Perſonage of a very great Family in *Spain*, but one who had never been out of thoſe Kingdoms, and who was no wayes knowing in the maritime profeſſion. He made haſte to *Lisbon* to execute the Kings commands; but howſoever, this change of Admiral retarded the expedition for many dayes, inſomuch as the Navy could not get from *Lisbon*, in the Haven whereof the rendezvouz was, till the end of that moneth. *John Martines di Ricalde*, one very much verſt in Sea-affairs, was next in command under the Duke; nor were there wanting other Commanders of very great experience, who governed the particular Squadrons into which the Fleet was divided. At the ſame time the Kings Army in *Flanders* was in a fitting poſture for the deſign on that ſide: All the new men which were expected were come, and a great many of the Gentry were likewiſe come to fight under the Duke of *Parma* upon this occaſion; He gave a very honourable reception in particular to the Marquis of *Burgaut*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. There were come thither from *Italy* Don *Amadeo* of *Savoy*, Don *John* of *Medicis*, *Veſpaſian Gonzaga* Duke of *Sabionetta*, together with divers other *Italians* of very good quality. And from *Spain*, the Duke of *Paſtrana*, with divers others of very good eſteem in that Nation alſo. But to return to the Fleet. As ſoon as it was well got out of the Haven, a great Tempeſt aroſe, which did greatly diſorder and divide it; and was cauſe of the loſs of ſome of their Bottoms that were rowed with oars, which could by no means be ſaved. So as it was neceſſary to gather the Fleet together again, which could not be effected till the midſt of *July*, at *Corugna* in *Galatia*, not without great labour and ſuffering. It put forth again to Sea from hence. The Generall went in a Gally called St. *Martin*, famous for the Victory which the Marquis of *Santa Croce* had got in it in the buſineſs of the *Terzeri*. This ſhip was the *Capitana* or Admiral, and from this did all the other ſhips receive their orders. The Fleet advanced with a favourable wind, and about the end of *July* came within ken of *England*. Nor did the adverſe Fleet delay appearing, which conſiſted of not above one hundred Men of War, all of them very much inferior in body to thoſe of *Spain*, but much ſuperior in nimbleneſs and agility.

As ſoon as the *Spaniards* were entred into the Engliſh Channel, *Luis di Guſman* was inſtantly ſent by the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* to the Duke of *Parma*, to let him underſtand of his arrival in thoſe parts, and to ſollicite him to doe what was requiſite on *Flanders* ſide. The Spaniſh Fleet deſired nothing more then to fight and to grapple with the Enemy: wherefore as ſoon as the Engliſh Fleet appear'd, the other put themſelves in order. The Ocean never ſaw a more glorious ſpectacle then now. The Spaniſh Navy put it ſelf into the form of a Half-moon, there being a huge ſpace between the one Horn and the other. The Maſts, Sail-yards, the towring Fore and Hind-Caſtles which were ſeen to riſe up in ſuch an height and number from ſo great Piles, appear'd a Horror full of wonder, and made it be doubted whether it was a Wood upon the Sea or Land;

and

and whether of those two Elements had the greatest share in so glorious a sight. Thus was the Fleet ordered. It came but slowly on, even when their sailes were full; and the waves seemed even to groan under, and the windes to be weary in ruling such a weight.

Their end was, as I have said, to come up close up to handy blows with the adverse Fleet, thinking themselves much too good for them, the difference between their ships and souldiers being considered: but the design of the English was clean otherwise: they desired to shun all formal battel, knowing their disadvantage therein. They considered that if they should be worsted, *England* would be lost; whereas if the Spaniards should come by the worst, all their indamagement would consist in the loss which they should thereby suffer. The English therefore resolved to annoy the Spaniards onely aloofe off, and to wait till some one of so many great Machines might quit the company of the rest, which then they might assault; for they thought it impossible but that this might happen among the Spanish ships, either by some tempest, or change of winde, or some other accidents which are usually seen in Navigation: and it was not long ere they met with such an occasion; for a great Galleoun of *Biscay* falling on fire, it was forced to tarry behinde; as likewise the greatest Galleoun of *Andalusia*, the main Mast whereof broke in two: Wherefore Sir *Francis Drake* invironing both the one and the other of them, with divers of his ships, took them both. In the first which was torn and consumed was *John di Guerra*, paymaster to the Fleet, with good store of money. And in the second, *Pietro di Valdes*, Camp-master of a Spanish Brigado, and a very valliant souldier. This first lost was a great one, and did forebode others which ensued. In the beginning of *August* the two Fleets were in sight one of another again: it fell out, that the Galleoun St. *John* of *Portugal*, wherein was the Admiral *John Martinus di Ricalde*, was divided from the rest: The English did not let slip the occasion of assaulting it; and were likely to have tane it, had not the General himself with his great Galleoun St. *Martin* come into the aid thereof: which for some hours did almost of self alone sustain the violence of the whole adverse Fleet. The English ships had a great advantage, as I have said, in being so manageable and dexterous; they were equally nimble in assaulting and in retreating; they tack'd about with all windes; they joyn'd and then sever'd again in an instant, as it made best for them. And their building was chiefly advantagious, in that they could easily shun the banks of sands, whereof the English Channel is full, and all the Sea Coast thereabouts. To this was added, that their canon shot did seldom or never miss: whereas the Spanish ships which were built so very high, did still thunder in the air, without almost ever touching the English vessels; and therefore the two Galleouns of the General and Admiral were ill handled by their Cannon shot: and upon that occasion a Galleas was likewise but ill treated, which at last ran on ground on the Coast of *France*, neer *Haure de Grace*, the Captain thereof being slain, and but few saved that were in her. The Catholick Fleet advanced afterwards further into the Channel, and came at last between *Calis* and *Dover*: from thence the Duke of *Medina* sent *Rodergio di Telio* to the Duke of *Parma*, who was still at *Bruges*, to advertise him thereof, and did very much solicit him to imbark his men, and to do whatsoever fell to his share. The Duke of *Parma* went presently from *Bruges* to *Newport*, and began to imbark his men; shewing notwithstanding, that it was impossible for him to put from that place and *Dunkirk* unless the D. of *Medina* would first free those two Havens from the ships wherewith the Hollanders and Zealanders did as it were besiege them. He affirmed, That this was the agreement made with the King; That his ships were therefore only to transport the Army; That they had no provision of Artillery; That they were no waies able to buckle with those of the Hollanders and Zealanders; And that, in fine, he would not rashly make the King of *Spain* lose the most flourishing Army that was ever seen in *Flanders*, and consequently *Flanders* it self; which would be left without any Forces or defence. This mean while the Spanish Fleet was advanced so far, as it might be seen from *Dunkirk*; where it cast anchor by reason of a great calm, which rendred it immoveable; and so happened to be in the midst between the English Fleet, and that of the Hollanders

ders and Zealanders. Thus did all the Fleets ſtand ſtill for one whole day, till the night came: when it was dark ſome veſſels all on fire of a middle ſize might be ſeen to come at unawares towards the Spaniſh ſhips; they were eight in number, and came at a diſtance one from another, that they might enter on divers ſides upon the Spaniſh ſhips: they had not yet forgot the ſo hideous Fire-boats which were ſeen in the ſiege of *Antwerp*. Wherefore the Spaniards on the ſudden thought that theſe flaming veſſels of the enemies were of the ſame ſort, and were to work the ſame effect: They made no delayes; but aſtoniſhed with blinde fear, which was yet made more blinde by the darkneſs of the night; not ſtaying till the Enemies fire-boats came amongſt them, they began to weigh anchor, that they might run away. And ſuch was the fear, that many of the ſhips cut their cables, leſt they ſhould not ſave themſelves time enough: And as if Fortune would favour the Enemies invention, the winde roſe on a ſudden, by the blowing whereof the Spaniards feared the flames would gather force. One ſhip gave againſt another; thoſe that were fartheſt off thought the danger neareſt: the confuſion was ſuch as would allow of no command; and the horror of the night increaſed the diſorder every where, which howſoever would have been great enough by day. The aforeſaid fire-boats were notwithſtanding chiefly made for terror, and to make it be beleeved that they were ſuch as were thoſe of the ſiege of *Antwerp*. The Spaniſh Ships having avoided thoſe imaginary fears of fire, could not ſhun the other true apprehenſion of indamagement by a ſtorm which aroſe at Sea. At the appearing of day the Fleet found it ſelf in a great diſorder, and ſo parted, as many of the greateſt Galleouns being ſever'd from the reſt, they were ſuddenly ſet upon by the two adverſe Fleets. In one of thoſe Galleouns called the St. *Mathew*, was the Camp-maſter, *Diego di Pimentel*; and in another which was called the S. *Philip*, was *Francis* of *Toledo* for Captain. Both theſe ſhips fought a good while, and were ſuccour'd by the *Capitana*, which made them hold out the longer; but ſhe being likewiſe many times ſhot through and through, was at laſt forced to leave the other two, and ſeek to ſave her ſelf; the other two continued a valiant fight, till being born by the winde upon the ſands, both of them periſht; *Francisco Tolledo* being drowned in the Sea, and *Pimentel*, with ſome others taken priſoners. A Galleaſs of *Naples*, over-ſet likewiſe upon the Coaſt of *Calis*, in which was *Hugo di Moncada*; who together with almoſt all that were in her, betaking themſelves to ſwim, were moſt of them drowned. Theſe great loſſes being had, and the Sea ſtill threatning greater; the Duke of *Medina* and his Councel thought fit, by all means, to carry back the Fleet to *Spain* as ſoon as poſſible might be: and it was already plainly ſeen, that it was impoſſible to cleanſe the coaſt of *Flanders* from the Enemies ſhips, as it was abſolutely neceſſary to do, if the Catholick Army were to be tranſported into *England*. Moreover, it was already known how well the Queen was provided for them within land: to which purpoſe, ſhe being pleaſed to ſhew her ſelf couragiouſly on Horſe-back to both the aboveſaid Armies; the applauſe of ſuch an action is not to be expreſt, nor what courage the Queen did both receive her ſelf, and infuſe into others by doing it.

The Duke of *Medina* reſolving then to return for *Spain*, it was thought beſt to lanch farther into the Northern Sea, and take a greater compaſs, to ſhun the danger of the ſhelves of ſand which lye ſo thick upon the Weſtern coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. The General gave orders to this purpoſe; and amongſt other orders, commanded, that if the Fleet by occaſion of new Tempeſt ſhould be again diſordered, all the ſhips ſhould come to *Corugna*, and there ſtay one for another; nor was it long ere the apprehended danger hapned; and ſo unfortunately, as the former order could by no means be obeyed. Hardly had the Fleet ſet ſail towards the North, when one of the fierceſt tempeſts aroſe, that peradventure was ever ſeen at Sea: The day was at an inſtant turned to night; nothing but thunder and lightning, and other fatal ſignes were ſeen or heard every where throughout the air; the winde aroſe, and grew ſo high, as the waves transformed into mountains, and mounting up unto the skies, made voraginous caverns in the Sea: inſomuch, as the Mariners did almoſt loſe the uſe of their eyes; all the operation of their hands, and all ſuch orders as are

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uſed to be obſerved between Pilot and Pilot, between ſhip and ſhip. Which driven on by the fury of the winds, gave forceably one againſt another; till enlarging themſelves by the ſame violence, they were at laſt diſperſt here and there, and whither ſo great an oppoſition of fortune would carry them. The Admiral *Ricalde* was one of the firſt that vaniſht from the Navy, and ſome other ſhips followed after his, more by conſtraint then choice. They thought at firſt that they were carried to the Iſlands of *Orkney* in *Scotland:* but at laſt they fell upon *Ireland*, where after being ill dealt withall by the Sea, they were but badly treated by the Inhabitants of thoſe parts. Yet before they could get thither, and afterwards in their return for *Spain*, ſome of thoſe ſhips periſhed unfortunately; and amongſt the chiefeſt and beſt qualified *Spaniards* which were there loſt, was *Alonſo di Leiva*, Generall of the Gallies in *Sicily*, who choſe to quit that Command, and to be a Voluntier in this ſo famous Enterpriſe.

It would be too long to relate how many others of Quality periſhed in this imployment: It will ſuffice to ſay, that there were not any parts of the Engliſh, Scotiſh, or Iriſh coaſts which were not innobled either by ſhipwracks, or by the death or impriſonment of ſome of the choiſeſt and beſt born Perſonages of all *Spain*. Some other ſhips came up to the Admiral *Ricalde* in *Ireland*; but all of them ſo ſhattered, as they had much adoe to recover *Spain*, and in the remainder of that voyage many of them periſhed. The place whereunto the reſt came for refuge, was St. *Anderos*, where *Ricalde* within a few dayes dyed, as alſo another chief Commander at Sea, called *Oquendo*; together with divers other perſons of quality, who through their ſo great ſufferings at Sea, dyed almoſt as ſoon as they came to Land. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, after having together with the common dangers fallen into many particular hazards of his own, arrived likewiſe about the end of *September* at the Port of St. *Anderos*, from whence he acquainted the King with his arrival, and gave him a full account of the whole ſucceſs of that expedition. This was that which befell the Spaniſh Armado which was ſent to aſſault *England*. Few enterpriſes were ever longer premeditated; few ever made with greater preparations; and none ever executed with greater misfortune. So fallacious doe the deſigns of Mortals uſually prove: And thus the Divine Providence doth often in the ſecret Decrees of Heaven determine things contrary to what Humane wiſdom hath in her pride determined here below.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK V.

The Contents.

After the unfortunate ſucceſs of the Spaniſh Fleet, the Duke of Parma *goes from the Province of* Flanders *into that of* Brabant. *The ſituation of the Enemies new Fort, called* Schinck-Sconce: *What was the occaſion of making it, and how prejudicial it is to the Kings affairs and thoſe of the Archbiſhop of* Colen *in thoſe parts. At the Archbiſhops deſire, the Prince of* Samay *is ſent by the Duke to recover* Bona. *The Duke hopes to get* Bergen ap Zome *by ſecret intelligence, but is deceived. He ſends Count* Charles Mansfield *to beſiege* Vachtendonch, *who takes it.* S. Getrinburg *is delivered up unto him by the Garriſon thereof. The mean while he again ſtraitens* Reinberg. Schinck *dyes in attempting to ſurpriſe* Niminghen. Reinberg *ſoon after is ſurrendred. A Spaniſh Brigade mutinies, to* Ferneſe's *great diſpleaſure: which is increaſed by the loſs of* Breda. *Count* Maurice *raiſeth a Fort-Royal againſt* Niminghen. *The Duke of* Parma *prepares to go into* France. *The King of* Navar *and Duke of* Parma *compared together in Military qualities. The Duke goes from* Flanders, *comes to* Meos; *finds* Paris *reduced to the greateſt extremity of famine; reſolves to uſe all means to ſuccour it. The King of* Navar *oppoſeth him with all his Forces. The Dukes ſtratagem in ſhunning Battel, when he ſeems moſt deſirous to fight. The mean while he unexpectedly aſſaults and ſtorms the Town of* Lagny *upon the* Mearn, *and relieves* Paris *with great ſtore of victuals. The King of* Navar *retires much incenſt from thence. The Duke of* Parma *beſiegeth, and takes* Corbel *upon the* Sene. *From thence he returns to the* Low-Countries. *The King follows him, and endeavours*

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to diſcompoſe him. But the Duke marches in ſo good order, as without receiving any conſiderable damage, he leaves France, *and returns to* Flanders.

THe Spaniſh Fleet being departed with ſo unfortunate ſucceſs, the Duke of *Parma* went preſently with his Army from *Bruges*. Whilſt he was in thoſe parts attending the expedition for *England*, he had not omitted to do what was fitting for the ſervice of the affairs of *Flanders*. We told you before that at the inſtant intreaties of the Archduke of *Colen*, the Duke had recovered the Town of *Nuys*, and beſieged *Reinberg*, both which places appertain to that Church. Being diverted from *Reinberg*, and drawn to relieve *Zutfen*, he could not as then do more in ſervice of the Archbiſhop. This mean while things went very much the worſe for him. *Schinck* was never quiet. Neither was it well known whether the vivacity of his underſtanding, or his vigorous proceeding was the greater. The *Rhine* after having run for a long ſpace in one only Channel, not being able any longer to keep within its own bounds, falls into two Currents, which become almoſt as capacious as the firſt. By theſe two is the Iſland of the antient Battavians formed, and the ſame name (though ſomewhat corruptly) is at this time preſerved there. *Schinck* thought it would be very convenient to build a Fort upon that point which the two arms of the river make. Wherefore preſenting himſelf before Count *Maurice*, he ſpake in a Military manner thus. *Anno* 1588.

Since my fortune was not (moſt illuſtrious Count) to ſerve under your Fathers Enſignes, I will wholly dedicate my ſelf to you, who are left in his place. And doubtleſly you will imitate him much more in valour then in bloud. What Martin Schinck *is, his actions have already ſhewn. Being ungratefully dealt with by the adverſe ſide, I will never be at quiet till I have revenged my ſelf. To this end I beſeech you hear a Propoſal of mine. Why do not we fortifie that point which is made by the* Rhine, *where it divides into two branches? How much advantagious will it be to raiſe a Fort there? All Veſſels which paſs from the one or the other part, will be inforced to ſtrike ſail, and to pay Tribute to it. It may be called the Bridle of the* Rhine. *And from thence may the banks thereabouts be overrun, and ſtill new progreſſes be made; and thoſe already made the better confirmed. In fine, no fort can be more advantagiouſly ſeated. I deſire no more but the trouble of building it, and of keeping it; and that it may be called by my name, that I may be the more obliged to defend it. Either my Military induſtry deceives me, or the enemy cannot receive a greater blow then this upon the banks of* Rhine.

Count *Maurice*, though he was yet very young, knew that *Schincks* propoſal muſt needs be of great conſequence: and he repreſented it ſo unto the States, as they reſolved it ſhould be done. And it was not long ere the Fort was made defendable, with ſuch flanks every where as the ſituation moſt required. It was afterwards munited with a good Gariſon, and with all things elſe that was thought neceſſary for the ſecurity thereof. This is the ſo famous Fort called *Schincks* Sconce, poſſeſt for almoſt fifty years together by the United Provinces: but which is of late years ſo much in every mans mouth, by reaſon that the Cardinal Infanta of *Spain*, did firſt ſo fortunately ſurpriſe it, and made it be ſo valiantly defended ſince; and for having been immediately indeavoured to be regained by ſo many ways, and by ſo great Forces by the United Provinces. From this Fort did *Schinck* every day make excurſions thereabouts, watching continually for ſome occaſion of ſurpriſal. *Nimingben* is not far from thence; the taking of which by ſtealth, it being a City of ſuch importance, was his chief deſign. But not thinking that he was then able to do it, he betook himſelf to ſurpriſe ſome Town belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, which might make amends for the late loſs of *Nuys*. Upon the ſame ſide of the *Rhine*, a little above *Colen*, ſtands the Town of *Bona*, which is one of the beſt that ſtands upon that river. *Schinck* gathering a number of men ſuddenly together, came by night to the aforeſaid Town; and through intelligence that he held with ſome that were within, placed a Petard againſt the gate which opens upon the river, broke it open, and ſuddenly made himſelf Maſter of that Town. The Archbiſhop of *Colen* had

recourſe immediately to the Duke of *Parma* for help; who though his mind were then fully bent upon the expedition for *England*, would notwithſtanding ſend him aſſiſtance. Whilſt then the preparations to aſſault *England* were at the hotteſt, the Duke diſpatched away *Charls de Croy*, Prince of *Simay* with 6000 foot, and 1200 horſe, to endeavour therewithall, and with thoſe which the Archbiſhop ſhould add thereunto on his part, the recovery of *Bona*, and to put it abſolutely into his hands. *Simay* went his way, and came before the Town. The foot which he had along with him were Italians, Loraineſes and Germans: and the horſe were almoſt all Spaniards and Italians. *Schinck* had provided the beſt that he could for the Town; but yet not ſo as that it could make any long defence. The Kings men drawing near it began to ſtreighten it: it might be eaſilyeſt relieved on the ſide next the water; wherefore *Schinck* had raiſed two Forts on the contrary ſide of the river. The Kings men thought it therefore requiſite to raiſe one themſelves on the bank where the Town is ſituated, which they forthwith did. The chief care of this was given to the Italians, whoſe Campmaſter was *Carlo Spinelli*. But as much as they endeavoured to advance this work, as much did the beſieged ſeek to hinder it. Divers actions followed therefore hereupon, wherein the Royaliſts had the better at laſt; with particular praiſe to *Alexander di Monti*, who was one of the Captains of that Brigado. The Kings men having placed themſelves thus advantagiouſly in the chiefeſt part of the river, they thought it was beſt to take away the two aforeſaid Forts from the enemy, which were on the oppoſite ſide of the river, before they ſhould begin to play upon the Town; to the end that they might have no hope of relief. To this purpoſe *Simay* ſent over as many men as were needfull to the other ſide of the river, and playing firſt upon the weakeſt Fort, they ſoon took it. The other was ſomewhat greater and better munited; they were therefore ſomewhat longer in falling into the ditch, when as the Italians could not be kept from falling to the aſſault, though the batteries which were begun, were not yet perfected. But they paid dearly for their too great boldneſs; for they were beaten back, many of them being wounded, and many ſlain. The Fort was again plaid upon, and at laſt taken. The Kings men intending then to ſtorm the Town, prepared batteries in divers parts againſt it. But the defendants, weighing their hopes of keeping it, with the apparent danger of loſing it, would not hazard themſelves in making any longer defence. Wherefore they reſolved to put the Town immediately into the Archbiſhops hands. And the ſouldiers which were come into it from elſewhere, were ſuffered to go out upon honourable conditions. *Simay* having thus acquitted himſelf of that ſiege, returned immediately to the Duke of *Parma*, who was already preparing to go from the Province of *Flanders*. Before he went from thence two Scottiſh ſouldiers who were of the the Gariſon of *Berghen ap Zome*, came ſecretly to treat with him, and had plotted with him how to put a great Fort which was cloſe by *Berghen* into his hands, which when he ſhould have gotten, he might eaſily make himſelf Maſter of the Town: the having whereof would be of great advantage to the King. The Duke liſtned therefore willingly to this practiſe, and promiſed great rewards to the two ſouldiers who were the projectors. Reſolving therefore to make tryal of it, he ſent Count *Mansfield* before, with ſuch men as was thought neceſſary; but he deſired that the Count might firſt get footing in the Iſland of *Tolen*, near unto *Berghen*. Which paſs being taken, the chief execution of the ſiege would be afterward the more eaſie. VVhen *Mansfield* was come thither, inſtead of finding the enemy unprovided, as he hoped he ſhould have done; he found them ſo well prepared, as he could by no means get into the Iſland. They were to wade through divers Channels, and then to paſs over certain banks, and they met every where with ſo ſtout oppoſition, as he was forced, and not without great prejudice, to retreat. The river of *Zome* paſſeth thorow the Town of *Berghen*, and a little beyond, it falls into a great Channel; where the enemy had raiſed a great Fort, and this was the Fort which was by ſecret intelligence to be put into the Dukes hands. VVhen the Fort ſhould be taken, all relief would be cut off from the Town, and conſequently it would be the ſooner taken. The Duke himſelf was already come into the parts about *Berghen*: and one of the two Scots was in the Camp, who ſtill fed him more and more

more with hopes of effecting the buſineſs. VVherefore the Duke, chuſing out 3000 Foot, the greateſt part whereof were *Spaniards*, the reſt *Walloons*; and giving unto them the Camp-maſter *Zanchio di Lieva* for their Commander, he ſent them towards the Fort upon the coming on of night. The Souldiers were divided into Squadrons; the firſt whereof being come unto the gate, the Scotchman entred, and was followed by many who thought the buſineſs already done. But the fraud quickly appeared; for ſome thirty or forty of them being entred, an Iron Percullis was ſuddenly let down which ſhut up the gate, and all thoſe the Kings men that were within were cut in pieces; and a great hail of musket-ſhot was poured out upon thoſe without that were neareſt the gate, ſo as many of thoſe were likewiſe ſlain, and many wounded. The cheat being diſcovered, the Duke withdrew from *Berghen*; and fortifying ſome neighbouring places, the better to bridle that Garriſon, and the excurſions which it was uſed to make, he returned to *Bruſſels* about the midſt of *November*.

Before the Duke went from theſe parts, he ſent Count *Mansfield* into *Ghelderland*, to take *Vachendunch* from the Enemy. This is a little Town, not far from *Venlo*: but the low ſituation thereof, and the Fortifications which the Enemy had made about it, made it conſiderable, and the neighbouring Country was thereby much indammaged. The Count went, and having paſt the *Manſe* at *Venlo*, he ſate down before *Vachendunch*; the men that were with him were almoſt all of them Germans. The Souldiers that were in the Town, though they were but few, ſeemed notwithſtanding reſolute to defend it. Wherefore when the Count drew near, thoſe within failed not in making all neceſſary defence. Yet the Royaliſts advanced every day, till at laſt they might come to their Batteries: Then entring into the Ditch, and falling to work with their Mathooks ahd Mines, they proceeded ſo far, as the Defendants not being able to hold out longer, were inforced to ſurrender the Town.

With the end of this Siege did the Year likewiſe end, and the next of 1589. began. The Kings Army was this mean while mightily diminiſhed. The Marquis of *Borgaut* with the moſt of his Germans was gone from *Flanders*; and all the Souldiery of the other Nations were much leſſened. The Pay grew likewiſe every day ſcarcer; inſomuch as it was feared ſome diſorder might happen by way of Mutiny, to avoid the which the Duke had been ſtill very carefull. And though he had acquainted thoſe in *Spain* with the danger, yet he found but little remedy, by reaſon of the exceſſive expence the King had been particularly at in the late expedition for *England*. *Ferneſe* was much afflicted to find himſelf in this condition; but chiefly for fear leſt the King ſhould quickly ſend him to ſuccour the Catholick League in *France*, to the ſo great prejudice (as doubtleſly it might be feared) of the affairs of *Flanders*. To theſe afflictions of his mind, the like of his body was added. The Duke had abſtained from all ſorts of wine from his firſt coming into *Flanders*, for fear leſt the Gout (a diſeaſe hereditary to his family) might make him the leſs able for military exerciſe. In his ſtrongeſt dayes he might have ſuffered ſuch an abſtinence: but increaſing in years, his blood began to be corrupted, and ſome ſigns of a Dropſie appeared in him; which being increaſed by his labours and ſufferings, grew to that paſs, as it brought him (as you ſhall ſhortly hear) irrepairably to his end. Now to return to the new Year, and to relate the ſucceſſes of the beginning thereof: The Duke had an occaſion of making an acquiſition of great importance; but which ſoon drew with it a much greater loſs. *Edward Lanzavecchia*, a Souldier of great experience, and who of the Italians was well eſteemed by the Duke, was Governonr of *Breda*. *Breda* is a place of great conſequence in *Brabant*: not far from St. *Getrenberg*, a place likewiſe of very great concernment. In St. *Getrenberg* was a Garriſon which was almoſt wholly *Engliſh*; who being ill paid, and but badly ſatisfied in divers other things, made it be feared that ſome novelty might happen there. Count *Maurice* knew how affairs went there, and ſought to appeaſe the Garriſon with ſome Pay; but the Souldiers having received part of their monies, grew more earneſt to have all the reſt: wherefore growing again importunate, they came from deſires to threats, nor was it long ere they broke forth into open mutiny. They ſaid notwithſtanding, that they would maintain the Town for the Queens ſervice. Nor could

Anno 1589.

could Colonel *Norris*, a gallant Countryman of theirs, who was sent to them by Count *Maurice*, and told them that the Queen would be offended at this action of theirs, prevail any thing with them. The mean while *Lanzavecchia* would not lose this opportunity. From the very first time that the Garrison had begun to be in commotion, he had underhand used all means to increase it, and to bring them at last to deliver up the Town to the Duke of *Parma*. To this purpose he offered them large rewards in the Dukes name; and particularly, that whatsoever Pay was due unto them by the States should be forthwith paid them, and five Payes more by way of donative. Such a practice was shamefull, and would admit of no colour to honest it: yet the Garrison kept it still on foot, till growing more familiar with infamy, they resolved privately to consent thereunto, and to put it presently into execution. Count *Maurice* was this mean while upon his march with a considerable strength, to force the garrison to their due obedience. On the one side he had taken a certain Bank, whereby to draw nearer to the Town, which is seated very low; and had provided certain ships in the Channel by which the Town is watered, on the other side, from which he prepared to play upon them with his Canon. The Garrison delayed then no longer. The intelligence being soon discovered, they opposed Count *Maurice* every where, and made the Kings men march at the same time, that they might deliver the Town up unto them: The Duke himself would be present at this success: wherefore leaving *Brussels*, and gathering the Garrisons of the neighbouring Towns hastily together, he suddenly marched towards St. *Getrinberg*, resolving to inforce *Maurice* either to fight, or to retreat. *Maurice* was not strong enough to oppose the Kings men by land; and his men who were in the Channel could not easily be brought to joyn with those on land. So as drawing off from the Town, the Duke entred thereinto; and causing full satisfaction to be given to the Garrison according to the agreement made by *Lanzavecchia*, he put a Garrison of the Kings thereinto, and returned again to *Brussels*. St. *Getrinberg* about the midst of *May* fell into *Fernese's* hands, who left the same *Lanzavecchia* there for Governour, continuing him still notwithstanding in the government of *Breda*. All the Souldiers who had surrendred the Town, past immediately under the Kings Colours; and the States made a severe Proclamation against them for so detestable and perfidious an act. A little before this the Archbishop of *Colen* was come himself in person to the Duke of *Parma*, and had very earnestly desired him that he would by all means besiege *Reinberg* again. The Duke seemed willing thereunto, and gave order to the Marquis of *Barambone* Governour of *Ghelderland*, that he should immediately straiten the Town; but rather with intention to hinder the Garrison from making excursions at the present, then to make a formal siege before it. The Marquis of *Barambone* was one of the chief Lords of *Burgony*, and had the command of a Regiment of that Nation. He then went his way with that his Regiment, and with some other Regiments of *Walloon* Foot, and some Troops of Horse. *Schinck* had fortified a little Village near *Reinberg*, called *Bliembech*, from whence the Enemy might the better make excursions into the neighbouring parts. Wherefore *Barambone* resolved first to take this place from them: Yet he had a tough business of it; he was forced to batter it, and to spend some time before it; till at last the Enemy agreed to come forth, and the Kings men entred the Village. Hence *Barambone* went to *Reinberg*, and sate down before it; but not by way of any close siege, because (as hath been said) he had not men enough to that purpose: wherefore it was not hard for *Schinck* to relieve it often; though upon a certain occasion he was routed, and lost many of his Souldiers. The Duke of *Parma* in this interim, after the taking of St. *Getrimberg*, hoped to get further advantages thereabouts. He therefore dispatcht away Count *Charles Mansfield* with a great body of souldiers, to take first some weaker places, that he might afterwards the easilier force *Huesden*, a good Town, very well fortified and garrison'd. The Count took *Hemert*, and *Brachel*, places of small importance, and hoped by intelligence to get into *Romerswel*, a more considerable Town, and by the getting thereof to come the more easily by *Huesden*. But neither did his intelligence take, nor could he by any means compass his other great design. This expedition proving but weak, the same *Mansfield* was sent by the

the Duke towards the *Manſe*, to try whether he could get the Caſtle of *Liveſtein*, ſituated upon the lower point of the Iſland of *Bomele*, as hath been formerly ſaid. But he found both that Town, and all others in thoſe parts ſo well provided for by the Enemy, as he could doe nothing conſiderable there. *Schinck* this mean while overran all thoſe parts; and the terror occaſioned by the Sconce which he had newly built, and which was uſually called by his name, ſtill increaſed. Finding out an occaſion to aſſault ſome of the Kings Foot-Companies, who paſt over the *Rhine* to aſſiſt *Verdugo*, and who conveyed ſome monies to *Groninghen*, he haſted towards them; and meeting with them at unawares, he routed the men, took away their monies, and retired ſafely to his own Sconce. His chief deſign was, as we have ſaid, againſt *Nimineghen*. Where the *Rhine* divides it ſelf at the point of *Schincks* Sconce, leaving its former name, the left branch thereof is called *Wahale*, upon the right ſide of which branch ſtands *Nimineghen*, not above ſixe hours march from *Schincks* Sconce. *Schinck* being exalted in his imagination by ſo many advantages which he had gotten in thoſe parts, watcht continually for ſome opportunity to ſurpriſe *Nimineghen*: the Citizens whereof were very watchfull, and already a great hatred was contracted between them and *Schink*. But it was not long ere he loſt his life in that deſign. And thus it fell out. Having made a great preparation of Boats and men, he went from his Sconce, and from thence entred the *Wahale*, to try a new ſurpriſe upon *Nimineghen*. He intended to come thither unexpectedly in the greateſt obſcurity of night, and to aſſault the City on the Rivers ſide, where he thought he might eaſilieſt atchieve his enterpriſe. But were it either that he did not well compute his Navigation, or that his Boats were over-heavy loaded, he could not get within ſight of *Nimineghen* till it was day. Yet the greater the difficulty was, the greater grew his daring. Wherefore advancing ſome of his fleeteſt Boats, he gave order that by all means the Souldiers which were in them ſhould endeavour to get upon the bank, and to make it good, till he with the reſt of his men ſhould come up to them. The firſt Souldiers ſucceeded in what they undertook: But a great rumor ariſing amongſt the Citizens at the firſt news hereof, many of them haſted to that place. *Schincks* men were on the contrary coming up againſt them; and thoſe that were firſt landed having taken a certain houſe which ſtood near the wall, and near one of the gates, ſtaid there, and fought very manfully. In this interim comes *Schinck* himſelf, and with couragious words, which were accompanied with no leſs couragious actions, he began to hearten his men, and chiefly with the hopes of plunder which they ſhould have by the winning of ſo rich a City. Thoſe within the Town were already in danger; when all the people joyning together, and men and women, old men and children, ſacred and profane perſonages, ſtriving who ſhould outdoe one another, the Enemies were beaten back on all ſides; who could hold out no longer, but being driven from the houſe which they had taken, and from the gate which they threatned, they were forced at laſt to think of retreating. Nor could that be done without great diſorder and prejudice, by reaſon of the difficulty in imbarking, and of the advantage which thoſe of the Town had over them upon ſuch an occaſion. Yet *Schinck* for a while made an undaunted reſiſtance, and many of his men proved themſelves to be Souldiers worthy of ſo valiant a Commander. But at laſt being wounded and bleeding apace, and a great many of his men being likewiſe wounded and ſlain, he could withhold his men no longer from throwing themſelves headlong into the Boats. Many of them could not get to them time enough, who were all cut in peeces; others ſtriving to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, periſht in the River; and others who were got unto the Boats, not finding any room there, for that they were already too full, were made a prey either to the River which ſwallowed them up, or to the Enemy who ſlew them from the bank. Five of their Boats ſunk, as being too heavy-loaded; in one of which unfortunately was *Schinck*. So this was the end he made. At which thoſe of *Nimineghen* were ſo overjoyed, as for many dayes there was nothing but feaſting and jollity heard of in the Town.

It was now *July*, at which time the Marquis of *Barambone* had not advanced much nearer about *Reinbergh*: wherefore the Enemy hoping to relieve it, prepared ſuccour, and ſent it chiefly under the Command of Colonel Sir *Francis Vere*,

Vere, an English-man, who had already gain'd the opinion in those parts of being a gallant Souldier, and whom the United Provinces made use of in their most weighty military occurrences. *Barambone* was advertised hereof, who speedily made it known to *Mansfield*; desiring him either to joyn with him in person, or else to send him some of his men. *Mansfield* promised to come speedily to him, and in the mean while sent some Companies of Spanish and Italian Foot. *Vere* withheld not for all this; but hastening his expedition the more, began his march with 3000 choise Foot. Which when *Barambone* understood, he began likewise to move. They came with great resolution, the one to relieve the Town, the other to hinder the relief: So as the business was gallantly disputed for a while, and many fell on both sides; but at last *Vere* prevailed, and routing the Kings men, and killing many of them, he entred Victor into the Town, and did so provide for it, as it might preserve it self, though amidst the Enemy, for some months. A little after the conflict came *Mansfield*, who took upon him the managing of that Siege, *Barambone* having occasion to leave it. The Town kept from surrendring afterwards till the beginning of the next moneth of *February*. And because nothing insued of great importance, we will therefore here rid our self of this success, to continue the narration of others which more require it; though little considerable hapned that Summer, or the Autumn following, either in the field, or any where else.

Wherefore the Duke of *Parma* having this leisure, went to the Mineral waters of the *Spaw* in the Country of *Liege*; which being drank, are observed to be very good for obstructions. He went thither to apply that remedy to the infirmity of the Dropsie, which began already to threaten him very sorely. About the end of Autumn he returned to *Brussels*; and to his great grief, saw the year end with the Mutiny of a Spanish Brigado under *John d'Aquila*. That Brigado was many Payes behind-hand and was quartered in *Cortray*, a great Town in the Province of *Flanders*: where the Souldiers beginning to resent themselves, and breaking soon after out into terms which savour'd much more of threats then of complaints, it was not long ere they threw off all obedience, and at last resolved to mutiny. The remedy was, suddenly to apply all means which might satisfie them; which was done: For the Duke finding, though not without much difficulty, monies sufficient to satisfie them, made them be paid; so they returned readily to their former obedience. This was the first Mutiny that hapned after the Duke of *Parma's* so many years government in *Flanders*. And he was very much troubled thereat, as well the condition of the disorder considered within it self, as for fear it might take deeper root by example.

Now the Year 1590 began. In the beginning whereof the Kings party suffered a loss which did likewise very much affict *Fernese*. *Edward Lanzavecchia* was Governour of *Breda*, as likewise of St. *Getrinberg*, as hath been said. He kept at this time in St. *Getrinberg*, upon occasion of the making some Fortifications in that Town, the better to secure it from the Enemy. Yet he went often over to *Breda*, which is not above three houres journey from the other place. The mean while his son *Paulo Antonio* commanded in his stead in *Breda*, who was Captain of an Italian Foot-Company; and with him were five other Captains of the same Nation, all which had their Foot-Companies in *Gaston Spinola's* Brigado, a Sicilian; and moreover the Marquis of *Vasto's* Troop of Horse was there, commanded by his Lieutenant *Tarlatino*. A River called *Merch* runs by *Breda*, upon which stands a noble Castle, which is rather for habitation then for strength. Three leagues from this Town the River fals into a large Channel in *Holland*, and some Barks of merchandise were to pass to and fro (having Pasports to that purpose) upon that River. All the while that the Governour *Lanzavecchia* kept in *Breda*, he had always caused diligent search be made in every Boat that past, lest by some trick or other he might run hazard of surprisal. But his Son being but young in years, and yet younger in experience, was neither so considerate, nor yet so diligent. In other parts of this History you have heard of a certain kind of earth called Turf, which for want of wood serves for firing. This is much used in *Friesland*, *Holland*, and in other of the lower parts of *Flanders*. It fell out so therefore sometimes, as that some Barks of Turf came from *Holland* into the

Merch.

Merch, it being the ſpeedier way to bring them either into *Breda*, or ſome neighbouring Towns thereabouts. Upon this occaſion there was a Mariner, a maſter of a Boat, that was better known then the reſt, and particularly by thoſe ſouldiers who did moſt uſually guard the Caſtle, whereby all thoſe Boats were firſt to paſs. This Mariner went to Count *Maurice*, and told him that a good many ſouldiers might be hid underneath the Turf in his Boat, and that ſo he might hope through ſome ſtratagem to ſurpriſe the Caſtle by night, and by a freſh ſupply of men enter eaſily afterwards into the Town. *Maurice* was pleaſed with the plot, and reſolved to make trial of it as ſoon as he could. The Turf-barks are uſually of a great length, ſupplying in length their want of breadth, the leſſer Rivers and Channels not being capable of broader. The Bark being fitted as it ought to be, the Mariner came to *Breda*. Underneath the Turf, which was upheld by great Poles, were 80 Souldiers, all choiſe men; and Captain *Charles Harawger*, an antient and valiant Souldier, had the command of them. The Bark being come into the Caſtle, *Paul Antonio* gave order that it ſhould be ſearched according to cuſtom; but the order was ſo careleſly given, as the other Officers were as careleſs in the execution thereof. The Mariner was hereby encouraged; and paſſing from one thing to another, and from more ſerious affairs to ſports and jollity, he wrought it ſo, as to delay the time till night came on: His craft increaſing in him, he mingled wine with his paſtimes, inviting thoſe few ſouldiers to drink who were come to ſearch the Boat. Nor did they refuſe the offer. Being well warm'd with wine, it was not long ere they fell aſleep; the reſt were already withdrawn into the Caſtle to take their reſts. When lo the Enemies came out of the Bark, and aſſaulted the Kings men on all ſides: who being aſtoniſhed at the firſt, were ſoon aware of the ſurpriſal; and being more dejected then they ought to have been, not making almoſt any oppoſition at all, they poorly left the Caſtle to the Enemy; ſome of them were hurt, and ſome ſlain in this firſt aſſault, and *Paul Antonio* was taken priſoner. The oldeſt and moſt eſteemed Souldier of thoſe in the Town was *Tarlatino*; to whom all the reſt had recourſe, intreating him to take upon him the care of defending the Town, till ſuccour might be had from ſome of the Kings neareſt Towns: but he would oblige himſelf to nothing, but to doe his part on horſ-back. Wherefore all the other Captains being much abaſed, and in great confuſion, they could neither break down the Bridge whereby the Town was joyned unto the Caſtle, nor yet ſecure ſome one Gate of the Town, were it but for ſome few houres, to allow time for ſuccours to come in on the Kings behalf. This mean while in aſſiſtance of the Enemy came Count *Hollack*, and ſoon after Count *Maurice*; at whoſe entrance the Garriſon went ſhamefully and baſely out, and left the Town wholly unto the Enemy. The Italian ſouldiery never did a more unworthy act then this: But the chief of the aforeſaid Garriſon did ſoon pay dearly for their ſhamefull dealing; for being by order from the Duke brought to *Bruſſels*, ſome of them were according to Martial law ſentenced to death, and others to other puniſhments, which were publikely performed.

The Duke deſired to try immediately whether he could recover *Breda*, before the Enemy ſhould have fortified himſelf more ſtrongly there. Wherefore he preſently ſent Count *Charles Mansfield* away to take a Fort which the Enemies had upon the mouth of the *Merch*; hoping that when that Avenue ſhould be ſhut up, *Breda* might be kept from being ſuccour'd by that River; and that the ſame impediment being put on St *Getrinbergs* ſide, the Town could not make any long reſiſtance. *Mansfield* endeavoured to take the Fort, but in vain. Wherefore he raiſed up another in oppoſition to it, and began afterwards to begirt the Town. Count *Maurice* had provided very well fot it; yet for his greater ſecurity, he betook himſelf to the uſual remedy of Diverſion: He therefore went with very conſiderable Forces towards *Niminghen*, and threatned a ſiege. This loſs, which would have been much greater then the other, made *Ferneſe* uſe all means to prevent it: wherefore he ordered Count *Mansfield* to riſe from before *Breda*, and to go with all ſpeed to relieve *Niminghen*. Count *Maurice* had this mean while paſt from threats to effects, and had begun with great vigilancie to begirt that City. Yet *Mansfield* came time enough to bring in ſuccour, nor

would he depart from thence till he saw it totally secured. And *Maurice* on the other side, before he would depart from thence, would leave a curb there which might keep it in great subjection. To this purpose the Enemy had formally endeavoured to build a Fort on the opposite bank of the River, but were always hindred. *Maurice* returning now with greater resolution to the same design, resolved to erect there a Fort-royal, which might command *Nimmighen*, and which might serve as then as it were for a siege at large; which as soon as might be he might reduce to one much straiter. Having therefore got together a great many Pioners, and making the Souldiers work as well as they, he began to erect the Fort in the very face of *Mansfield*; & to secure the work, placed sufficient guards whersoever it was requisite. *Mansfield* had orders from *Ferneſe* not to hazard the Kings men, which were the Flower of all his Army; but to return, when he should have relieved *Nimmighen*. *Ferneſe* gave him this Commission, because he himself had received a very strict one from the King, to go into *France* with all the speed he could, to assist the Catholick League in that Kingdom: wherefore *Mansfield* would not adventure further, to keep *Maurice* from building the Fort; though he knew how much the making and keeping of it would redound both to the honour and advantage of the Enemy, and that undoubtedly it would at last be the loss of *Nimmighen*. All which fell out. For the Enemy were puft up with pride, to see the Kings Forces withdrawn thus: *Nimmighen*, by the continual playing of the Enemies Artillery, was forced to leave the commerce of that River free; and ere a year was over, *Maurice* returning to straiten that City, compell'd it to yield, and to come under the Flemish Union.

The Duke of *Parma* was again returned to the *Spaw*-waters; hopes being given him, that the more he should use them, the more good he should receive by them: But he could not tarry there so long as he ought. A little before this, the Duke *De Mayn*, Head of the Catholick League in *France*, had received a sore defeat by the King of *Navar* at the Battel of *Jury*, where Count *Egmont* was kill'd who had brought a great body of Horse from *Flanders* to assist the League, by order from the King of *Spain*, who began already openly to favour it with his Forces. After this misfortune the Duke *de Mayn* was gone himself in person into *Artois*, to speak with the Duke of *Parma*, and so agree with him in what was best to be done for establishment of the Cause, which the Catholick King had publikely declared he would imbrace as his own. Wherefore setting all other things apart, the Duke of *Parma* was gone to treat with the Duke *de Mayn* upon the obcurrent necessities of the League; and the result was, that *Ferneſe* should goe himself in person with powerful Forces, as soon as possibly he could, to assist it. Wherefore applying himself wholly to this so important expedition, the affairs of *Flanders* must of necessity be very much weakened every where; in so much as before the Duke departed, Count *Maurice* made many incursions, to advantage himself particularly in the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, by the taking of many places, but yet not of such weight, as requires any more expres declaration of them here.

July was now well nigh over, and *Ferneſe* was still sollicited to pass into *France*, and to provide against the danger of *Paris*; about which City the King of *Navar* was incamped, threatning to reduce it to such necessity as it should soon fall into his hands. At this time Pope *Sixtus* had likewise very fervently imbraced the Catholick cause of that Kingdom; and Cardinal *Henry Cajetan* was already in the City of *Paris*, from the Pope, by title of Legate; a personage who for the nobleness of his blood, and for his personal adornments, made that imployment the more remarkable. *Bernardino di Mendoza* was at the same time likewise there as Ambassador from *Spain*; to whom the King would have *John Baptista de Tassis*, come from *Flanders*, Muster-master General of his Army in those Provinces; both of them men excellent at councel and government. *Ferneſe* was continually more egg'd on by all these to pass speedily into *France*. He foresaw to his infinite displeasure, how prejudicial this would be to the King in his own States of *Flanders*, and had oftentimes with much efficacie represented the danger thereof, and shewn the natural instability of the affairs of *France*, and how uncertain the event of affairs then on foot in that Kingdom was to be reputed. But the contrary

opinion

opinion being more prevalent in *Spain*, he could not chuſe, but muſt apply himſelf to execute the Kings commands with all vigilancy and induſtry. Preparing then for his departure, he by the Kings appointment left Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield*, father to Count *Charles*, to execute his place in *Flanders*: and with him was his ſon, who had the chief care of the Forces; and with ſuch men as were thought more neceſſary for defence, then offence during the Dukes abſence. To follow then this ſo great, and ſo memorable divertſion, we will accompany the Flemiſh Forces, and will paſs into *France* with them; not med ing notwithſtanding with any other negotiations, of which that Kingdom was then full: for we will not have this our Hiſtory to tranſgreſs its confines; and we do beleeve, that as it will not be irkſome to us to relate, ſo it will not be unpleaſing to others to read the ſucceſſes of war, which upon this occaſion happened between two of the moſt famous Commander, and doubtleſly the moſt cryed up that were then in *Europe*.

The King of *Navar* was not as yet full forty year old; and the Duke of *Parma* was ſome few years above forty, each of them in faces very much differing, had an equal Martial aſpect; each of them were naturally addicted to arms; the King was upon occaſions bred up therein; and the Duke likewiſe did upon occaſions ſpend his time therein: they were both of them popular in winning the ſouldiers love; but no leſs ſevere in maintaining the power of command. The King was more ready in reſolving; and the Duke more circumſpect in ripening his reſolutions. The King loved battels, it being the cuſtom of *France* ſo to do; the Duke a wel-wiſher to induſtrious advantages, according to the manner of waging war in *Flanders*: but in the diverſity of action, they were notwithſtanding ſo conformable in reputation, and in the glory of ſouldiery, as few will be found amongſt either the modern, or ancient Commanders, more famous at one and the ſame time, who in ſuch a difference have continually ſo much reſembled one another.

The Duke of *Mayne* had very much preſt the Duke of *Parma* at their meeting, that if *Ferneſe* could not go then himſelf in perſon to relieve *Paris*, he would at leaſt furniſh him *Du Maine*, with ſome men to recruit his Forces in *France*, whereby he might indeavour that ſuccour; the which *Ferneſe* eaſily granted; and to that purpoſe gave him a Brigado of Spaniſh Foot, under the Camp-maſter *Antonio di Zuaica*: and another of Italians, under *Camillo Capizucchi*, and moreover 500 Horſe. But *Du Maine* could never compaſs his deſign: wherefore the Duke of *Parma* haſtning his departure, went from *Bruſſels* in the beginning of *Auguſt*. The Army which he carried with him conſiſted of 14000 Foot, made up of Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Walloons; and 2800 Horſe, which were of two ſorts; the one of the Flemiſh uſual Train-bands, and the other of the aboveſaid Nations. The Prince of *Semay* commanded the former, and Marqueſs *de Renty* the others, for that Marqueſs *Vaſto* was not then in *Flanders*: and the Lieut. General of the Horſe being likewiſe wanting, *George Baſti* ſupplyed his place, who was Commiſſary General of the Horſe, and a gallant ſouldier. With the Duke were the Princes of *Aſcoly*, and of *Caſtelvetrano*: the Counts of *Aremberg*, and *Barlemonte*, with divers other Flemiſh Lords; and Count *Charles Mansfield* General of the Artilery, not being to be diſpenſt withal in *Flanders*, the Duke had aſſigned that command over to Monſieur *de la Motte*, one whom he greatly eſteemed, and who for many famous military acts, had won the ſame opinion of all men. Amongſt the Camp-maſters, *Peter Cajetan*, Nephew to the Legat was particularly in very great eſteem; and *Alonſo d' Ideaques*, as well in conſideration of himſelf, as for the reputation that *John* his father was in, in the Court of *Spain*, who hath been ſpoken of before. The Duke of *Parma* being come with this Army to the Frontiers of *Flanders* towards *Picardy*, he called all the Commanders together, and gravely advertiſed them whether he was going. He told them,

That the Kings Forces were now entring into a Country which did naturally hate the name of Spaniard. That thoſe of the League had now invoked the Kings Forces, and deſired his protection, meerly out of neceſſity of Intereſt. That therefore they were to be reputed of the like nature; that is to ſay, ſoon jealous, and therefore apt to

change. That then out of all conſiderations, as well Civil as Military, they were to proceed ſo in the leading on, and in the ordering of this Army, as not to hazard any action, nor put any in execution without great maturity. He deſired, that if Military Government were ever well obſerved under him in Flanders, *it might be now exactly obſerved in* France, *that therefore he ſtraitly commanded every Captain to be all of them very diligent in the performance of their duties. That they ſhould not permit the ſouldier to do any the leaſt imaginable prejudice unto the Country people. That they ſhould always march in as good order as if they had the enemy before them. That they ſhould be very accurate in fortifying their quarters. That to afford the better commodity for all things neceſſary, he would make ſhort marches. That he would be moving by the ſun-riſing, and be in his lodging before it ſhould ſet; Munite the Camp continually well: bring it into as little a compaſs as he could; have diligent Gards kept on all ſides; and eſpecially in ſafely conveying the victuals which were to ſerve for the great neceſſity of* Paris. *For what remained, that they ſhould all follow him couragiouſly; That he hoped that* France *would now prove a Theatre ſtill more and more to confirm the honour due to the King of* Spain's *Forces in* Flanders, *that he would not be wanting on his behalf; but that he would expoſe himſelf to all labour, and ſhew himſelf no leſs equal to every one of them, in incountring dangers, then he was ſuperior to them all in point of command.*

Ferneſe preſt very much the obſervance of theſe things: and to move others the more by his example, after he once began to march, he was almoſt every hour every where, and more by night then by day: he alwaies marched with his Army in good order, which he divided into three parts. The Marqueſs of *Renty* had charge of the firſt: the Duke himſelf took the charge of the ſecond, and Monſieur *de la Motte* guided the third; after whom followed twenty peeces of Canon. In this manner, and with ſhort marches, the Duke came on the 23d. of *Auguſt* to *Maux*, a City not above ten leagues from *Paris*: Here did the Duke *du Mayn*'s Army joyn with him, which was about 10000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe: the ſouldiers of both the Camps were ſelected men, and under well diſciplin'd Enſignes. *Paris* was this mean while reduced to the very utmoſt of neceſſity; after that ſo numerous a people had ſuffered what poſſibly was to be undergon in point of Famine, their neceſſity grew at laſt ſo great, as they muſt either dye, or throw open the gates to the King of *Navar*. The Duke of *Parma* was much troubled at this news; for he would by no means be precipitate in his councels, and yet found the neceſſity of haſtening the ſuccour. He therefore incouraged the Pareſians, and put them in great hopes, that he would in a very ſhort time free them from that ſiege. The Legate incouraged them to ſufferance, and the Spaniſh Officers; but chiefly the Duke of *Nemours*, who was Governor of *Paris*, and brother by the Mothers ſide to the Duke *du Mayne*. Wherefore the people overcoming their miſery with new conſtancy, did with unexpreſſible anxiety number the hours, in expectation of being ſuccour'd. When the Duke of *Parma* marching from *Meos* with both the Armies joyned in one, came towards *Paris*. The King of *Navar* was then in his hight of hopes, that that City would every day fall into his hands. The *Seene* runs through it, and two other rivers accompany the *Seene* neer *Paris*: the one is the *Marne*, two leagues before the *Seene* come to the City walls; and the other the *Oyſe*, a little lower on the contrary ſide. Theſe rivers are the nurſes which continually give milk to this vaſt City; to boot with the wonderful abundance of its own Territories. The King had poſſeſt himſelf of all the Avenues as well by the rivers as by the land. Upon the *Marne* he made *Laigny* in particular be guarded; a good Town, having a large bridge, and *Corbel* upon the *Seene*, on the ſame ſide, which is a great Town, and provided likewiſe of a bridge. He cauſed likewiſe the places of greateſt paſſage upon the *Oyſe* to be guarded. And thus *Paris* being kept from victuals on all ſides, it was reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity of Famine. When the King heard *Ferneſe* was on his way, and that he already drew neer *Paris*, he called together all the chief of his Army, and exhorted them, that they now would make their accuſtomed military worth appear more then ever. He ſaid,

That the Duke of Parma *was now in* France *with the Forces, and ſenſe of* Spain.

That

That the true intention was to oppress that Kingdom, under pretence of defending the League; and that the Duke came with so great Forces to effect it as soon as he could. That those of the League who called in such assistance were perfidious: and the rest no less perfidious who made so false a cloak thereof. That therefore such opposition as was fitting was to be made by those that were true French-men by birth, and faithfull to their legitimate King, against the Forces of these Rebel French, and the Spaniards their enemies. That it was Gods pleasure the Crown should fall upon him; and that he hoped the Catholicks should very shortly receive such satisfaction as they desired in matter of conscience. That the adverse forces were great; but his no whit inferior. Nay for number and goodness of horse he was far above them. That therefore he desired to come to battel as soon as might be. And that he thought to endeavour it on his side, was a no less generous, then profitable resolution. That when the enemy should once be routed, they knew not where to get new Forces; and so the battel being won, the war might be said to be ended. That on the contrary, if any ill should befall his men, he could much more easily return again into the field. But why should they doubt victory? were not many of the Spaniards forces of Flanders *joyned with the Rebels of* France *in the late battel of* Yury? *yet where the cause was justest, there was the greatest valour shown, and there did fortune smile. That doubtlesly the presence of so gallant a Commander as was the Duke of* Parma, *in the enemies Army, ought to be considered: That therefore it was more necessary to use all such preparations as should be thought most advantagious upon such an occurrency, not only in point of valour, but also of discipline. That to this purpose he had called this Counsel wherein were so many and so famous Commanders in War. He desired them that they would speak their opinions: as well for what concerned the continuing of the siege, or the raising of it, as in the other point of provoking the enemy to battel. That he would ground his opinion upon theirs; nor should his acts come short of those words which he now had spoke.*

The principal and most esteemed Chieftains of war that were with the King, were the Duke of *Monpenciere*, Prince of the bloud; the Duke of *Nevers*, the grand Prior; the Marishals of *Aumont* and *Bironne*: the Lord his son: *Messieurs de Ghisne*, and *de l'Avardine*, who were all Catholicks. The Duke of *Tremullia*; the Vicecount *Tureine*, and *Messieurs de la Nue*, and *de Chatillion*, who were *Hugonots*. It was first considered whether the Kings Forces were sufficient both to continue the siege, and to march to withstand the Duke of *Parma*. And it was joyntly resolved they were not sufficient to do both these at one and the same time. Wherefore the common opinion was, that they should raise the siege, and go with their whole strength to incounter with the Duke of *Parma*, and to endeavour by all means, but also upon all advantages, to provoke him to battel. That very oft, and in very many wars, the most cry'd up Commanders had raised sieges; that to do so now would little advantage *Paris*, if thereby the Duke of *Parma* might be kept from relieving it: for that numerous people would soon consume whatsoever victuals they could at the present receive from the inlarged Country; that the relief being hindred, the King might soon reassume the siege; and that then that City would immediately fall into his hands: and he should with the greater glory compass his designe. The King was very much troubled to think he must be inforced to rise from before *Paris*; but conforming himself to the opinion of his Captains, and to what his own Military experience did dictate to him, he raised his Camp on the last day save one of *August*; and marched towards where the Army of the League was quartered. In the Kings Army then was above 20000 foot, and above 6000 horse. His whole body were French, except it were some Dutch and Swissers. All the cavalry were choice men; for the better half of them were Gentlemen, who served upon their own inclinations, and much more out of honour then for gain: The King went from *Paris* to lodg in the Village of *Celles*, some four leagues from thence. This Town is situated in a spacious Champian, having notwithstanding some appearances of waters and woods about it. From this plain you mount by easie ascents upon two little hils, betwixt which when you have gone a little, you afterwards descend towards *Maux*. The King possest himself of all that Champian about *Celles*, till he came to those two little hils. And the Army of the League

League was come to lodge on the other side towards *Maux*; where the Duke of *Parma* had fortified himself in all places where it was necessary, and the King of *Navar* failed not to doe the like on his side. Who was not well got thither, when desirous to make his Enemy acquainted with his intention to fight, he sent a Herald with a Challenge to the Duke *Du Mayn*, telling him,

That it would be much better to end all the Differences by another pitcht Battel, then to carry them further on to the Peoples so great misery.

The Duke *du Mayn* excusing himself, that he could not give the Answer, for that he had not now the supreme Command, sent the Herald to the Duke of *Parma*; who returned answer,

That he was used to fight as he thought fit himself, and not at the pleasure of his Enemy. That he would not refuse battel, when it should not become him so to doe; and that upon other occasions, he himself would offer it, when he should think good.

There was only the two aforesaid Hills between the Kings quarters and the Dukes; wherefore their being so near, caused some skirmishes daily. The Duke kept four whole dayes in his quarters; in which time he himself had several times advanced towards where the King lay, to the end that he might the better and more distinctly observe his Quarters. He then began to move with his whole Army. He had with great secresie resolved to cozen the Enemy, and his own men too; and when he should feign as if he intended to joyn battel, to avoid it, even when the two Armies were neareſt falling on, and to gain the Pass over the Riven on the upper side, and so free *Paris* from the siege. This was the design, which he thus executed. He made the Marquis of *Renty* advance with the Vantguard; and with him were the Prince of *Semay*, and *George Basty*, with most of the Horse, all of them almost Lanciers. He placed the Duke of *Mayn* in the Battel with the greatest strength of Foot; and put Monsieur *de la Motte* in the Rear with the rest of the Foot and Horse. As for his own person, he would not oblige himself to any one part, but be at liberty, that he might the better effect what he intended. Having caused the Army to move in this manner, and giving out that he would draw the Enemy to battel, he gave order to the Marquis of *Renty*, that when he should be come to the top of the Hills, he should descend slowly, and should extend the Lanciers on both sides in large wings, the more to obfuscate the eyes of the Enemy. He commanded him therewithall, not to offer, or to accept of any occasion of fighting, without some new orders from him; and that he would in the mean time let him know what should happen from time to time. The Army of the League appearing thus, the King of *Navar* thought verily that they came with an intention to fight, and all his Captains were of the same mind; insomuch as it is not to be expreſt how much they were overjoyed, and especially the King, in seeing that offered which they had so much coveted. His Army was then suddenly put into the best and most advantagious order that could be; and was likewise divided into a Vantguard, a Battel, and a Rearguard, over each of which the King appointed a Head, reserving leave to himself to be every-where where need should most require. The Marquis of *Renty* marched this mean while in the same order as he was commanded by the Duke, and after him followed the Duke *Du Mayn*. When *Renty* had extended the Lances, and darkned the sight of the Enemy, *Ferneſe* made then no longer delay; but coming up to the Duke *Du Mayn*, and taking him by the hand, said unto him with a merry and smiling countenance,

We shall have fought very well, and have overcome too, if we relieve Paris.

He then commanded *Renty* to halt in that place, but yet still to make as if he meant to fall on, till the night should come. Then turning the Battel into the Van, and ordering *La Motte* to follow, so as *Renty* might fall into the Rear, he bent on the left hand towards the *Marn*, and towards *La Laigne*, which was not far from thence, resolving to make himself master of that Town. He then acquainted *Renty* with his design; and commanded that Trenches should be raised both there, and every where else towards the Enemy, and Fortifications, to the end that the resolution which he had taken might not be disturbed by the Kings

Army.

Army. Drawing towards night near *Lagny*, he ſtaid at *Pompona*, a Village within leſs then half a mile of that Town; giving order that the whole Army might be aſſembled thereabours, and with all diligence might there munite themſelves. The King this mean while could not imagine why *Renty* firſt halted, and then returned back; Nor could he ever perſwade himſelf, that the Duke of *Parma*, in the face of ſuch an Army as was his, ſhould aſſault *Lagny*, eſpecially the Town being on the other ſide of the River, and the paſſage over the Bridg in the Governour of the Towns hands. He therefore advanced ſome Troops of Horſe to diſcover the Duke of *Parma's* deſign; who being entertained by *George Baſty*, returned as uncertain as before. In which time, the Duke cauſing the Fortifications about his Camp to be made with incredible vigilancie, he brought them to ſuch a paſs, as he thought he might now prepare to batter the Town. *Lagny* lies, as it hath been ſaid, on the left ſide of the River; on the right hand, (on which ſide were both the Camps) there is an open Borough juſt over againſt it, to which men paſs from the Town over the ſaid Bridg. *Ferneſe* ſuddenly poſſeſt himſelf of the Borough or Suburbs; and that very night, which was the 5. of *September*, planted ten Peeces of Cannon there to play from that oppoſite ſide without delay upon the Town. Monſieur *de la Fin* had the keeping thereof, and had 1200 *French* in garriſon, who ſeemed all very ready to defend it, hoping chiefly in the King who was ſo very near them. *La Fin* thought the Duke would doe little good with his Battery, the Bridg being between him and them, which would hinder the aſſault. But he was ſoon deceived: For the Duke cauſing a Bridg of Boats to be thrown over the River three miles more upward, he paſt over a good number of Foot, and ſent over *George Baſti* with them with ſome Troops of Horſe; he ordered the Foot to prepare for the aſſault, ſo ſoon as the Battery ſhould have made its operation. The King of *Navar* ſtorm'd at this ſucceſs, when he came to know it; and would not willingly ſuffer *Lagny* to be loſt, whilſt he looked on. Some of his Captains propounded that he ſhould paſs over the River, and go with his whole Army to the relief of that Town. Others were of opinion, that he ſhould go with all his Forces againſt the Works which the Enemies Camp had begun to make, and ſhould endeavour to throw them down, and to fight the Duke. The firſt advice was very dangerous; for the Duke of *Parma* might aſſault the Kings Army, and defeat ſome of them at leaſt, as they paſt over the River. And the ſecond might be thought bootleſs; for the Dukes Works, eſpecially towards the Enemies Camp, were already raiſed to a good heighth, and ſo well guarded, as there was ſmall hopes of forcing them any where. The King notwithſtanding took the ſecond advice; and having drawn out his Army into large Squadrons, came to aſſault the Army of the League: but he found it in ſo very good order within its Fortifications, which were continually increaſing, as he was at laſt forced to retreat, and much to his grief, to ſee the Town of *Lagny* not long after ſtorm'd, taken, and plundred before his eyes; for ſo indeed it was. For the Duke of *Parma* having given order that a Battery ſhould be planted againſt the Town, and that his men ſhould paſs over in manner aforeſaid, cauſed the Walls of the Town to be immediatly plaid upon abundantly, and preparation to be made at the ſame time for the Aſſault. The Walls were but weak of themſelves, and had no Rampiers: wherefore a ſufficient Breach being ſoon made, the aforeſaid Souldiers ſtrove who ſhould firſt get upon the Breach. The *French* for a while ſhewed equal courage; but being overcome by the firſt number, and by new Recruits which came hourely in to aſſiſt the Enemy, they muſt yield at laſt. Monſieur *de la Fin*, with ſome few others, was taken priſoner; the reſt were put to the ſword, and the Town ſuddenly ſacked. *Lagny* being taken, great ſtore of victuals was immediately conveyed into *Paris*: where the Joy and Jubile was ſo great as is not to be expreſt; nor can it be ſaid how much they celebrated *Ferneſe's* vigilancie, cunning, and military worth. The Bridg of *Charranton* and of St. *Maure* did without any contestation fall almoſt at the ſame time into his hands; places ſituated likewiſe upon the *Marne*: And ſo *Paris* might be the more ſecurely victualled likewiſe on that ſide.

After

After this ſo proſperous ſucceſs on the behalf of the League, the King of *Navar* thought, that if the Duke of *Parma* had formerly refuſed to fight, he would much more doe ſo now that he had compaſt his ends. And as for bringing him into any other difficulty, he thought it would be too hard a matter to effect, *Ferneſe* having ſo great Forces and being ſo well provided of all things neceſſary. On the contrary, the Kings Forces began already mightily to decreaſe, both through great ſickneſſes which had happened amongſt them, and for that the Gentry that were in his Army, having no more hopes neither of getting *Paris*, nor yet of coming to a pitcht Battel, were not willing to be any longer under Command in that condition; moreover, maintaining themſelves for the moſt part upon their own expence, they could no longer be at ſo great charges. The King then reſolved to be gone from about *Paris*, and to go to S. *Dennis*, intending to diſmiſs moſt of his men for the preſent, and to reſerve only a flying Army, that he might wind and turn about every where, where it ſhould make moſt for his advantage. When he was gone from his Quarters, thoſe wherein the Army of the League was were wholly free; yet the King in his retreat would try whether he could doe that unexpectedly by way of ſtratagem, which he could not effect by ſiege. He thought it might ſo fall out, as that the *Pariſians* being relieved, and wholly drowned in enjoying the effects thereof, and in reſtoring themſelves with ſleep and reſt, and with the eaſe of negligence, might neglect to keep that Guard about the walls by night which they formerly had been very vigilant in doing. He therefore reſolved to try whether by Scalado he might come to aſſault the Town by night. Paſſing therefore over the *Seine*, (for he thought the Walls might be more negligently kept on the other ſide where the Armies were not) he with great ſilence formed three Squadrons of Foot, and ſent them with many Ladders about midnight towards the Walls; the one of them came to the Walls of St. *Germains*, the other to thoſe of St. *Mihil*, the third to that which is between St. *Jaques* and St. *Marcelles*. But the ſucceſs did not any where anſwer the expectation. The Duke of *Nemours*, who was Governour of *Paris*, was exceeding vigilant, and had not any wayes leſſened his Guards, though the Siege was raiſed; wherefore the Kings men were every where couragiouſly repulſed and beaten back. *Paris* had not well eſcaped this firſt danger, when it fell into another greater then the former: For the King entertaining himſelf thereabouts, and ſuffering the preſent fear of the City to paſs over, he turn'd to make the ſame trial again on St. *Marcelles* ſide only. There were but two Ladders ſet up at firſt, to diſcover in what poſture the Guards were thereabouts; and truly they found them to be ſo weak, as if the number of Ladders had been greater, the Surpriſe might eaſily have been effected: but the firſt that got up being thrown down to the ground, ſo many others came afterwards to defend the Walls, as the King had no more hope of any good ſucceſs. Wherefore retiring with all his Forces to St. *Dennis*, he lighten'd himſelf as 'twas ſaid before he meant to doe; and kept with himſelf the Marſhal of *Byron*, and the Baron his Son, together with a ſelect and choice number of men, to make uſe of them upon all occaſions where it ſhould be moſt neceſſary.

This mean while the Duke of *Parma's* Army was likewiſe much leſſened. To the ſickneſſes which reigned more there then in the Kings Army, many other ſufferings and diſaccommodations were added, and victuals began to grow ſcarce, by reaſon of ſo many Souldiers having lain thereabouts, and particularly the Kings Army ſo long. For theſe reaſons the Duke reſolved to return to *Flanders*; and carrying with him the honour of ſo glorious a Succour, not to wait the hazard of ſome unthought of adverſe Fortune. To boot that the King of *Spains* occaſions touching his own affairs of *Flanders*, which every day received prejudice by the Dukes abſence, did apparently require his ſpeedy return into thoſe Provinces. He acquainted the Duke *de Mayn* with this his reſolution, who was thereat mightily afflicted: He had well hoped that the Duke of *Parma* would have tarried much longer in *France*, and that the League would have received many more advantages by his abode there. He was therefore very much preſt by thoſe of the League who were of greateſt power, not to depart; at leaſt not ſo ſoon. And finding him reſolute in his opinion, they fell into divers ſuſpi-

tions

tions and Complaints. They seemed to beleeve,

That this proceeded more from the premeditated cunning of Spain, *then from the particular necessities of* Flanders. *That the intention in* Spain, *in their assistance of the League against the King of* Navar, *was onely to make it be able to resist, not to prevaile. That* Paris *was no sooner relieved, but the Duke of* Parma *would be gone. That he had let slip the occasion of giving the King of* Navar *Battel, though he were much superior to him in Forces: and now that the King had dismist a great part of his men, wherefore would not the Duke make use of so apparent an advantage? Wherefore did he not with all speed endeavour to suppress totally the Heretical Faction, and establish the Catholick party for ever in that Kingdom?*

Ferneſe was much scandalised to hear of these speeches; yet thinking it was best to dissemble, spoke to the Duke *Du Mayne* in moderate terms, and which might serve to satisfie him and the rest of the Adherents to the League. Saying,

That the King of Spain*'s intentions could not be more sincere in his succours which he had so often afforded unto* France. *And in these his last so potent Powers, what could he do more, then almost wholly abandon his own particular affairs of* Flanders? *Did he ever demand any Towns or Hostages in pawn for his security? He alwaies measured the Faiths of others by his own: And in matter of Religion, made that the interest of* Spain, *wherein* France *was particularly concern'd. That even for the benefit of the League it self, it was not fit to lose* Flanders: *For that if the Catholick Forces should be wanting there, those would certainly be wanting which had at all times been, and might still be the greatest and readiest for the service of Religion in that Kingdom. That he was therefore inforc'd by all means to return to* Flanders: *but that he would leave such a strength of men in behalf of the League, as the cause thereof might not onely be alwaies sustain'd, but by new achievements, be still more advantaged.*

The Duke *Du Mayne* finding this to be *Ferneſe*'s resolution, earnestly desired him, that before his departure he would at least endeavour to take in the Town of *Corbel* upon the *Sene*; so as that River might be free likewise for the bringing of victuals to *Paris*.

The Legat *Cajetan* was at this time gone from *France*, upon the death of *Sixtus Quintus*; and had left in his place Monsignor *Sega*, a Bullonian, Bishop of *Piacensa*, a Prelate of great worth, for divers imployments of Nuntiature, and for other negotiations which had won him great honour. This Monsignor *di Sega* was induced by the Duke *Du Mayne* to make the same intreaties, which he effectually did to the Duke of *Parma*; who was unwilling to hazard himself in a new siege; especially knowing that the chief Commander in *Corbel* was a Frenchman, and a very gallant souldier, called *Rigant*, who had given proof of his worth in *Flanders* under Monsieur *de la Nue*. Yet not to give further occasion of jealousie to those of the League, he resolved at last to besiege that Town, and encamped before it about the midst of *September*. *Corbel* lies upon the *Sene* on the left side, and hath a stone-bridge which passeth over to the other side: the Town is but little, and no waies strong, having walls after the ancient form, without any barworks: the defence thereof consisted therefore in the valour of the souldiers, and in the example which they should receive thereof from their Commander. The Duke of *Parma* was not long in drawing neer it with his Trenches. Those within the Town sallied out, and couragiously resolved to oppose him: *Rigant*'s vigilancy was very great; he was alwaies the first at undergoing labour, at incountring dangers, and in whatsoever else was necessary, as well in action as in command; insomuch as the Duke had already lost many men, and the siege proved much longer then at first it was thought it would have done; But resolving to see an end of it suddenly, after a great Battery, he made it be so furiously assaulted, as *Rigant* being slain, the Assailants entred the Town, and cutting the Garison in peeces, did with great hostility plunder it. The Duke was notwith-

ſtanding troubled about it till the midſt of *October* following; and had not *Rigaut* been ſlain in that aſſault, the Town peradventure would not have been taken ſo ſoon. *Corbel* being taken, the Duke ſuffered his men to reſt till the beginning of the next moneth: he then betook himſelf to return for *Flanders*; and the more to deceive the Enemy, he went not the neereſt way through *Picardy*, but through *Campania*; thinking that the King of *Navar* would quickly follow him; and that it would be beſt to leave the King in doubt what his intention in retreating might be. He kept the ſame order in going out of *France*, as he did in coming into it. He divided his Army into four parts, to the end that each part being leſs incombred, they might all of them proceed on the faſter; and upon occaſion be the readier to ſuccour one another. He gave the Van to the Marqueſs of *Renty*: the firſt Battle to Monſieur *de la Motte*: he kept the ſecond Battle for himſelf; and gave the Arrear guard to *George Baſti*. In this laſt part was the greateſt danger likelyeſt to conſiſt: for the King of *Navar* might infeſt them behinde: this was therefore furniſht with ſelect men; and in particular *Peter Cajetan* was placed therein, and *Alonſo Idiaques*, with their two Brigadoes of Foot. The Duke of *Parma* being gone from *Paris*, he was not well got into *Campania*, when he might hear of the loſs of *Corbel*; and not long after, the like of *Lagny*: ſo ill were they kept by the Pariſians, who had taken upon them the care thereof. Upon this occaſion the Duke was agian intreated to ſtay, and to return back to the recovery of thoſe two Towns. But he being ſcandalized to for his pains ſlighted through ſo much negligence; to boot, that his neceſſity of returning into *Flanders* did daily more and more increaſe, would not any whit delay the purſuing of his intended journey. The King of *Navar* was by this time got to *Compigny*, a Town which lies towards *Champagnia* and *Picardy*: and having here gathered together a choice number of Foot, but more Horſe, wherewith the eaſier to infeſt the Enemies Camp; as they retreated, he paſt on and followed them. He loſt no occaſion of drawing neer them, and of endeavouring to indamage them, or any waies to moleſt them: he ſet on them ſometimes on the ſides, ſometimes on the front, but ofteſt on their back: ſometimes onely threatning, ſometimes ſuddenly aſſailing them; but never adventuring upon any greater engagements, by reaſon of the too much inequaility of his Forces. This his altering of places, and of aſſaults, did not notwithſtanding make the Duke of *Parma* any whit vary his order in marching. His Squadrons marched the ſame pace, kept the ſame diſtances, environed on all ſides with the carriages, which ſerved for well fortified Trenches; ready to fight if provoked, but ſtill upon ſuch advantages, as might cauſe the Enemy repent. The way was continually cleared by the Carabines: and their quarters were every night very carefully fortified. Thus did the Duke of *Parma* march amidſt ſlight skirmiſhes for ſome dayes. He was already entered into *Picardy*. The King willing to have one other bout with the Duke, ſent ſome Squadrons of Horſe againſt the Dukes Van about the end of *November*: the Dukes Horſe came out to oppoſe them, and the diſpute grew very hot. Of the French, the Baron of *Birone* in particular, ſhewed himſelf very forward; who unwilling to yeild to the greater power of the Enemy, was ſo engaged amongſt them, as his horſe being ſlain under him, he had undoubtedly been taken Priſoner, had not the King himſelf, deſpiſing all danger, reſcued him and fetch'd him off. The night coming on, ended the diſpute. The next day the Duke of *Nevers* came in to the Kings aſſiſtance with ſome new Forces which he had gathered up thereabouts, and ſome other Forces from elſewhere came likewiſe in to the King. The Duke of *Parma* was at this time about *Guiſe* upon the utmoſt confines of *France* towards *Flanders*. Here did the King again aſſault the Duke in the Rear. At firſt the Dukes Carabins came forth againſt the Curaſſiers; and the former not able to withſtand the Curaſſiers, had been ill handled, had not *George Baſti* come in unto them with a great Squadron of Lances and beaten back the ſhock of the Curaſſiers. But theſe being again reinforced by ſome of the Kings men; and on the other ſide *Idiaques* and *Cajetan's* Foot coming in to aſſiſt *Baſti's* Horſe, a very hot skirmiſh had likely to have been

been; had not the King considering his disadvantage made his men retreat in a warlike posture. The Dukes men pursued them no farther, least they might break their establish'd order of marching. And here did end the King of *Navar*'s assaults & all the molestations which *Ferneſe* till then had suffered by them. Who being come with all his Army safe into the confines of *Flanders*, he and the Duke *Du Mayne* parted. He again confirm'd more then ever hopes in the Duke *Du Mayne* of new and potent succours in assistance of the League; and assured him that he himself would very speedily be their Conductor. The mean while he left with him about 4000 Foot, and 500 Horse; thinking that such a recrute might serve for the present, to boot, with a Regiment of Germans which was formerly maintained in the service of the League, and defray'd by the King of *Spain*, under the command of Count *Colalto*. The Duke passed forward, and distributing the souldiery into Garisons, to rest themselves after so great labours: he came about the beginning of *December* to his winter quarters which was usually in *Brussels*.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Second Part.

BOOK VI.

The Contents.

The Duke of Parma, *after his return from* France, *findes the Kings affairs in* Flanders *but in ill condition. Advancements made in many parts by the Enemy. They take* Zutfen *and* Deventer : *both of them places of great importance. The Duke incamps before the Fort, oppoſite to* Niminghen ; *does all he can to take it from the Enemy : Count* Maurice *draws neer it with great Forces to relieve it. This mean while* Ferneſe *receives preciſe orders from the King, to prepare ſuddenly to return again to* France : *he therefore immediately raiſeth his ſiege.* Maurice *maketh uſe of this occaſion. He goeth to before* Hulſt *a Town in the Province of* Flanders, *and quickly takes it. From thence he goes to before* Niminghen, *and hath the like good fortune there. The League in France does this mean while decline daily. Their danger of loſing the City of* Roan, *which is ſtraitly beſieged by the King of* Navar: *Wherefore the Duke of* Parma *preſently enters* France. *The Army of the League joyns with his. They march towards* Normandy *to relieve* Roan. *The King of* Navar *marches to oppoſe them. A noble fight between both the Camps at Umaile, wherein the King is hurt, and in danger to be taken. The Army of the League advances, draws neer* Roan, *and puts ſome ſuccour into it : It then falls further off, and the King reinforceth his ſiege. But at laſt the Duke of* Parma *forceth him to quit it. The Colleagues enter forthwith into the* Peninſula *in the County of* Caux, *and beſiege* Caudebeck. *In diſcovering the Place the Duke is wounded, and is much diſturb'd in continuing his command. The King makes uſe of this occaſion. He poſſeſſeth himſelf of the entrance into the*

the Peninſula, *and reduceth the Colleagues to great ſcarcity of all things. The Duke that he may not be forced to fight upon too much diſadvantage, reſolves to ſecure his Army by paſſing over the River. Which he fortunately doth. He then leaves* France, *and returns with ſpeedy march to* Flanders. *New ſucceſſes on that ſide to the advantage of the enemy; and to* Ferneſe's *great grief. His affliction is increaſed, by his growing every day worſe and worſe in his health. And yet he is again commanded by the King to return with all ſpeed poſſible into* France. *To this purpoſe he goes to* Arras; *and deligently prepares for his third paſſage into* France. *But his ſickneſs increaſing ſtill upon him, he dies.*

With the Dukes return to *Flanders*, we will return to our former narration: though we ſhall be ſoon diverted from it, by the new neceſſity put upon the Duke of returning again into *France*. Great had the ſufferings been which he had undergone in his firſt journey; wherein thoſe of his mind were more then thoſe of his body. He had learned by experience how hard a buſineſs it was to joyn the Kings deſignes together with thoſe of the League. That the King after the vaſt expence he had been at in his late expedition againſt *England*, did now conſume himſelf in theſe diſburſments which he was at for the League of *France*. And that in the interim his own Territories of *Flanders* was but ill furniſhed with men, mony, and almoſt all things elſe; in ſo much as doubtleſly much damage was to be expected thereby. To boot with the men that were left with the Duke *Du Mayn*, it was neceſſary to place many on the Frontiers which lay towards *France*: to encourage the League nearer at hand; and that they might be ready to march in the behalf thereof, when it ſhould be needfull, at any hours warning. So as the Kings Gariſons in *Flanders* were much leſſened; even in the moſt important places. And the Towns themſelves left but ſlenderly provided with victuals or warlick ammunition to maintain a ſiege, if the enemy ſhould ſit down before them. Which they, knowing their own advantage, were not long adoing, as we ſhall ſucceſſively relate. Amongſt other things which had mightily afflicted the Duke of *Parma* whilſt he was in *France*, one was the mutiny which happened at that time in *Emannel de Vega's* Spaniſh Brigado which remained in *Flanders*: which the Duke after his return, did very much reſcent at both the *Mansfields* hands; they not having been diligent enough, as he thought, in preventing it. And the diſorder grew ſo much the greater, becauſe it was above a year before thoſe people could be paid, and reduced to their former wonted ſervice.

Anno 1591.

At the beginning of the year 1591. the enemy did not delay ſeconding the good conjunctures on their parts. Colonel *Norris* an Engliſh man, of whom we have often ſpoken was in *Oſtend*; who with that Gariſon which was then very numerous, by reaſon of a new recruit of men which the Queen of *England* had newly ſent thither, overran all the parts thereabouts. Yet the Fort of *Elanchemberg*, which lies between *Oſtend* and *Sluce*, as hath been ſaid, was a great obſtacle in his way. Reſolving therefore to free himſelf thereof, he aſſaulted the Fort ſo unexpectedly, and upon ſuch advantage, as he ſoon took it; and it was ſoon after diſmantled. This happened in the Province of *Flanders* about the midſt of *February*. Not long after the enemy made two other ſurpriſals in *Brabant*. The one was of the Caſtle of *Weſterlo*; and the other of *Turnehaut*, which is one of the greateſt Villages in all *Brabant*. There is likewiſe a Caſtle in this Village, into which, as alſo into the Village, ſome ſouldiers did enter in country attire; as having ſomething to ſell, and without any difficulty made themſelves Maſters of them both. But theſe were but ſlight acquiſitions in reſpect of others which Count *Maurice* intended to make, and which he ſufficiently did that year, as you ſhall hear. He prepared neceſſary forces for this purpoſe. And therefore aſſoon as the ſeaſon would permit him to go into the field, he deferred not to be moving. He judged that his greateſt advantage did at this time invite him to the further ſide of the *Rhine*, towards *Frieſland*, by reaſon of the great diſtance from thence of the Kings ſtrongeſt Forces; as alſo of the Duke of *Parma's* own perſon.

Wherefore

wherefore turning thitherward about the midst of *May*, he resolved to besiege *Zutfen*; and with an Army of 10000 foot and 2000 horse, well furnished with Artillery, and with whatsoever else was necessary for this and other sieges, he sate down before it. A little while before he came thither, the Fort which did defend the City on the contrary shore, was fallen into his hands, by the like stratagem as the aforesaid Castles of *Westerlo* and *Turnhaut* had formerly done. Having got this advantage, he suddenly begirt the Town on all sides; and with great celerity opened his Trenches, and prepared for battery. But the Garison in *Zutfen* was so small, and the Town was so weakly provided of all other necessaries, as at the end of three days those within the Town, before the Artillery had played so much as once, began to treat, and soon after surrendred the Town. *Deventer* is but two leagues off from *Zutfen*. Both these Towns lie upon the *Ysel*. And you have already heard how Colonel *Stanly* an English-man, put *Deventer* into the Duke of *Parma*'s hands. Amongst other Commanders of great esteem, Count *Maurice* had with him Colonel *Vere*, an English-man. This *Vere* did of all the rest, chiefly desire that they might immediately go to the recovery of *Deventer*; and that he might have the greatest share in that affair, to make amends for the fault which was by all the English attributed to *Stanly*. Count *Maurice* was easily perswaded hereunto. He therefore without delay turning upon that City, began to besiege it on both sides the River; and secured the passage to his own men by two bridges, whereby he also hindred the enemy from bringing in relief. Count *Herman de Berg*, was Governour of *Deventer*: he was eldest son to *William de Berg*, who married a sister of the Prince of *Orange*; so as this *Herman* was full Cousin-german to Count *Maurice*. He proved to be very judicious and stout, and very faithfull to the King, though he was very young. But he had so small Forces in the Town, and was so ill provided of all things else, as he could not think to make any considerable resistance. He prepared notwithstanding to do what he could: and acquainted Colonel *Verdugo* (who commanded the Kings Forces in chief in those parts) with the danger that he was in. Count *Maurice*, having advanced his Trenches, raised batteries on three sides. The greatest was placed towards that part of the City which looks upon the River. And Colonel *Vere* took upon him the guidance hereof, to do it so as might speedilyest effect the work. And immediately he began to batter the walls with such violence, as above 100 yards thereof fell at the very first battery. The defendants retreated more inward; and Count *Herman* was not wanting in valiantly performing his part; when he received so grievous a wound, as he could no longer continue in the work that was begun. Wherefore the besieged being the more discouraged; and the Townsmen doubting least the enemies assault might occasion the plunder of the City, a Treaty was had of surrender upon fair conditions: whereunto Count *Maurice* easily gave way. And thus in a few days he made this second acquisition, which was far greater then the former. From thence he went hoping to storm *Stenwich*; but *Verdugo*, who had not men enough to relieve *Deventer*, had enough to secure *Stenwich*. Wherefore Count *Maurice* turning upon *Delfziel*, (a place of importance of it self by reason of its situation; and more particularly to facilitate the siege of *Groninghen*, when (as was his intention) he should be in a fitting posture to incamp before it) made himself soon Master thereof; and then faced about, to effect by these his advantages, other premeditated resolutions. The Duke of *Parma* was this mean while on his march; and having mustered all the Forces he could get in *Ruremonde*, he marched towards the parts about the *Rhine*, intending to pass over it, and hoping to relieve *Deventer*, and secure it, which next to *Groninghen*, was the place of greatest concernment in those parts. But hearing that it was lost, he resolved to attempt some enterprise; and feigning (to abuse the enemy) that he would assault *Schinck* Sconce, he passed over the *Wahall* at another place, and incamped himself before the Camp opposite to *Nimínghen*, from whence the Inhabitants of that City received much prejudice. That side of the City which was opposite thereunto was continually infested by the perpetual playing of Artillery from that Fort; in so much as all the houses on that side were already beaten down. The Garison of the Fort did as much command the passage of the River, as did the Inhabitants

of

of the City. Excurſions on all ſides were very frequent. And in fine ſuch, and ſo grievous were the moleſtations, as it was apparently ſeen that the Royaliſts muſt either win that Fort, or elſe they muſt very quickly loſe the City. It was about the midſt of *June* when *Ferneſe* began to beſiege that Fort. But he could not come before it ſo on the ſudden, but that Count *Maurice* had reaſon to ſuſpect his intention. Wherefore he ſent the Count of *Solmes* thither with good forces, and new proviſion of Victuals; whereby the Fort was ſo well provided, as Count *Maurice* did no wayes fear the loſs thereof, at leaſt not ſo ſoon. The Duke having ordered his Quarters, and fortified them on the out-ſide, he began to advance inward with his Trenches: But the Kings men paid dearly for all their works: for the Enemy ſallying out oft-times, made ſtrong oppoſition on all ſides: Yet after ſome dayes they came to Battery, of which Monſieur *de la Motte* had the chief charge, and wherein he uſed all diligence; but yet proceeded but ſlowly. For the walls of the Fort being made of earth, which as it was thick, was alſo ſoft, the ſhot of the Artillery could not any ways conſiderably indamage it. And it was likewiſe very hard to come to the filling up of the ditch, which was very broad and deep, and was well defended on all ſides. But in this interim *Ferneſe*'s Cavalry received ſuch a blow, as did ſtill much leſſen his hopes of getting the Fort. Count *Maurice*'s Camp lay very near the Dukes Camp, in ſo much as there paſſed divers skirmiſhes betwixt them. And the Kings men could not provide neceſſary forrage for their horſes, without continual danger of ſome ambuſcado. The Duke had given command that his men ſhould avoid coming to any ſet buſineſs, by reaſon of the condition of the Country, which was very advantagious for the adverſe party. *Pier Franciſco Nicelli*, Captain of the Dukes lifeguard, going one day forth for forage, with divers other Captains of horſe, he could not guide himſelf as he ought to have done: but ſuffering himſelf to be ſurpriſed in a narrow paſſage, wherein he was inforced to fight, he was quickly routed by the enemy, and loſt many of his men. He himſelf, and divers other Captains were taken priſoners: and of 400 of the Kings horſe which were in this conflict, very few were ſaved. The Duke was mightily diſpleaſed hereat; but yet he did not give over his ſiege, but ſtreightned the Fort more and more; when expreſs Orders came to him from *Spain*, whereby the King did preciſely command him, that leaving ſuch Forces in *Flanders* as ſhould be ſuffieient for defence, he ſhould paſs again with all the reſt as ſoon as might be to ſuccour the Catholick League in *France*. This Order being received, the Duke prepared preſently to riſe from before the Fort. In his retreat his men were to paſs over the *Wahall*; not without danger of being indamaged by the enemy. But he with very great forecaſt ſoon ſecured himſelf from all danger: For cauſing a great Trench to be ſuddenly raiſed, and making it be continued even to the River, with redouts and flankers to ſhelter and defend his men at their imbarking if, the enemy ſhould go about to hinder them, he paſſed over the River without any obſtacle, Count *Maurice* not being minded to moleſt him, by reaſon of the difficulty he ſaw he ſhould have to do it. At this retreat, wherein the Duke won great applauſe, it being done in the face both of the Fort, and of the Enemies Camp, was Prince *Ranuccbia*, the Dukes eldeſt ſon, who was then come from *Italy* to ſerve under his father in *Flanders*. And he was not only preſent at the ſucceſs, but had his ſhare in the execution thereof, it being his fathers pleaſure that he ſhould be the laſt man that ſhould ſee the retreat compleated. The Army being brought ſafely over to the other ſide, the Duke came to *Nimmghen*. This City would never accept but of a very ſlight foreign Gariſon, to preſerve it ſelf in the greater liberty, and becauſe it thought it was able to defend it ſelf of its ſelf alone. The Duke was greatly diſpleaſed hereat: And knowing that there had been already ſome underhand dealing in the City, in favour of the enemy, he uſed all poſſible diligence to get the Inhabitants give way to the augmenting of their Gariſon; but he could not prevail with them: wherefore he went his ways, and left *Verdugo* the better provided with Forces; to the end that if need ſhould require, he might the eaſilyer ſuccour that City. It was now about the end of *July*; and becauſe the Duke had received good by the the *Spaw* waters formerly, he went thither again to ſeek help for the Dropſie, which daily

threatned

threatned him more and more. Being come thither, he began to give all requisite Orders for the raising of Horse and Foot in *Germany*, in *Burgony*, and in the Low-Country it self, to the end that he might leave sufficient Forces for defence in *Flanders*, and yet carry such a strength of men with him, as the succour which he should now bring unto the League might exceed the former.

Count *Maurice* this mean while did not omit making further advancement. Leaving the abovesaid Intelligences on his behalf on foot in *Nimínghen*, he went from thence to go where he might make his designs the more advantagious, by their being the less expected. Great was the accommodation he had of transporting his men from one place to another by Rivers and Sea-gulfs. Imbarking about the midst of *September* with 4000 Foot and 600 Horse, he unexpectedly landed with them in the Province of *Flanders*, and fell upon the Country of *Walse*, to take the Town of *Hulst*. This is a place lowly situated, and of great concernment; for it commands all the Country thereabouts. The Kings men, for the better defence of that Town, guarded some neighbouring places; which Count *Maurice* soon made himself master of. Then begirting the Town, wherein there was but a small Garrison, and but slender provision of all things else, he soon brought the Inhabitants to Parley, and afterwards to surrender the Town. Colonel *Mandragone*, Governour of the Citadel of *Antwerp*, was upon his way to relieve it; and the Duke had so wrought with the Spanish Mutiniers, though they were not yet altogether appeased, as they were content to joyn with *Mandragone*. But the Surrender prevented the Succour. Wherefore the Kings men returned back, and the Town was by Count *Maurice* furnisht with all things necessary. He then imbarked his Army again, and recruiting it both with Foot and Horse, he overran all the Maritime Coasts of *Flanders*, threatning *Newport* and *Dunkirk*; but did this rather more to deceive the Royalists, then for any setled design he had in those parts. His true design was to turn upon *Nimínghen*, & to use all possible means to take it. Wherefore reentring by the same way of the Rivers and Maritime gulfs into *Ghelderland* about the midst of *October*, he staid in the *Wahal*; and throwing over a Bridg near *Nimínghen*, to the end that he might have that passage free, and that he might the better be victualled, he disposed of his Camp thereabouts. At the same time that he prepared with Forces without, Intelligences were held on his behalf within the Town, which had so good success, as there was little need of the Forces without. The Garrison, which consisted of some few *Germans* and *Walloons*, went sometimes out, but were not able to make any considerable opposition. *Verdugo* was at this time also moving, though not so soon as need required; for his Forces were no ways answerable thereunto. Wherefore those who favoured Count *Maurice*, taking occasion upon his delay, began to make a Tumult. This boldness soon spread from a few to many, who still increasing the commotion, drew all the rest to be of the same mind; and they all agreed to surrender the City. To which *Maurice* was as gracious as could be desired in the Conditions which were established on both sides at the Surrender. He then entred the City, and was received with great honour. And before he went from thence, he did largely repay this honour to *Schenks* bones, making them be intern'd with much pomp in the chiefest Church, and in the very Sepulcher of the former Dukes of *Ghelderland*. Count *Maurice* having added this last acquisition of so great concernment to the so important former, went to the *Hague* in *Holland*, where the Ordinary Deputies of the General Union of the Provinces had already made the place of their constant abode; and where he was received with unexpressible demonstrations of joy and affection. For though he had not met with any great opposition in the atchievements which he had made, yet he had shewed so great vigilancie in his Command, such advisedness in his Councels, and such vigor in Execution, as doubtlesly he might even then be expected to prove that Gallant Commander, which our Age for his so many other famous enterprises hath fully declared him to be. This mean while the Duke of *Parma* was returned to *Brussels*; and wholly intent upon his passing again into *France*, he endeavoured to get as great a strength for that purpose as he could. The news which he heard from those parts was, That the affairs of the League did every day decline; that the Forces thereof were very

much

much diminiſhed; and that the King of *Navar* did ſtill grow ſtronger; and that being Maſter of the Field, he had beſieged *Roan*, which is the chief City of all *Normandy*, and the ſecond of all *France*. The Duke *de Mayn* had ſent Count *Briſack* a little before this, to acquaint the Duke of *Parma* with thus much. And the danger of *Roan* every day increaſing, *Ferneſe* was again the more ſollicited to come for *France* as ſoon as he could. Preparing then for his departure, he left as formerly the two *Mansfields* his Deputies. And a ſolemn Ambaſſie being at this time ſent by the Emperor into *Flanders*, to endeavour ſome accommodation in the affairs of thoſe Countries, the Duke upon that occaſion did ſtay ſome dayes at *Bruſſels*. The Emperor had likewiſe ſignified the ſame intention to the United Provinces. But they fearing that the Ambaſſie was ſent by the King of *Spains* procurement, would not conſent to any Treaty. About which though neer upon a Moneth was ſpent, yet we have choſen to acquaint you with the reſult thereof briefly here, to diſpatch the account of a Negotiation wherein there was hardly any Overture made.

The Duke being gone from *Bruſſels*, went towards *Picardy*; and there in *Peroun* met with the young Duke of *Guiſe*, who not long before having eſcaped out of the Caſtle of *Tours*, where *Henry* the Third had ſhut him up after his Fathers death, and where the King of *Navar* had likewiſe detained him, was ſuddenly come to find out his Uncle the Duke *Du Mayn*. From *Peroun* the Duke of *Parma* went to the Town of *Guiſe*, where the Duke *Du Mayn* came to ſpeak with him. In the ſame place was likewiſe *Hercules Sfondrato*, Duke of *Montemarchiano*, who a little before was ſent by his Uncle *Gregory* the 14. with a very conſiderable ſtrength both of Foot and Horſe to aſſiſt the League. But *Gregory* dying, and *Innocent* the 9. ſucceeding him, his men were much diminiſhed; *Innocent* excuſing himſelf that he could not continue ſo great an expence, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of monies which the Apoſtolick Sea was then in. Nor did the Duke of *Montemarchiano* know whether he were to continue in that Command or no: though in all things elſe, *Innocent* ſeemed as if he would protect the League of *France*; to which purpoſe he had made the Biſhop of *Piachenſa* Cardinal, declaring him alſo to be Apoſtolick Legat in the place of Cardinal *Cajetan*, who as we have ſaid was already returned to *Italy*. At this meeting of the Duke of *Parma* and the Duke *Du Mayn*, the firſt thing that was agreed upon was, That *Fera*, one of the moſt conſiderable Towns of *Picardy*, ſhould be delivered up to the Duke of *Parma*, that upon all occaſions he might have a Town upon that Frontier towards *Flanders*, which might ſerve for better ſecurity to his Army. Here all their Forces joyning, each of the chief Commanders muſter'd his men, and the whole amounted to about 25000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe; the greateſt part whereof belonged to the King of *Spain*, and were compoſed (as uſally) of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Walloons*; the Foot were about 16000. and the Horſe 3000. The Duke of *Lorain* had ſent the Counts of *Vaudemonte* and *Shalligny* with 700 Lances and Curaſiers in aſſiſtance of the League. Of all the Forces which the Duke of *Montemarchiano* brought with him into *France*, there remained little more then 2000 Foot *Switzers*, and 200 Horſe: The reſt of the Forces were made up by the League. The Duke of *Parma* commanded over all in chief, and next to him the greateſt authority lay in the Duke *Du Mayn*; with whom were then the Dukes of *Umale* and *Guiſe*, the firſt his Couſin-german, the other his Nephew; to boot with the aforeſaid Counts of *Vaudemonte* and *Shalligny*, whowere of the ſame houſe, but in a degree further off.

During the preparation, muſtering, and marching of this Army, the year ended, and the next, of 1592 began. All their men being met at the entrance into *Picardy*, the Army began to move about the midſt of *January*, and marched towards *Amiens*, that it might enter on that ſide into *Normandy*, and endeavour to relieve *Roan* as ſoon as might be. The King of *Navar*, as hath been ſaid, was before this City; and had advanced ſo far forward already in his ſiege, as the beſieged were not likely to defend it much longer. Yet Monſieur *de Villiers* ſuſtained the ſiege valiantly, and endeavoured by all ſtout reſiſtance to afford time for the aforeſaid ſuccour: And much encouraged to hear that the Leagues Army was upon its march to that purpoſe, he continued in his defence more reſolute

Anno 1592.

then ever: though by reaſon of the ſtraits that he was in, he preſt the Colleagues very much to come to his relief as ſoon as they could. *Roan* lyes upon the banks of *Sene*, and this River doth there much inlarge it ſelf. Some leagues above it the King had a Town called *Pont d' Arke*, which is the laſt bridge which is now upon the *Sene* in its current to the Sea; ſome of the Arches of that bridge being broken and gone to decay, which the Engliſh did anciently build at *Roan*, whilſt they were Lords of *Normandy*. The Town of *Cawdebeck* lyes ſome leagues beneath *Roan*, upon the banks of the ſaid River; which was likewiſe in the Kings hands; inſomuch as he commanding the River both above and beneath, by means of theſe two Towns, and by ſome men of war which ſcour'd up and down the River, had reduced that City into great ſtraits. But hearing of the Duke of *Parma*, and that the Army of the League was already on its march towards *Normandy*: he called his Councel of war to conſider what was beſt for him to do upon this occaſion. The King had very great Forces; he had between nine and ten thouſand Horſe, and his Foot were as many as thoſe of the Colleagues: all the Horſe, unleſs it were ſome Dutch, were French; in the Foot there were likewiſe ſome conſiderable number of Dutch, and ſome Engliſh which the Queen had ſent to aſſiſt the King: and three thouſand Flemiſh Foot were likewiſe ſent from *Holland* in his aſſiſtance. It was argued in the Councel of war, whether it were better to abandon the ſiege, and to march againſt the Army of the League to fight them in the field, as it was formerly determined in the buſineſs of *Paris*; or continuing the ſiege, to wait the Enemy within the works, and to defend thoſe works ſo as the ſuccour might by that reſiſtance be hindred. The Mareſhal of *Birone* inclined particularly to this opinion; who by reaſon of his long experience and worth in military affairs, was highly eſteemed throughout the whole Kingdom; and of whom the King did alwaies make uſe in all his moſt important, and moſt difficult enterpriſes. In maintenance of his opinion he ſpoke thus,

'Tis now (moſt glorious Prince) ſomewhat above a year ſince your Majeſty was with your Army about Paris; *every one knows that the end of that ſiege was onely to inforce that City to ſurrender by Famine; ſince ſo great a circuit of walls, and ſo thick a forreſt of houſes and inhabitants were not otherwiſe to be forced. There were no quarters therefore fortified about it, no trenches were opened, no batteries raiſed, no aſſaults made. When afterwards the Army of the League drew neer, it was thought fitting that your Army ſhould encounter it, and endeavour by all means to engage it in battel, ſince there was no other way to hinder the relief then by a field fight. I, together with the reſt of the Commanders, was of that opinion, which was likewiſe approved of by your ſelf, who do no leſs excel others in counſel, then in command. Let us now conſider this preſent ſiege. In this, the end of begirting* Roan *conſiſts much more in uſing opugnancy, then means of Famine. It makes much for us doubtleſſy, that we are maſters of the River on the upper ſide by means of* Pont d' Arke, *and on the nether ſide by the Town of* Cawdebeck; *ſo to keep* Roan *from victuals, but the hopes of winning lyes chiefly in our arms and ſwords. And how far are we already advanced with our trenches, with our batteries, with our works in the ditch, and with aſſaults? I am therefore of opinion, that upon this occaſion we ought to ſhun giving battel, and that we ought with all induſtry to fortifie our quarters, and uſe all vigilancy in defending them, ſo as the Leagues Army may not be able to force them; ſuccour being hindred from without, it is not to be doubted but for what within, our ſiege will advance fortunately againſt the walls. We have already made ſuch progreſs, as the City is in great terror: the Inhabitants whereof being accuſtomed to Traffick, and not acquainted with the Military profeſſion, will not run the hazard of expoſing themſelves to ruine, plunder, and other dreadfull calamities, which often accompany the taking of places by ſtorm and violence. Doubtleſſy Monſieur* de Villiers *doth ſufficiently diſcharge his part in making defence. But when he ſhall want victuals, when his ſouldiery ſhall leſſen, and when he ſhall deſpair of ſuccour, how can he then hold longer out? As for us, the river furniſheth us with plenty of victuals; we doe ſo abound in gallant horſe, as we ſhall keep a good part of the neighbouring parts at our devotion. We expect new ſuccours by ſea from* Holland, *we receive freſh aid daily by land from the Provinces hereabouts. Wherefore ſince the advantages doe every*

day

day increase on our side by way of siege, why should we not with all fervor and constancy prosecute it? These neighbouring wars of France *and* Flanders *have brgot a common saying, that sieges are there learn'd, here battels. Let it be once seen that* France *can do both the one and the other. And that though it useth prevail by the force of field-fights, yet it can use patience in bringing oppugnations, when it shall be requisite, to their right end. It cannot be denyed but that the Duke of* Parma *won much praise the last year, by taking* Lagne *whilst our Army looked on But how much greater will your Majesties glory be, if you shall take* Roan, *in the face of his Army? Roan, which is the second City of the Kingdom, and which will quickly give you entrance into the first? For it is not to be doubted but that the Duke of* Parma *being recalled by his own necessities into* Flanders, Paris *will soon be reduced to your Majesties obedience; and that by the example thereof all the rest of the Kingdom will strive to do the like.*

But the Vicecount of *Turein* (not long before made Duke of *Bullion* by the right of his wife) who was one of the chief Commanders in war amongst the Hugonots of that Country; and who through his valour, and by his knowing how to make use thereof, by a particular vivacity of wit, became afterwards likewise one of the most esteem'd Marishals of *France*, was of another opinion, and spake thus.

I must confess (unconquerable Prince) I know not wherein the so great difference lies between the siege that was before Paris, *and this which is now before* Roan, *as that the resolutions which were then taken should be now shun'd. It was thought then that your Majesties Army was not sufficient at one and the same time, both to maintain the siege before* Paris, *and to fight the Army of the League; but that either the one or the other of these resolutions must be pitched upon. At last the latter prevailed over the former; and therefore we marched with all our Forces against the enemy, to give them battel in the field, and by that means to keep* Paris *from being relieved. 'Tis true there were no quarters taken nor fortified in that siege: nor was there any sort of oppugning made. But notwithstanding I shall never be of opinion, that to hinder the present relief, we should rather shut our selves up within our own quarters, then march with our Army into the field as we did then.* Roan *is of such a bigness, and doth consequently require that our Fortifications about it be of such a compass, as we cannot bring them to such perfection as to be able to keep within them, and to defend them. Wherefore shall we expect to be doubly assaulted within them at one and the same time? Once by the Leagues Army without, and again within, by the Garison of the City? What will our danger be when we shall be thus invironed by so great Forces on all sides? The Duke of* Alva *some years agoe, at the siege of* Mons, *waited for the Prince of* Orange, *within his Trenches; the Prince came, drew near, was beaten back, and the Town was afterwards surrendred. But what?* Orange *did then assault high and well munited Rampires, desended by ancient and experienced souldiers, against Tumultuaries. And Count* Lodovick, *brother to* Orange, *had a very weak Garison within the Town, and a people as contrary to him as well might be. Let us pass from this President of* Flanders, *to another of* Italy, *which may be much better applyed to our present case. The memory thereof is sad, and will ever be so to* France. *I speak of the unfortunate siege of* Pavia *King* Francis, *as it is well known, suffered himself upon that occasion to be reduced to between the Spanish Army without, and the German Garison within; who were all of them men trained up in Arms: and being set upon on both sides at once, these misfortunes and calamities befell him which are sufficiently known to all men. The Army of the League comes now, and is furnished with particular choice foot. There is in* Roan *a great and valiant Garison; and the Citizens, though not accustomed to Arms, are yet ready upon all occasions to take them up. Wherefore then, say I again, shall we expect a double assault of such Forces, between weak and distant works; and where our horse which do so far exceed those of the enemy, shall not have those advantages which they may have in the field? I therefore advise by all means to give the enemy battel in the field. It hath formerly been seen that the Duke of* Parma *hath always shun'd it. He will certainly be now of the same opinion. And why should not we be as forward to provoke him to battel, as he is backward thereunto? his foot may be thought somewhat the better, but our horse are almost twice as good as his, and*

may so advantagiously spread themselves in these spacious fields of Normandy, *as the Flemish may oft-times have reason to wish themselves within those Dikes, Ditches, and Channels, which are so frequent in those Countries. Hence it is that sieges are there so much used. And what greater glory can we have, then to see battels more frequent here? Where true Military force and worth is manifested on the bright Theatre of the day, not amidst blind Trenches, and buried Mines, and base fighting in ditches; but in open field between Squadron and Squadrons, between Colours and Colours both of Foot and Horse, orderly drawn out. For what remains, the former reasons will be equally valid now. When your Majesty shall once have won the battel, the war will soon be at an end: And say that any misfortune should befall you, you may without much difficulty gather new forces, and take the field again. But it may assuredly be hoped that the misfortune of the War, or to say better, the punishment of Justice will fall upon your Enemies; Who joyned together by the true reason of Interest, and the false pretences of Religion, imbrace the wickedest and most unworthy Cause that was ever at any time imbraced and defended.*

These two opinions being duly weighed, the King on the one behalf thought that the Siege being so far advanced, was not to be abandoned; and on the other side he thought he did so far exceed the Enemy in Horse, as he might spare a considerable strength thereof to go against the Enemy, and so infest them, as that they should either not be able to advance, or at least too late to relieve the Town. But the event shewed, that the not wholly adhering to either the one or the other advice, made them both prove unfortunate. The King having taken the above-said resolution, resolved to go himself in person with 5000 Horse to encounter the Army of the League; and the mean while left the Marshal of *Byroun* with all the rest of his Forces, who should continue to straiten *Roan* as much as he could. With these people the King went first to *Chasteauneuse*, and then to *Aumale*; Towns which confine upon the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*. He was not well got out of *Normandy*, when he was advertised by his Scouts, that the Enemy were well advanced into *Picardy*. The Army of the League marched in the same manner, as by the Duke of *Parma's* orders it had done the time before: The Foot were placed in the midst, the Horse with long wings in the Flanks, and the Carriages on both sides without. Monsieur *de la Motte*, together with his place of Generall of the Artillery, was Campmaster Generall of all the *Flanders* Souldiers; and the same office was discharged in the proper Forces of the League by Monsieur *Rosy*, a valiant Souldier, and great Commander, and who had a particular dependencie upon the Duke *du Mayn*. Each of them were very carefull in keeping the whole Camp in order, and in securing their quarters; and yet the Dukes of *Parma* and of *Mayn* ceased not to be every where in their own persons. The Vantguard was led on by the young Duke of *Guise*, who had with him two French-men of experienced valour, the Baron of *Scatres*, and Monsieur *de Vitry*: In the Battel were the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayn*, the Duke of *Montemarchiano*, and Count *Vaudemonte*; and the Rear guard was guided by the Duke *du Maine*, and Count *Saligni*: Prince *Ranucchio* marched usually with the prime Horse in the Van, and Marquis *Vasto* took his place most commonly there also; who repenting his having given over his former place of Generall of the Horse in *Flanders*, to command the Horse in the State of *Milan*, being to that purpose gone the year before into *Italy*, was now (born by a desire of glory) come to serve as a private Voluntier in the Duke of *Parma's* second expedition into *France*. Ten peeces of Artillery did precede the Vantguard; and from the Front thereof was thrust forth a flying Squadron, composed of Spanish and Italian Foot, who might be ready either to stand or charge the Enemy, according as occasion on either sort should require. The Army of the League made but short marches, that they might the better keep their ranks, fortifie their quarters the better, and to keep their souldiers from being weary. So as the Camp came not till the beginning of *February* near to *Aumail*, where (as was said) the King of *Navar* was himself in person. Here the Scouts of both Camps met to learn news; but the King, not very well satisfied with the tidings which his Scouts brought, would be an eye-witness thereof himself. The King was so naturally given to waging battel, as oft-times wholly forgetting himself, he would be present

upon

upon the moſt common occaſions and would therein meet with the moſt frequent dangers, as it now befell him, and thus it was. The King going out of *Aumaile* with 500 Horſe, gave order that the Baron *Jury* and Monſieur *de Laverdein* ſhould follow him with more Horſe, and with 400 Dragoons; and commanded likewiſe that the Dukes of *Nevers* and of *Longueville* ſhould be ready with the reſt of the Horſe which were in *Aumaile*. The King advancing further then he ought to have done with the firſt Horſe, fell upon the Scouts of the Enemies Camp, which he eaſily routed and put to flight: but *George Baſti* coming in ſoon after with a great body of other Horſe, charged thoſe of the King ſo home, as the King himſelf was in apparent danger; and ſo much the more, for that his perſon was known by many tokens. This danger forced the King to retreat; which he did the hardlier, for that the Enemy charging him ſtill more, the greater was the ſlaughter of his men. The Enemy endeavoured all they could to cut off the Kings way on all ſides, and to take him priſoner. He on the contrary ſuſtaining their force with incredible courage, endeavoured to bring himſelf as ſoon as he could into ſafety. In this interim many of his ſtouteſt men dropt by his ſide; nor could the King himſelf ſcape unhurt; for as he deſcended a little riſe, whilſt he gave back, he was ſhot with an harquebuſe about the reins, which made him haſten his retreat. At the news hereof the Dragoons came in, and lighting on foot, were of great ſervice to the King in ſuſtaining the fury of the Enemy. But almoſt all of them being ſlain, the King had run the like hazard, had not *Jury* and *Lavardine* advanced to defend him, though they were accompanied but with few of their men; for the reſt frightned with the news that was given out, that the King was either ſlain or taken priſoner, had moſt of them abandoned the field. So as their ſuccour was not ſufficient neither; for freſh horſe of the Leagues coming in, the Kings men could not ſtand this new tempeſt: *Jury* had his horſe kill'd under him, and *Lavardine* was ill hurt. The Leagues Vantguard was already all in Arms, and the Flying Squadron in particular was ready to move: And the Duke *du Mayn* ſaid unto the Duke of *Parma* with a loud voyce,

That ſuch an advantagious occaſion was not to be loſt: That the King of Navar *was upon his flight, moſt of his horſe full of ruine and terror; wherefore what labour would it be to diſſipate all the reſt? That wanting Foot, and having raſhly run into ſuch ſtraits, the King could by no means eſcape, if they would be but as reſolute to aſſault him, as it was eaſie to oppreſs him.*

'Tis ſaid, that the King ſeeing himſelf in ſo great danger, made one of his Captains of ſet purpoſe be taken priſoner, who was to affirm (as he did) that to boot with the Horſe which the King brought with him, he was followed by a good body of Foot. The Duke of *Parma* detained by this relation, and by his diffidence of being in a Country which he was not acquainted with, and with Forces which did not fully depend upon his command, would by no means hazard himſelf further in this conflict, fearing ſome ambuſh, or ſome other ſiniſter accident which might befall him. And he was chiefly perſwaded thereunto, for that he thought in reaſon of war it was impoſſible the King of *Navar* ſhould with ſuch reſolution have expoſed himſelf to ſuch a conflict againſt the Army of the League, unleſs he were accompanied with a great ſtrength of Foot alſo Wherefore the King being no further charged, the Dukes of *Nevers* and of *Longueville* came the mean while in to his aid; and affording him ſufficient commodity firſt to get into *Aumaile*, and then to get out of it, (For it was no place wherein to reſiſt the Leagues Army) he put himſelf quickly into ſafety. He loſt a great many of his men in this action, and Noble blood was mingled with blood which was more ordinary. There were very few of the League that were either ſlain or hurt. This was the Action at *Aumaile*; ſo conſiderable eſpecially, for that on the one part the King of *Navar* through too much raſhneſs was wounded, and likely to have been taken or ſlain; and for that on the other part the Duke of *Parma* through too much warineſs did not bear away a victory, which might have put the King into his hands either dead or alive, together with the whole Kingdom.

The King retreated from *Aumaile* to *Chaſteauneufe*: which was not a conſiderable place to make reſiſtance. But becauſe it mightily imported the King of

Navar

Navar to entertain the Duke of *Parma* as much as might be, the Baron of *Jury* seemed ready to tarry there, and within it to make what resistance he could. To this purpose the King leaving with him such men as were needfull, drew off with the rest, to have his wound cured, and that he might again upon the first design turn to infest the Enemy. *Ferneſe* being come to *Chasteauneuſe*, did so narrowly beset the Town, as he took it within four dayes, suffering *Jury* to goe out at the particular instance of the Baron of *Shatres*, who was very near a kin to him. Here the Duke staid some dayes longer, to provide himself of victuals, with part whereof to keep his Army in good plight, and to succour the besieged with the rest. The Duke having *Chasteauneuſe*, continued his march as formerly; which was but slow, because he would have it sure. Wherefore the King being cured, returned again to infest him, and to use all means of detaining the succour, till such time as he might be master of *Roan*. Continual skirmishes were therefore had between the two Camps; no great advantage being at any time had on either side, save only that in one of them the Count of *Saligni* was taken prisoner. The Leagues Army was now come so near *Roan*, as there remained nothing but to resolve of the manner how they should endeavour to effect the succour. In that upper part of *Normandy* wherein the two Camps now were, there is a *Peninsula*, which contains the Country of *Caux*. It is flankt on the one side by the *Sene*, and on the other by the River *Diep* even to the Sea, which incompasseth the greatest part thereof; so as there remains but a narrow entrance into it by land, between the two Rivers. Upon the *Sene* beneath *Roan*, the King was master (as hath been said) of *Caudebeck*; and upon *Diep*, he was master of the Town called *Diep*, and of *Arques* not far from thence. The King with almost all his whole Horse was towards this side of the *Peninsula*, as being the neerest part to annoy the Leagues Army: having taken those horse from the siege as well because there was no need of them there, as for that they might be the better kept in those spacious situations where he was. His Horse-quarters were therefore five or six leagues distant from where his Foot were quartered about *Roan*. *Ferneſe* was the more encouraged by this distance of the King of *Navar's* Forces. Wherefore rejecting the counsels of some who advised that they should endeavour to steal in some relief into *Roan* by night, he marched with his whole Camp in Battel-array; and going towards *Pont del Ark*, at the furthest distance that he could from those places where the Kings horse lay, he drew near *Roan*. The resolution which was taken was, to march as quietly as they could by night, and to come unexpectedly about the break of day to the Enemies trenches, and violently to assail them on the outside: whereupon the Garrison sallying out from within, and the assault being thus doubled, and the King by reason of the too far distance not being able to succour his Foot time enough with his Horse, it was not doubted but that the Enemy would forsake their Trenches, and full of terror raise the siege wholly. With this resolution and hope the D. of *Parma* was ready to march on the 26. of *February*, when a Messenger came who was sent to him and the D. *du Mayn* with this advertisement from Monsieur *de Villiers*, That the Garrison sallying out at four gates the day before about break of the day, they had furiously assaulted the Enemy; that great fear and execution had insued thereupon, and their quarters had been much indamaged; that many Peeces of their Artillery had been clog'd, and many of them brought into the City; that their munition was in part spoil'd, and their victuals prejudiced; that the Marshal *Biroun* himself was hurt in the fight, divers other Captains and Officers of quality slain, together with above 600 common souldiers: That since they had no other urgent occasion, Monsieur *de Villers* desired only a small recruit of men; and advised that the Army of the League might bend somewhither else, where it might be more necessary or more advantagious to imploy their Forces. In this Sally was *Villiers* himself in person, and had shewed singular valour, for which he wan great praise throughout the whole Cawp. But as for his present advice, *Ferneſe* seemed not to approve thereof: He rather thought,

That by all means the occasion ought to be seconded; that it did manifestly invite to finish what had been so well begun; and how could it be believed but that to the Assault within, this other of so great Forces without being added, the Enemy must needs

needs raise the ſiege. That it was to this purpoſe that the Army of the League was joyned, had marched, and were come ſo near; and not onely to bring a ſmall relief to Roan. *If this ſo advantagious an opertunity ſhould be now loſt, when ſhould they ever expect the like? And what doubt was there but that when their Army ſhould be drawn off the Enemy would return to beſiege the City more ſtrickly?*

But the Duke *Du Mayne* urging many reaſons to the contrary, ſaid, *That for the preſent, the ſuccour which was required would ſuffice; and that the Army ought not to be adventured to another more dangerous conflict; That it might be imagined the Enemy had been more afraid then hurt within their Trenches; That it was to be imagined the King of* Navar *would immediately come out of his quarters upon the news of ſuch a ſally, upon the noiſe of ſuch a ſuccour: That he was very ſtrong in Horſe, wherefore his forces being ſoon joyned, it would be a very dangerous buſineſs to aſſault them: That it would be better therefore to ſecure the City for the preſent with the deſired ſuccour: That in the mean while the King would grow weary, ſo would his Nobility alſo; and many of them would abandon him, when they ſhould ſee the ſiege ſhould be again prolonged, and all hopes of coming to a battel loſt: That the ſharpneſs of the winter was yet very great; great the ſufferings in the Enemies Camp: And that therefore the Army of the League going now upon ſome more important deſign, and where they might be more commodiouſly lodged: they might afterward with greater advantage imploy themſelves to a total freeing of* Roan.

The Duke of *Parma* would have his opinion to yield to that of the Duke *Du Mayne's*; though he thought it a manifeſt error to loſe the preſent advantage in expectation of an uncertain futurity. Wherefore ſending 800 Foot to *Villars*, part French, part Walloons, the Duke made the Army ſuddenly turn back, and brought it almoſt in its former quarters from *Normandy* into *Picardy*. The King of *Navar* was this mean while on his march to relieve his Foot; and ſeeing the League's Army draw off, he thought that the Duke of *Parma* continued ſtill his former opinion of evading battel: wherefore aſſuming the more courage, for that he thought his Enemies cooled therein, he forthwith returned to remake the Trenches, which had been prejudiced in the ſally. He endeavoured to fortifie them better every where: and with all neceſſary proviſions applyed himſelf intentively to continue and to ſtraiten the ſiege on the other ſide. The Army of the League when it was entred into *Picardy*, and was got beyond the *Some* towards the confines of *Artois*, it was brought to beſiege the Town of *Rue*, a place ſeated low, and which together with the advantage of its ſituation, was made very ſtrong by works. This place was at the King of *Navar's* devotion; though almoſt all the reſt of the Province adhered unto the League. At the firſt begirting of it, they began their uſual work of Trenches, but ſlowly and reſervedly, that they might ſave their men as much as it was poſſible, and not to imploy them ſo much here, but that they might be alwaies ready to return again to *Roan* when the occaſion might peradventure require it; which was not very long before it did. For the King of *France* growing ſtill hotter upon that ſiege, the City grew into ſo great neceſſities, as it was reduced to the ſame danger as before. The Dukes of *Parma* and of *Mayne* were hereof advertiſed by *Villiers*, to *Ferreſe's* great aſtoniſhment, who could hardly perſwade himſelf that *Villiers* would have deſired ſo weak an aid in the former ſuccour, unleſs he had known he had not needed a greater. This mean while daily news is brought of the beſieged's neceſſities. And though what the Duke *Du Mayne* had gueſt at touching the diminiſhing of the Kings Army had partly proved true; yet were his forces ſufficient doubtleſſy to have taken *Roan*, if it had not been quickly relieved again. 'Twas thought the King had not then above 5000 Horſe, and 16000 Foot; wherein was comprehended 3000 which were lately come from *Holland* with ſome men of war, that they might the better command the River. But on the other ſide, the League's Army was likewiſe much leſſened. The Pope's Zwitſers were not above 000, and the change of Pope had made the Duke of *Montemarchiana* leave *France*, and almoſt all the reſt of that aid vaniſh. *Lorain's* Forces were likewiſe brought very low, and being ſo near *Artois*, many Walloons and Flemiſh were run away from the Army, and returned to their own homes. Yet was the League's Army as numerous as the King of *Navar's*, and

their Foot were much the beetter. Upon theſe terms were the Forces on both ſides when Monſieur *de Villiers* renued his deſires of being ſpeedily ſuccoured, with much more earneſtneſs then before; and proteſted openly afterwards, that if he were not relieved before the twentieth of *April* he ſhould be forced to deliver up the Town. Wherefore the Duke of *Parma*, riſing ſpeedily from before *Rue*, and paſſing the neereſt way over the *Some*, reentred *Normandy*, to come ſpeedily where the greateſt neceſſity of ſuccour required. He ſaw he muſt of neceſſity aſſault the Enemy within his Trenches, and conſequently come to a down right battel. Great certainly was the advantages which the Enemy had in his rampiers; but *Ferneſe* thought his advantage the greater, by the double aſſault which ſhould be given to the Enemy at one and the ſame time, by his Army without, and by the Gariſon within. The Duke of *Parma* drew near with this deſigne to *Roan*. He marched after his former faſhion, thinking that the King of *Navar* might peradventure meet nim, and rather chuſe to give battel in the open field to the Leagues Army alone, then adventure to receive and to ſuſtain the two afore mentioned aſſaults at one and the ſame time. At the hearing of the Duke of *Parma*'s march, the King was in great diſpute what to do. But conſidering well his Forces, and not thinking them ſuch, as that he was upon ſo great uncertainties to place all his hopes in them, he ſet aſide the more hardy advice; and for the preſent giving way to the more cautious, reſolved not to undergoe the hazard of either of both theſe bickerings. Wherefore he raiſed his Camp from before *Roan* on the 20 of *April*, and marching in great order to *Ponte d' Ark*, he ſtayed there to obſerve the enemies proceedings, and to do what ſhould make moſt for his advantage afterwards.

The King of *Navar* being gon from before *Roan*, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Main* preſently entred the Town, and ſtaid there the next day, to the great joy of all the Inhabitants who ran from all parts to meet them and to receive them. The Army was quartered in the neighbouring Towns, till they might conſider, and reſolve what deſigne to fall upon next. Concerning which there were ſeveral opinions in the Councel. But that which was moſt purſued, eſpecially by the French Commanders, was, that *Roan* not being to be reputed totally free till ſuch time as it had the free paſſage of the river, it was therefore neceſſary to take *Caudebeck* from the enemy; by which Town they might be always much prejudiced in receiving their victuals by way of the river. The Duke of *Parma* endeavoured upon all occaſions to ſecond the opinion of thoſe of the League, and particularly in working their advantages more in one part then in another of that Country, wherein he was not well vers'd. Though that reſolution was to prove the ruine of the whole Army, as ſhall be ſeen. The Duke turning to the aforeſaid ſiege of *Caudebeck*, incamped before it with his whole Army. This Town lies, as hath been ſaid, upon the right hand of the banks of *Seene*. It is three leagues diſtant from *Roan*; of an indifferent bigneſs, and without any conſiderable Fortification. Yet thoſe within the Town, ſeemed as if they would defend it: ſo as a battery muſt be prepared againſt it. The Duke of *Parma* for his better ſatisfaction, would go himſelf in perſon to diſcover the ſituation of the place. And whilſt in company of one *Propertio*, an Italian Ingeneer, and only three more (having advanced too far) he was obſerving the walls, it ſo fell out, as ſome within the Town giving fire to their Harquebuſes, he was wounded by one of them on the left arm, between the hand and the elbow. He ſaid not a word; nor ſeemed to be any ways concerned in the wound; but with ſingular ſufferance continued the work begun: when great ſtore of bloud was ſeen to fall from his arm, and he was neceſſitated to retire. Being come to his lodging, his wound was dreſt, and it was judged not to be mortal, but that the cure would be long and troubleſome. A great diſturbance inſued upon this accident throughout the whole Army: it not being known how the Government ſhould be ordered. The Duke *du Main* had the chiefeſt part in the general command: but the Duke of *Parma* would have the Prince his ſon, to command over all the *Flanders* Forces.

The former reſolution of forcing *Caudebeck* was thus continued, A great battery was planted againſt the walls, which quickly made a great breach: where-

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fore the next day the defendants began to parley, and upon good Conditions went out of the Town. The Duke of *Parma* was brought in thither that his wound might be the better tended; nor was there any resolution taken wherewith he was not acquainted. Good store of provision was found in *Caudebeck*; and the gaining of that Town, made the River more open in the behalf of *Roan*: though the Hollanders men of war did continually infest it. But this mean while new Forces flock'd continually to the King of *Navar*, and particularly the Nobility on horseback, out of new hopes of a field-battel, since the siege had succeeded unfortunately. The King hereby incouraged, went from *Pont d'Arke*, and began to inlarge himself in the field, intending to keep it as much as he could from the Leagues Army. The designe was to hinder them especially from that Pass which lies between the Rivers of *Seene* and *Diepe*, and which serves for the coming by land into the Peninsula of *Caux*, as hath been said. The Army of the League was of necessity to return by that way, as they should go out of *Normandy*, to re enter into *Picardy*. And this sort of opposition might certainly put it into great straits. After the taking of *Caudebeck*, the Duke *du Main*, and the Prince of *Parma*, with the approbation of the Duke his Father, led the Army to quarter more within the Country, and came to the Town of *Yuetot*, little more then an hours match from *Caudebeck*, that they might the better observe the King of *Navars* resolutions, and oppose themselves thereunto the best that they could. The Village was full of houses, and very advantagiously seated; and victuals might easily be brought thither from the *Seene*. Here then the Army staid, and to the natural strength thereof, they added such Fortifications by handy work as were necessary. By this the King of *Navar* judged that the Colleagues intended to quit *Normandy* as soon as they could; which he being desirous to hinder, advanced with all his Camp, and lodged not above a mile from where the Colleagues were. Here the King began likewise to fortifie himself; and at the same time to scoure the Country, to straiten it as much as he could from the enemies Camp. And he might very well do it: for the Nobility being come again from all parts to assist him, his Cavalry was increased to the number of 8 or 9 thousand horse: and his foot did likewise daily increase. This their so near neighbourhood occasioned continual skirmishes, each party endeavouring to advantage their own situations, that they might the more offend the like of the enemy. The King of *Navar* went not long after to lodge in another place, where he might keep the enemy much more from victuals. 'Twas evidently seen that his end was either to fight them upon great advantage, or to reduce them to such a scarcity of victuals, as he must at last have the victory without fighting. The Colleagues began to be much incommodated by these his last quarters. Wherefore not to be too much straitned neither in place nor in victuals, they were often forced to sally out in great bodies, in opposition of the Kings forces, which were by the King with incredible vigilancy kept in continual exercise. The skirmishes were therefore usually turned into parties; one of which happened to be so fierce and so long, as it was likely to have turned to a set battel. On one side the Duke *du Main*, and Duke *de Guise* were ingaged; and Prince *Ranuccio* on another, whose horse was slain under him, and his own person was evidently indangered. At the noise of this conflict, and for fear lest it might come to a general battel, came the Duke of *Parma* himself in person at last; being brought in a Chair, and afterwards set on horseback, not failing to be whereseever it was most needfull, though his wound did exceedingly pain him. But the coming on of night kept them from coming to an intire conflict: and it was seen that to come thereunto, each side desired either to have the greater advantage, or would not hazard greater losses. There were two Captains of Launces with the Prince who had particular occasion to signalize themselves: the one a Spaniard, *Carlo Colonna*; and the other an Italian, which was *Hannibal Bentivoglio* our brother, a youth of but 20 years old, who received a sore wound in his leg. This *Carlo Colonna* wrote the History of the Military Successes of *Flanders* which happened in the time of his own being there, in his own Language; a History very much esteemed of; and which hath made the Author so much more famous, for that he was ever after meritoriously employed by the King, not only in matters of

War, but also in Civil negotiations. Many hot conflicts insued upon this, neither side having much the better. Neither do we think it fitting to represent every particular success thereof here, that we may not too long defer the reassuming what more properly belongs to our particular History of *Flanders*. The King of *Navar* continued scouring the Country up and down every where, particularly where he might most incommodiate the Enemy in their victuals, wherein they already suffered exceeding much; Bread was sold at a very dear rate, and was not had without great difficulty; Forage for Horses grew every day scarcer; and all other sufferings were proportionable to that of victuals, throughout the whole Army. Wherefore many Souldiers began to disband; and all in generall to complain,

That their so many and so renowned labours should terminate in the miserable necessity of Famine. How much better would it be to dye with their swords in their hands, and by that way to attempt their return? So as the Enemy should not boast, at least, to have overcome without fighting, and glory in the triumph before they had well got the victory.

And this was the King of *Navars* mind: For it was apparently seen, that laying aside all thoughts of fighting, his only end was to reduce the Colleagues to the utmost extremity by Famine; and he seemed already not any wayes to doubt it. He considered that the Leagues Army, before they could come out of *Normandy*, and enter into *Picardy*, was of necessity to pass through the entrance into the aforesaid *Peninsula*; That that Pass was possest by his souldiers, and that the Colleagues could not without manifest ruine force their way through that passage. There remained then only the passage over the *Sene*: But how difficult and how dangerous would this be likewise to them? since they were to pass over a River of so great a breadth and depth, continually infested with the alternate ebbing and flowing of the Sea; and being flanked with so powerfull an Army as was his. By reason of which straits on both sides, the King thought he had the victory so sure, as (as I said before) he made no doubt of it. The Duke of *Parma* did also very well know all these difficulties; and weighing them together, resolved at last to pass over the River, and to put his Army into safety. Nor did he any whit delay the doing thereof; for the necessities of his Camp were grown to that extremity, as it began to threaten an intire dissipation, unless some opportune remedy might quickly be found. Having therefore secretly communicated this his mind to the Duke *Du Mayn*, to Prince *Ranuccbio*, and to some few others who were to be actors in the business, he in the first place resolved to draw near the River, the better to facilitate all such preparations as was necessary for that end. The Colleagues were, as it hath been said, in *Yvetot*, which was a good way from the River. *Ferneſe* going then from thence, went to another place within less then a mile off *Candebeck*, where he likewise fortified himself as well as he could. On the other side the King of *Navar* failed not immediately to draw near unto him; so as continual skirmishes, and parties were had as before. This mean while such provisions were made as were requisite for passing over the River, as *Ferneſe* had designed. Wherefore not able to defer it any longer, he ordered it thus. With great speed he caused two Forts to be raised upon the two shores, one over against the other: Into that which was on the shore next the Army, he put Count *Bossu* with 800 Foot of his Walloon Regiment; and into that on the contrary side he put Campmaster *Barlotta* with as many of his Regiment of the same Nation also; and he furnished both these Forts with some Peeces of Artillery, whereby to secure the Barks wherein the Army was to pass. The Forts being thus raised and provided, he caused a great many great Barks, and some of a middle size, fall down from *Roan*, which were made of such a form as was needfull for the said design: There were some flat-bottom'd, like to Floats, for the better transporting of the Artillery; and all these greater Barks were accompanied by lesser Boats with oars, which were to serve to make the passage of the greater the more easie. On the 22. of *May* all these Barks came to the place destin'd for the passage; nor did the Duke of *Parma* delay one moment the putting of it in execution. That very night he past over all the French Horse, and the next day almost all the Flanders Foot; some part thereof staid on this side the River, to

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cozen the King of *Navar*, by feigning to make the wonted skirmiſhes, and to make him believe that they would go to ſome other quarters. And becauſe the Barks would have been too long in conveying over the whole Army, almoſt all the Flanders Horſe, the Baggage, and the Artillery were ſuddenly ſent to *Roan*, to enjoy, as afterwards they did, the commodity of the Bridge before ſpoke of, and which was patcht up in the broken parts thereof in ſuch ſort as neceſſity upon ſuch an occaſion could permit. The next day, as the Kings Horſ-men were making their wonted excurſions, they were at laſt aware that the Enemies Army were paſſing over the River. The King was mad to hear of this, eſpecially when he knew that there were but few left on this ſide the River, and that thoſe were ſheltred by the Fort raiſed on the ſame ſide. He without delay picked out a ſelect number of Horſe, and came to the River, to ſee if he could rout the aforeſaid men, who were all *Spaniards* and *Italians*. But he found them ſo valiantly ſuſtained by Prince *Ranucchio*, and ſo well defended by the Fort, as he could no wayes impede their paſſage. To perfect the buſineſs, the Duke of *Parma* would have his ſon the Prince bring off the Rear; who imbarking that remainder, paſt them all ſafely over: And the like inſued to the other Souldiers who were in the Fort, and to the Artillery which defended it. Yet the King cauſing ſome of his Cannon be brought to a certain place which did moſt command the River, endeavoured to ſink thoſe Boats wherein the reſidue of the Dukes men were; and ſome of thoſe Boats which were come from *Holland* came likewiſe up, and endeavoured to hinder the paſſage. But all was in vain: For finally the Prince landed himſelf, and all the reſt of his men ſafe on the other ſhore; and preſently ſet all the Barks on fire, to bereave the Enemy of making uſe of them in paſſing over the River alſo.

The King of *Navar* was ſtill mightily incenſt, to ſee that Victory eſcape him which he made ſo ſure of. He was minded to paſs over the *Pont d'Ark*, to encounter the Enemy again, or at leaſt to infeſt them as much as he could in the Rear. But the compaſs being great which he was to make, and the Foot not being able to follow the Horſe ſo faſt, which of themſelves alone were not able to reduce the Enemy into ſtraits, he did not any thing more againſt them. When the Army of the League was paſt over the River, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayn* ſuſpected leſt the King of *Navar* might fall upon the aforeſaid reſolution of paſſing over the *Pont d'Ark*: They therefore went far from the River, and quartered in a Village called *Newburgh*, more within land. From hence *Du Mayn* went with ſome Forces to *Rohan*, the better to ſecure the affairs of that City by his own preſence, whilſt the King of *Navar* kept ſtill thereabouts with ſo great a ſtrength. And *Ferneſe* purſued his Retreat, marching ſtill in very great order; till being come into the Country of *Brye*, contiguous to *Champania*, he thought he might with more commodiouſneſs and ſafety make leſs haſte out of *France*. Being come to the Confines, he left certain Foot and Horſe under the Command of Monſieur *Rony*, to be diſpoſed of in the Leagues ſervice, as the Duke *Du Mayn* ſhould appoint him. And from thence entring *Flanders*, he went again to the *Spaw*, being thereunto invited by the hot weather which already began: But with ſmall hopes of getting any good by it for his infirmity, which ſince his wound grew every day greater. He was much afflicted at this his bodily weakneſs, being thereby deprived of following the moſt neceſſary military actions, which he had formerly indefatigably undergone in his own perſon. But he was chiefly vexed to ſee how much evil the diverſions of *France* had occaſioned to the affairs of *Flanders*; and that the King of *Spain* did ſtill perſiſt more then ever in his deſire of ſuccouring the League; and that to that purpoſe he was again to paſs into *France* as ſoon as he could. At his arrival in *Flanders* he found a mutiny of the *Italians* on foot; and that Count *Maurice* had ſtraightly beſieged *Stenwick*, a place of importance towards *Frieſland*, on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. *Maurice* did luſtily begirt it on all ſides; and having firſt fortified himſelf without to keep the Kings men from bringing relief, he omitted no diligence in making inward advancements. He plaid upon the Town furiouſly from divers parts with his Artillery: And though the beſieged were not wanting in making reſiſtance by frequent Sallies, and by all other ſtout reſiſtance, yet it was known the Town could

could not long hold out, without some succour. The siege was at this pass when the Duke of *Parma* arrived in *Flanders*. He had left a good many men in *France*; and the remainder were so lessened, and so out of order by reason of so many sufferings, as they were not in any condition of undergoing new ones. The Duke endeavoured notwithstanding that all means should be used to relieve the Town. And *Verdugo* did likewise labour in it with his wonted diligence and industry. But his assistance was so weak, and came so late, as the besieged not being able to hold out any longer, were at last inforced to yield. *Maurice* won much honour by the getting of this place, and it was a great advantage to the Confederate Provinces in those parts. Nor did they stop here: Count *Maurice* turned presently upon the Fort of *Cowreden*, which was in the Kings possession, and guarded a pass of great moment thereabouts: and did so narrowly besiege it, as those within wanting many necessaries for defence, and withall having no hopes of succour, they were at last forced to quit the place.

Much afflicted at these losses, the Duke of *Parma* came to *Brussels* about the midst of *October*; at his arrival in *Flanders*, the Prince his son departed from those Countries to return for *Italy*. And the Duke being grown so very weak, as he thought he could not continue his Military labours in that Government, he very much prest the King for leave to quit it. But the King thought not good to condescend thereunto: hoping that the Duke might yet again pass once more into *France*: and knowing of what importance his very presence would be there. On the other side the King knew in what a languishing condition of health the Duke was: he knew how he was affected with the Dropsie, which was become now incurable; and that it was likely some time or other to prove his death. Wherefore the King thought it necessary to send some personage of worth and esteem into *Flanders*, who might more attentively observe the Dukes condition, and might likewise have such Commissions about him from the King, as should be thought fittest to be put in execution, as well in consideration of the Dukes great want of health, as also in case the Duke should die. To this purpose he sent away *John Pachecco*, Marquis of *Ceralva*, who died before he got out of *Spain*; wherefore he was fain to send another in his place, which was *Pietro Henrichuz di Azevedo*, Count of *Fuentes*: This mean while the King being earnestly requested by those of the League in *France*, had commanded the Duke of *Parma*, that he should prepare to go again into that Kingdom, with as great a strength as his occasions in *Flanders* would permit him. In performance whereof the Duke gave out present orders for the raising of new men, as he had formerly done. And going from *Brussels*, went to *Arras*, that he might be as soon as might be on the neareſt Confines of *France*, and give the greater incouragement to the business. Here through the strength and vertue of his mind, he continued as much as possibly he could to govern the weakness and languor of his body. He was indefatigable in his negotiations, and more by night then by day. And as if he scorn'd to yield to nature, which made him now unable for any exercise, he would sometimes appear on horseback, and did strive to deceive himself by going on foot. Thus did he persevere to do for some time. And in the interim Count *Fuentes* arrived in *Flanders*: who prepared to go from *Brussels*, to find out the Duke at *Arras*; but he could not come time enough; for the Duke, not able to hold out any longer, and knowing himself first to be dead, before he would, as it were confess himself to be mortal, breathed forth his very last spirits about the beginning of *December*. Thus ended *Alexander Ferneſe*, Duke of *Parma*, in the 47 year of his age. The Pontifical greatness of *Paul* the third, placed the Title of Prince in his house. This *Alexander* being from his birth highly minded, began to give all signes thereof even in his childhood. Whilst yet a youth, he went to the Court of *Spain*, to give the greater pawn of his dependancy unto the King: and consequently to obtain the livelyer effects of protection from him. But passing quickly from the Courtier to the Souldier, he laid the first foundation thereof under *Don John* of *Austria*, upon the memorable occasion of the League against the *Turk*. Even then he gave such proofs of his warlike spirit, that amongst the richest choice of Commanders that Christendom had in that enterprise, he was chosen to take in *Navarino*, one of the most considerable places of all the Eastern

ſtern Seas. *Don John* being afterwards made Governour of the Low-Countries; he at the firſt news of the revolts which aroſe there, haſted, as hath been ſaid, to find out *Don John*. And ſo behaved himſelf in every Military action, as it was queſtioned whether he had better performed the quality of a common ſouldier, or the greater prerogatives of a Commander. Succeeding afterwards himſelf in the ſame Government, it ſeemed *Don John* did ſtill ſurvive in him: ſo near were they ally'd no leſs in affection then in bloud, and ſo conformable were they both in their years, in their conditions, and in their valour. Whilſt *Ferneſe* fought amongſt the Flemiſh, his Forces were almoſt always waited upon by great good ſucceſs; but being forced to paſs divers times into *France*, he was neceſſitated to ſee the Kings affairs in *Flanders* mightily decline. For what concerns the reputation of his Military profeſſion, none hath more in *France* then he, for the two ſo memorable Succours of *Paris* and *Roan*: And finally his glorious Retreat from *Caudebeck*, won more renown unto him without fighting, then if he had joyned battel in each of thoſe actions, and had overcome. He was indeed a gallant Commander: and doubtleſly of ſo clear a fame, as his renown may rank him amongſt the moſt cry'd up Chieftains of Antiquity, and render his memory ſo reverenced in the preſent age, as to make him be admired by poſterity.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK I.

The Contents.

Count Peter Ernestus Mansfield *succeeds the Duke of* Parma *in the Government of* Flanders. *He sends his son Count* Charls *into* Picardy; *where joyning with the Duke du* Main, *they besiege and take the Town of* Noyon. *But the Spaniards in that army, mutiny awhile after in the Town of St* Paul *in* Artois. *Count* Maurice *makes use of this; he strongly besieges St* Getringberg, *and takes it. Mansfield having in vain endeavoured to relieve it. Disorders increase in the Kings Army by another mutiny of Italians and Walloons, at* Pont *in* Hennault. *Archduke* Ernestus *comes to* Flanders, *and is by the King declared Governour thereof. A new expedition of Count* Charls *in* Picardy, *with the taking of* La Chapelle. *The Archduke indeavours a Treaty of peace with the enemy. But they reject all Treaties. Not long after they besiege* Groninghen, *which after some opposition is taken by Count* Maurice. *The King of* Navar *declares himself a Catholick. And the League languisheth. The King enters with great forces into* Picardy. *He besieges* Laon. Du Main *and* Mansfield *march to relieve it. But cannot doe*

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it. Their noble retreat in the face of the King. This mean while another Mutiny happens amongst the Italians *in* Flanders, *who take the Town of* Sichen. *The Archduke endeavours to break the Mutiny by force; and not being able to doe it, comes to composition. The Confederate Provinces endeavour to find a nearer way by Sea to the* East-Indies *by the North. The design succeeds not. It is briefly touched how they entred by the usual way into the* East-Indies, *and afterwards into the* West. *Archduke* Ernestus *dies, and leaves the Government of those Provinces to Count* Fuentes.

Anno 1593.

BY Commissions from the King of *Spain*, which were brought by Count *Fuentes* into *Flanders*, it was ordered, That if the Duke of *Parma* should chance to dye, the Government should remain in Count *Peter Ernestus*, in the same manner as it had been in the Dukes two precedent expeditions into *France*: That his son Count *Charls* should still keep the chief management of the Forces; that he should continue to give all possible assistance to the League in *France*; and that the greatest endeavours being made on that side, it should suffice to stand only upon the defence on the Kings part in the affairs of *Flanders*. These Orders being come from the King, the first thing Count *Peter Ernestus* did, was to dispatch away his Son with new Forces into *France*, to boot with those that were there already in behalf of the League. The Duke *Du Mayn* prest very much for these succours; and that he might the sooner receive it, he himself was already gone into *Picardy*. Count *Fuentes* was in the first Place with *Mansfield*; and bore such a sway with him, as the power of Government seemed to be more in *Fuentes* then in *Mansfield*. *Fuentes* then remained chief Superintendent in *Flanders*; and Count *Charls* past into *France* with 6000 Foot and 1000 Horse, part old souldiers, part new men but then raised. You heard before, how that the Duke of *Parma*, that he might have a safe retreat upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, had in his second expedition the Town of *Fera* delivered into his hands. Here Count *Charls* made his rendezvouz, and here did the Duke *Du Mayn* joyn with him. Between the *Flanders* Forces, and those of *France* which depended upon the League, was framed an Army of 15000 Foot and 3000 Horse; and in the beginning of *March*, in the year 1593. the Camp moved against *Noyon*, which is not far from *La Fera*. It is a Town very much peopled; it hath a Bishops See in it, and certain other circumstances which makes it be esteemed one of the most considerable places of all *Picardy*. *Noyon* adhered to the King of *Navar*, and was of much advantage to him in that part of the Province which lies neareſt *Paris*. For all things else, it was not so strong, neither by nature, nor by industry, nor by the condition of the people or garrison, but that it might be soon won. A little Rivolet runs through it, which not far from the City falls into the *Oyse*. When the Army of the League had begirt *Noyon*, they began to fortifie their quarters towards the field, lest the King of *Navar* might endeavour to succour the Town; then according to custome they fell to work upon their Trenches, and to prepare for Battery. The ground was rather moyst then dry on the one side; and therefore they began their works there, where the ground would best permit them so to doe. The two Camps contended in the making of them; and especially in that of *Flanders*, the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans* and *Walloons* strove according as usually to outdoe one another in opening and in advancing the Trenches. The besieged made some sallies, but with weak forces, and weaker courage: by which it was judged the City was not in condition to make any long resistance. One of their best defences was a Ravelin without the walls, built about with good stone, and furnisht with a Platform. The Batteries were therefore chiefly turn'd upon that Ravelin: Nor was it long ere they fell with their Trenches into the Ditch; where Mines being joyn'd to the Batteries, so great a breach was soon made in the Ravelin, as it was now thought fitting to make an assault. Which hapned luckily. The *Spaniards* and *Walloons* did herein particularly signalize themselves; and of all others, the Camp-masters *Luis Velasco* a Spaniard, and *Claudius Barlotta* a Walloon: *Barlotta* and divers

others

others were wounded, and ſome were ſlain. The Ravelin being taken, thoſe that won it lodged there; and planted ſome peeces of Artillery upon it, to play upon the Town nearer hand, and with the more terror. A certain ſtrength of Horſe and Foot was ſtill maintained by the Apoſtolike Sea, who were commanded by *Appius Conti*, who plaid his part valiantly. But a quarrel ariſing between him and the Baron *Chateaubrain* a Lorainer, and Colonel of the Germans, and falling from words to blows, *Appius* was wounded, whereupon he quickly dyed; to the grief of the Army, which held him in great eſteem. This occaſioned ſome diſorder in the Pontificials; for *Chateaubrain's* German Regiment was maintained by the monies of the Apoſtolike Sea. Yet was the Siege ſo hotly continued by all parties, as thoſe within were within a few dayes reduced to parley; and at laſt yielded upon honorable terms, their hopes of ſuccour failing them, though the King of *Navar* had often endeavoured it, but more by ſtealth then openly.

After the taking of *Noyon*, the Duke *Du Mayne* went ſuddenly towards *Paris*. The Catholick States-Generall which followed the League, were then met in that City; and this meeting was chiefly had for the chuſing of a King that would be obedient to the Church, and who would preſerve that Kingdom in the antient Religion. The two aforenamed Officers of State, *Mendoſa* and *Taſſis*, were then in *Paris* for the King of *Spains* ſervice in the buſineſs then on foot; and a little before Don *Diego d'Yvara* was come thither likewiſe on his behalf, a man of courege, and who was likewiſe thought very fit for the conducting of that buſineſs. But to give it the greater reputation and advantage, the Duke of *Feria* was at laſt ſent by the King of *Spain* to *Paris*; A perſonage who to the prerogative of his family had the addition of all others which upon ſuch an occaſion were to be deſired. Their chief endeavour was to overthrow the Law Salique, which excludes Women from ſucceeding to that Crown. In which caſe the Infanta *Iſabella* the Kings eldeſt daughter was to have ſucceeded, as daughter to Queen *Iſabella*, who was the eldeſt daughter to *Henry* the 2. King of *France*, and who had been formerly wife to the King of *Spain*. And as for a Husband for the *Infanta*, ſince ſhe could not have one of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as the King her Father would have deſired (but it may be all in vain, by reaſon of the invincible repugnance of the *French*) it was diſcovered that in ſuch a caſe the King would condeſcend to the choice of ſome one of that Nation, and particularly of the Houſe of *Lorain*, upon which the League in *France* was chiefly built. It was foreſeen by all the aforeſaid Agents how much advantagious it would be for the maintaining their negotiation, that the *Flanders* Forces which entred *France* in favour of the League ſhould be vigorous: wherefore they preſt this point hard upon the Governour *Mansfield*, and upon *Fuentes*, who (as we have ſaid) was next under him. But theſe on the contrary repreſented, That the affairs of *Flanders* were not to be abandoned; that the Enemy began already to move with potent Forces on that ſide; and that it behoved to maintain the Kings cauſe there likewiſe as much as might be. And yet the event ſhewed in a ſhort while, that the thus dividing of the Kings forces, did ſo weaken and diſorder them, as that they did little or no good in *France*, and were the cauſe of very great loſſes in *Flanders*. And that which greatly increaſed the diſorders was, that almoſt at the ſame time divers Mutinies broke forth; by occaſion whereof the King of *Spain* was more indammaged by his own Souldiers, then by his Enemies.

Now to return to the affairs of *Picardy*. When the Duke *Du Mayn* was gone from *Picardy*, Count *Charls* parted from thence likewiſe, and went with his Camp towards the Sea-ſide, into the lower parts of that Province, where there were yet ſome places which held for the King of *Navar*; and eſpecially the Caſtle of *Rue*, ſtrong both by ſituation and handy-work, as hath been ſaid: And becauſe to beſiege it, would be a buſineſs of long time, and which did require greater Forces then Count *Charls* had with him, he therefore contented himſelf with making eaſier acquiſitions. *Hembercourt*, a weak place, and more within land; and S. *Vallery*, more conſiderable as being ſeated upon the *Some* where that River falls into the Sea, fell into his hands. Here when the Count would have made

further progreſs, he muſt ſheath his ſword by reaſon of a Truce which was at that time made for three moneths, between the King of *Navar* and the Duke *Du Mayne*. Arms being laid aſide in *Picardy*, the Count diſtributed his Army in the parts of that Province which lay towards *Artois*. The expences which the King of *Spain* was then at in *France* was exceſſive: wherefore the Souldiers being but ſlowly paid, it was impoſſible to keep them from rapine; ſo as thoſe parts found more of damage by the ceſſation of Arms, then they had done in the time of war. Neither did the miſchief reſt here, licentiouſneſs increaſing every day, and pillage degenerating by degrees into diſobedience, at laſt they fell into divers mutinies: The firſt fell out amongſt the *Spaniards*; which being firſt practiſed with great ſecreſie, was ſoon after concluded; and except it were the Officers, and ſome Souldiers of more reſpect then the reſt, it was exactly performed by all others. They murmured, according as is uſual, to ſee their labours ſo ill requited: And to honeſt their Error, they endeavoured to excuſe it by Neceſſity. Having then gathered together a ſufficient number of men and horſe, they deſigned to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome of the neareſt Towns in *Artois*, and there afterwards to fortifie and defend themſelves, and to draw all the Country thereabouts into contribution for their maintenance, till they ſhould receive full ſatisfaction for their pay. The Town *St. Paul* was pitcht upon for a very fitting place to this purpoſe. Going therefore unexpectedly thither, and not meeting with almoſt any reſiſtance, they fixed there. At the firſt hearing of this riot, Count *Charls* was minded to reduce them by force: But doubting afterwards, that when the reſt of the Nations, being come nearer them, ſhould more narrowly conſider the *Spaniards* deſign, they would rather imitate then impede it, he thought it better to ſhun ſo great a hazard: Which ſerved to defer, but not to evade the danger, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place. Theſe were the ſucceſſes of the King of *Spain's* Forces upon that Frontier of *France*.

And now to proceed with the peculiar affairs of *Flanders*: The United *Flemiſh* failed not to make uſe of this occaſion which made ſo much for their advantage. The Duke of *Parma* being dead, and finding the King more eager then ever in his deſigns upon *France*, they uſed all the means they could to be early in the field with a potent Army. Wherefore the winter being over, and Count *Charls* being gone with ſo great a part of the Army into *Picardy*, Count *Maurice* deferred not moving, but diſcovered his deſign of entring with his Forces into *Brabant*. He deſired particularly to ſecure *Breda* better, as a place which belonged properly to his Family; and which had ſo luckily fallen into his hands by ſurpriſal, as you have heard. And being of opinion that the too neer neighbourhood of St. *Getrinberg* did threaten continual danger thereunto, he therefore adviſed that by all means that Town might be likewiſe recovered; and ſo that firſt acquiſition be the better aſcertained, by the advantages which this ſecond would bring with it, which would certainly be very great by the importancie of ſuch a place. This opinion of Count *Maurice* was very much approved by the Councel of War of the Confederate Provinces. The buſineſs being therfore reſolved upon by the publike authority of the whole Union, he forthwith applied himſelf to make ſuch proviſions as were requiſite for ſuch a deſign. He uſed all means he could to keep the Royaliſts from being aware of it. Marching ſeveral wayes, he ſeemed as if his intentions were to turn now upon *Groninghen* towards *Frieſland*, now upon *Sluce* or *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, and now upon *Balduke* or *Graves* in *Brabant*. The Royaliſts therefore ran from all parts to defend theſe places. Wherefore their Forces being the weaker by being divided, St. *Getrinberg* could not conſequently be ſo provided as was fitting to ſuſtain the ſiege which was afterwards laid unto it. At laſt *Maurice* diſcovering his true deſign, threw himſelf ſuddenly into *Brabant*, and began to fall to work with very great Forces both by land and water. St. *Getrinberg* lies towards that out-skirt of *Brabant* which is ſubject to *Holland*: The ſeat thereof is very ſtrong; it hath the *Mauſe* on the one ſide, with its name turned into *Merwe*, and of ſuch a breadth, as being there ready to fall into the Ocean, the Channel thereof ſeems rather a Sea then a River. There falls alſo into *Merwe* on another ſide, another little River of but a ſhort courſe, called *Donge*, and it terminates the courſe neer the walls of that Town; yet is the bed thereof

alſo

alſo ſo broad and ſo deep, as it is capable of any whatſoever Veſſel. The other places thereabouts are likewiſe ſo lowly ſituated, as men walk more upon the top of the banks, then upon the plain ground. The manual fortification is anſwerable to this of ſituation: wherefore by reaſon of theſe prerogatives, this place is held to be of greateſt concernment not only in *Brabant* or *Holland*, but even in any other Province of *Flanders*. *Maurice* being then incamped with the ſaid Forces before St. *Getrinberg*, he begirt the Town on the land-ſide with divers well comparted Quarters; and he added thereunto a good number of Boats by water, to block it the better up on that ſide alſo, and to end his work the ſooner. In every Quarter he began a Fort-Royal, intending to joyn them together with other ſmaller Forts, and to make Trenches and Ditches from all theſe on all ſides, ſo as the whole outward Line ſhould be perfectly incloſed and munited. In the inward Line alſo the like care was had of flanking and fortifying it where it was the moſt needfull, the better to curb the beſieged. And becauſe all theſe Works required extraordinary diligence and labour, Count *Maurice* had with him in his Army above 3000 Pioners, who were only to be imployed in digging Ditches, in raiſing Trenches, making Forts, and in doing whatſoever elſe the Siege required of manual work. This was the firſt Siege which was undertaken by Prince *Maurice* in a more exact form then all others till this time; and in the ſucceſs whereof he propounded greateſt difficulty unto himſelf. He therefore deſired very much to effect it; that by the taking of ſuch a place, the fame which he had already won in military affairs might be increaſed. The aforeſaid Works were then begun, and purſued with incredible diligence: And the Souldiers often vying with the Pioners in their labour, and one Commander with another, and *Maurice* himſelf with them all, they had ſoon raiſed the outward Fortifications in ſuch ſort, as they had ſmall cauſe to fear any harm that the Kings men could doe them. And *Maurice* had all the commodity he could deſire fully to perfect both the outward and the inward Line. And truly till then there had hardly been ſeen any ſuch works. The Forts were raiſed very high with earth; the Trenches and Ditches were every where anſwerable: Many great Paliſadoes were added for the greater ſecurity in divers places; and every Fort was well furniſhed with Artillery. So as the place was invironed with almoſt as noble Fortifications as any it ſelf had. And yet the more to take from the Kings men all hopes of ſuccouring it, *Maurice* made the land be overflown in divers parts, to make the difficulty the greater in endeavouring it.

Thus was the Siege ordered. In the Town which was beſieged, there were about 600 *Burgenians*, and 400 *Walloons*; good men, but not enough for the preſent occaſion, nor the condition of the ſiege. Monſieur *de Meſſiers* commanded the Garriſon of the Town in ſtead of Signor *di Vatervid*, who was Governor of the place, and who upon ſome occaſions of his own was then in *Spain*. To boot with the want of Souldiers, the City was not ſufficiently provided of victuals, nor of warlike ammunition to make ſuch defence as was needfull. When the Enemies Camp appeared, *Meſſiers* gave a preſent account to *Mansfield* of what condition the Town was in, and preſt him very much for ſpeedy ſuccour: Nor did he forbear providing the mean while to make ſuch preparation for reſiſtance, as became a valiant and faithfull Commander to doe. He made the Townſmen labour together with the Souldiers; he reviewed the Place very attentively, and endeavoured to put it into ſuch a poſture, as that *Mansfield* might have time to prepare ſuccour, and to endeavour how to introduce it. On the other ſide, Count *Maurice* thinking that his outward Fortifications were ſufficient to keep him from ſo doing, bent himſelf with all his might againſt the Town within. When the Duke of *Parma* had got the Town, he cauſed a Fort to be raiſed upon the chiefeſt Bank on the ſide of *Donge*. The Fort was near enough the Town, and guarded a Paſs of great importance. From the very firſt that *Maurice* had begun the Siege, he had propounded unto himſelf to take this Fort; which from the name of a neighbouring Village was called the Fort of *Steenlo*: And giving the care thereof to Count *Hollack*, the few Souldiers that were within it having made a ſlender reſiſtance, abandoned it. From this Fort *Maurice* began to ply the Town with Cannon-ſhot; nor contented with ſeveral Batteries by Land, he

did the like by water; loading to that purpoſe many ſhips with great guns, which were placed on the one ſide in the *Donge*, and on the other in fitting places in the *Merwe* and were well joyned together. The Town was continually plaid upon with above 60 piece of Canon.

Amidſt theſe hard dealings which the beſieged met withall on all ſides, they did not notwithſtanding omit manfully to defend themſelves. They oft-times ſallied boldly out upon the enemy: and ſupplying their paucity in number with their valour, they endeavoured to hinder their works as much as they could, and to uſe all other means to retard the ſiege. *Meſſieres* was the firſt, no leſs in pains taking then in command; being both within and without continually where occaſion moſt required. But with unfortunate ſucceſs at laſt; for ere many days were over, he was ſlain with a Canon-ſhot. The Gariſon ſubſtituted Monſieur *de Giſan* in his place, who was the eldeſt Captain, and held for the valianteſt; who failed not to continue the like diligence and labour. The Town was notwithſtanding ſtraitned every day more then other, and the danger of the loſs thereof every day increaſed, unleſs it were all the ſooner relieved; which both General *Mansfield* and Count *Fuentes* had from the firſt beginning of the ſiege effectually apply'd themſelves unto. But the Kings Forces were ſo weakened by the diverſion of *France*, as it was requiſite to recruit them with new levies both of horſe and foot; and this could not be done without time, and many other difficulties. *Mansfield* had therefore given out orders for the ſpeedy raiſing of Germans, Lorainers, and Burgonians, and took divers Flemiſh and Walloons into pay within the Country alſo. To boot with theſe proviſions of men he provided likewiſe for all other things that were neceſſary. And paſſing with *Fuentes* into *Antwerp*, that he might be the nearer bringing relief, he reſolved to go from thence immediately about it. But by reaſon of the aforeſaid difficulties, his marching thitherward proved ſo late, as it was judged almoſt impoſſible to force thoſe Fortifications which the enemy had ſo advantagiouſly raiſed againſt the Town. Amongſt the Maxims of War, none is more practiſed then to endeavour to raiſe one ſiege by the diverſion of another. The Commanders who were with *Mansfield* did therefore conſult whether that it were not better to beſiege *Breda*, then to endeavour the relief of *Getringberg*; ſo to force *Maurice* to raiſe that ſiege, the better to defend himſelf from the danger of the other. To perſwade unto the diverſion, it was ſhewed how well the enemies had fortified themſelves; and how well their Trenches were munited on all ſides; in ſo much as there being but very ſmall hope of ever overcoming them, it would be but in vain to endeavour it. That therefore the only means was to try a diverſion; to which purpoſe none was more fit then to ſit down before *Breda* with all the Kings Forces. It was repreſented that *Breda* was of ſo great concernment both in reſpect of the publick union, as alſo for Count *Maurice* his private conſiderations, as doubtleſly the enemy would not ſuffer ſuch a place to be loſt; wherefore it was to be believed that *Maurice* would raiſe the preſent ſiege, and preſently run to diſturb the other. And finally it was taken for granted that the enemy had come with ſo great Forces before St *Getringberg*, as it was to be believed *Breda* was but ill provided for, and therefore the Kings men ſhould be the better incouraged to go againſt it. But many other weighty reaſons were urged to the contrary. And firſt it was ſaid that the enemy were already ſo advanced in their ſiege, as they would not by any means abandon it. And that therefore it was the rather to be believed, that when they ſhould ſee *Breda* threatned, they would lay the cloſer ſiege to St *Getringberg*, ſo to make themſelves the ſooner Maſters of it, and afterwards apply themſelves ſuddenly to relieve *Breda*. It was added that they might eaſily do the one or the other; for that if St. *Getringberg* were not quickly ſuccoured, the Town would be ſurrendred before *Breda* could be well beſieged; and that then the enemy might turn with all their Forces to the defence thereof. That this way of oppugning was of it ſelf to be thought very difficult; for that the enemy ſince the ſurpriſal of *Breda*, had fortified it, and provided better for it; and was affirmed that in reaſon of war, the Kings Army was not to be brought between ſuch a Town, and ſo great Forces as were in the enemies Camp. Through all theſe contrarieties it was reſolved that the better courſe would be, to endeavour by all means poſſible

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to relieve St *Getringberg*: for that peradventure the difficulties in doing it would not prove so great as was thought for; and that howsoever they ought rather to endeavour the succour, though in vain, then by undertaking a vain siege be doubly shamed by the loss of *Getringberg*, and by the not getting of *Breda*. These last reasons prevailed in the Councel of War. To boot that the Kings then Forces being well considered, they were not thought to be such, as whereupon to ground so weighty a designe, in hopes to execute it. For when *Mansfield* had sufficiently provided for all such places as it was judged the enemy might assail, he could not muster above 8000 foot, and 2500 horse. Resolving then howsoever, to endeavour the relief with these men, he pitched upon *Turnault* for his Rendezvouz, and brought his Camp thither about the end of *May*. *Turnault* is an open Village, but the greatest and most populated that is in all *Brabant*. It lies in equal distance, almost a days journey from *Antwerp*, and from *Getringberg*. Here again it was taken into consideration by the Kings Camp, on which side they should meet with least difficulty in bringing in the succour. And through Intelligence which they had, they resolved to go with all their men into *Steelounе*, which lay near the enemies Trenches. On this side they resolved to assail them, though they had small hopes or none of doing any good. For making the Trenches he surveyed on several sides, they found them to be so strong, as the enemy had no reason to fear any thing. And to this was added the inundation almost on all sides, with which it was first to be contended, before they could come to try the Trenches. *Mansfield* passed notwithstanding from *Steelounе* with all his Army divided into squadrons, and halted in sight of the Quarter where *Maurice* himself was lodged; where a certain point of a chief Dike stood out which was fortified by a great Trench; which *Mansfield* would endeavour to take from the enemy, as he by assault did, but not without much adoe, by reason of the opposition of the water, and of those that did defend it: but he soon lost it again, and therewithall all hopes of effecting the succour on that side. Upon these occasions some skirmishes happened between the two Camps: and *Mansfield* staying but a little while there, went to the Village of *Waestech*, towards which Count *Hollack* was quartered. The Kings Army was not well got thither, when it was unexpectedly set upon in the reer by 800 of the enemies horse, who were come to this purpose a little before out of *Breda*, and who put their quarters into some confusion; but suddenly re-ordering themselves, and opposing the enemy, they beat them back, and with some slaughter put to flight. They then with all diligence endeavoured the succour on this side; to facilitate the which, *Mansfield* sent for some further provisions, and particularly for some Artillery from *Antwerp*. But the difficulties appeared alike here also. All this while Count *Maurice* slack'd not his proceedings against the Town on the inside. One battery play'd continually after another, and oft-times they thundred all together. And the enemy falling out of their Trenches were already lodged in the Ditch; which being very large and deep, *Maurice* had formerly caused the water to be drained from thence, and drawn into lower situations. Wherefore the besieged found themselves not only weakened in their defences, but in danger to lose them. Nor was it long ere they lost a Ravelin, against which *Maurice* had made a great battery, and accompanied it with a fierce assault: yet did the defendants make valiant resistance: and *Gesan* their Commander in chief dyed in so doing. But the Town not being able to hold out longer of it self, and no succour appearing from abroad, they treated of surrendring, which upon good conditions was done about the latter end of *June*.

Count *Maurice* being entred into *Getrinberg*, and made all fitting provisions for the City, he distributed his men into the adjacent parts, that he might observe the Royalists designs, and oppose them the best he might. This mean while the aboveсaid Recruit which *Mansfield* expected, was come from *Antwerp*. Wherefore desirous to try whether he could make any acquisition, which might at least in some part make amends for so great a loss; he resolved to turn upon the Fort of *Crevecoeur*. This Fort is situated upon the mouth of a River called *Demel*: which taking its rise in *Brabant*, and having past through the City of *Balduke*, or the *Busse*, falls about a league from thence into the *Mause*. The Country thereabouts

thereabouts was infeſted from this Fort, and particularly *Balduke* was thereby indammaged; great was the advantage moreover which the Enemy received from it, by the further command of the River. *Mansfield* advancing with his Army, made ſome of his men draw nearer the Fort, intending to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome convenient ſeat. Theſe men had much adoe to paſs forward; for they found the fields overflown, and the Fort ſo well defended on all ſides, as *Mansfield* deſpairing of ever getting it, drew quickly off from it again. He then diſpoſed of his Army as he thought beſt. And becauſe the Enemy did already openly threaten *Frieſland*, and in particnlar the City of *Groninghen*, he therefore ſent new men to *Verdugo* to ſuſtein the Kings affairs in thoſe parts as well as for the preſent they might be. *Verdugo* commanded the Kings Forces thereabouts; who was not wanting in uſing all his accuſtomed diligence, as well in doing what might be for the ſervice of his party, as alſo in impeding the Enemy from advantaging themſelves The two Counts, *Hermano* and *Frederick de Berg*, did every day ſignalize themſelves more and more with him in the Kings ſervice: And *Verdugo* making uſe of them chiefly, was in continual action on one ſide or other. But to ſay truth, he was ſo inferior in Forces, as the Adverſe party prevailed for the moſt part in all that was undertaken. But the ſucceſſes on neither ſide were of ſuch conſequence, as that by making a diſtinct relation of them here, that of the greater and more important events ought to be retarded. One of the greateſt and moſt prejudicial which hapned on the Kings behalf at this time, was the Mutiny of the *Italians* & *Walloons*, who were with Count *Charls* for the ſervice of the League in *France*. A good number of the *Spaniards* which were with the Count in thoſe parts had mutinied (as you have heard) before. And becauſe there was ſome diſcourſe had of giving ſome Payes to the reſt of the *Spaniards* who kept under the obedience of their Commanders, the like reſpect not appearing to be had to the other Souldiers who had kept in the like obedience; therefore the *Italians* and *Walloons* reſolved to mutiny, as they eaſily did afterwards. They made up a body between them of 1500 Foot, and 700 Horſe; and poſſeſſing themſelves unexpectedly of the Village of *Pont* in *Henault*, upon the borders of *France*, they diligently fortified themſelves there; and providing for their neceſſities by excurſions, they reſolved not to return to their former obedience, till they were fully ſatisfied for their pay. Count *Charls* his Forces were ſo leſſened by theſe Mutinies, as they could be of no longer ſervice neither for the affairs of *France*, nor yet of *Flanders*. Thus ended this year, and the next of 1594 began.

Anno 1594. In this interim Archduke *Erneſtus*, brother to the Emperor *Radolphus*, was come from *Germany* to be Governour of *Flanders*. The King had very much deſired, that a Prince ſo near allied to him both in blood and affection, would take upon him the care of thoſe Countries; and the Emperor joyning with the King in the ſame deſire, the Archduke was eaſily perſwaded to pleaſe them both. Parting then from *Vienna* about the beginning of the year, he came to *Flanders*, and was received in *Bruſſels* with all demonſtrations of joy and honour by the obedient Provinces. At his arrival he found the affairs of the League in *France* very much declining: For the King of *Navar* having at laſt declared himſelf to be a Catholick, and having ſetled his Cauſe well in this point wherein he ſtood in moſt need, it was not hard for him afterwards to advantage it in all others. Wherefore being received without any expence of blood into *Paris*, by the example of this chief City of the Kingdom, not only the Cities, but the Provinces in all other parts ſtrove who ſhould moſt follow the King, and more ſubmiſſively acknowledge his authority. To which, his gratious making uſe of Victory, even to thoſe who had moſt highly offended him, ſerved him in good ſtead. Growing therefore ſtronger every day both in Cauſe and Forces, he made daily further progreſs throughout the whole Kingdom. But he endeavoured to doe it moſt in *Picardy*, and in the parts thereabouts; where the French League was ſtill in ſome power, and where it was moſt fomented from the Frontiers of *Flanders*. On the contrary, the Archduke the new Governour, and the Spaniſh Miniſters of State who were in greateſt authority under him, judging that the more the League declined the more it needed to be ſuſtained; reſolved to ſend back Count *Charls* with new Forces into *Picardy*, who at the Archdukes arrival was come

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alſo to *Bruſſels*. The King of *Spains* affairs were then in a very low condition, for the reaſons which have been often alleadged. Wherefore to keep from wholly neglecting their own peculiar affairs of *Flanders*, Count *Charls* could aſſemble no more then 8000 Foot and 1000 Horſe for the occurrences which ſummoned him again into *France*. With which Forces ſtaying in *Picardy*; after he had well obſerved the Enemies proceedings, he thought he might be able to get *La Chapelle*, which is ſeated on the very utmoſt precincts of that Province towards the Flemiſh frontiers of *Henault*. This place is four-ſquare, well flankt in all the four angles, and with other Defences on almoſt all the ſides of the Curtains; it hath likewiſe a good-Ditch round about it, and in all other circumſtances it is held one of the beſt Towns in *Picardy*. Count *Charls* reſolving to beſiege it, ſate down before it; and in a few dayes with the wonted winding of Trenches he came near the Ditch: whereinto that he might the eaſilier fall, and facilitate the Aſſaults which were to ſucceed the Batteries, he drew away the water thereof to where the ground was lower: He then began to play upon the Town; which had but a weak Garriſon in it, and was found to be but ill provided of all things elſe. Yet were not they within wanting in preparing to make what defence they could. Count *Charls* put them preſently to the teſt. The Myre which yet remained in the Ditch was very deep; and there was no ſuch breach yet made in the wall, as afforded the Aſſailants ſufficient commodity to mount thereupon. Wherefore the Count failed the firſt time in his deſign; and his men being beaten back with the loſs of much blood, and with the death of ſome Captains and other Officers, he muſt prepare more maturely for a ſecond aſſault. But they within would not wait it: For, fearing leſt they ſhould not be able to maintain it, and that they muſt then be all put to the ſword, and the Town be ſackt, they yielded upon good Conditions, and the Garriſon was ſuffered to go freely out.

This mean while the United Provinces on *Flanders* ſide had diligently made their Forces ready, to turn to ſome new important deſign. The Royaliſts feared *Groninghen* moſt: wherefore the Archduke gave order that *Verdugo* ſhould be aſſiſted, who preſt very much to bee ſo, and ſhewed in what danger the Kings affairs in thoſe Parts were. The Archduke cauſed likewiſe requiſite proviſions to be made in other places where it was moſt needfull. But this was but weakly executed every where; ſo great was the ſcarcity of monies amongſt the Kings men, ſuch the diſorder of the Mutinies which had hapned, and ſuch the daily fear of new Mutinies.

Amidſt theſe preparations which were made for the continuance of Arms, the Archduke would notwithſtanding try whether there could any way be found out for the introducing of Peace. He was naturally given to love quiet; and the King having always ſhewed the ſame inclination, he thought that the King being already weary and diſdeceived in the affairs of *France*, and having ſo little hopes to advantage himſelf in thoſe of *Flanders* by the way of Arms, would willingly imbrace any Agreement, which with ſafety to his and the honour of the Church might reduce the affairs in thoſe Provinces to ſome tranquility. Two Councellors at Law, the one called *Ottone Hertio*, and the other *Jerolimo Comans*, were by reaſon of ſome private occurrences at this time in the *Hague*, where the Confederate Provinces had eſtabliſhed their chief Councels, repreſenting the General Union. The Archduke thought that by their means, without making any further noiſe, he might come to ſome Treaty of accord with thoſe Provinces. And thinking it fit to invite the United Provinces thereunto, he writ them a Letter, the Contents whereof were,

That he had left the Emperor his brother, and was parted from Germany *with a particular deſire of ſeeing the Peace of* Flanders *reſtored by ſome good accommodation during the time of his Government. That he knew the King would very graciouſly incline thereunto likewiſe; to the end that the people there might once be free from ſo many calamities of war, and might enjoy the fruits which might ſo largely be expected from Peace. That the United States would conſider how uncertain the fortune of war was, and how dangerous it was to promiſe unto themſelves ſtill the ſame good ſucceſs therein, by reaſon of ſome happy ones which they had already had. That it was now time to come to ſome agreement. That for his part, he offered all ſincerity in the*

Treaty

Treaty thereof, and all conſtant application towards the effecting of it. That therefore they ſhould reduce their demands to ſo juſt a ſenſe, as that he might the more willingly propound them unto the King, and uſe all means afterwards to have them granted.

This was the contents of his Letter; in the end whereof the Archduke referred himſelf to what the two afore named Councellors at Law, ſhould more at large add. In the Archdukes Councel of State, there were divers opinions concerning the introducing of this Treaty. The Councellors of the Country who had propounded it, did ſtill favour it; ſhewing a great deſire that all means might be uſed, whereby to free *Flanders* from Arms. Alleadging that the King himſelf was of the ſame mind; and that let the event be what it would, this would ſerve to juſtifie the continuation of the war on his part. But the Spaniſh-State Officers were oppoſite hereunto, eſpecially Count *Fuentes*, who was of more Authority then all others next to the Archduke. He ſaid,

That the enemy did very well know in what condition the Kings affairs were then in Flanders. *That doubtleſs they would account this Propoſition an effect rather of weakneſs then humanity. That peace was then advantagiouſly made, when there was an advantage in the war. Wherefore it was better to expect awhile, till ſuch time as the King might have the better of the buſineſs, as it might be hoped he would have; and that then it would be his part to grant peace, and not to receive it; and that then his grace and goodneſs to ſuch wicked and obſtinate Rebels would appear to be voluntary, and not inforced: But how much more arrogant would they become by ſuch an invitation now? and into what contempt would the Kings Authority fall?*

The opinion of the Flemiſh Councellors was notwithſtanding followed. For the Archduke thought good to give them ſatisfaction, believing that it would likewiſe be ſatisfactory to the whole Country. But it was ſoon ſeen that *Fuentes* was not deceived: For the Letter being received in *Holland* with but ſmall reſpect, and they that brought it but little liſtned unto, the buſineſs was ſoon at an end, and the two Councellors at Law were diſpatched away; and anſwer was made by the States Generall to the Archduke, by rather a long writing then Letter.

The anſwer extended chiefly into bitter complaints againſt the meanings of the King and Councel of Spain. *Againſt the Officers maintained by the King in* Flanders; *and againſt the Spaniards who had warred, and did ſtill wage war in thoſe Provinces: In the paper all the moſt fatall buſineſſes that had happened were rip'd up; and all the blame laid upon that Nation. They ſhewed how that all former negotiations of peace, had always been fraudulent on the behalf of* Spain. *And finally they concluded, That the United Provinces would not liſten to any new Treaties, leſt they might be deceived; but that they were reſolved to maintain their Cauſe till their laſt gaſp; that they might preſerve that Liberty which they did ſo juſtly enjoy, after being freed from that ſlavery, which amongſt ſo many miſeries they had formerly ſuffered.*

They therefore did not delay drawing out into the field. Count *William* of *Naſſaw* had been before this (as we have ſaid) on the other ſide the *Rhine* with many men; and though *Verdugo* had always ſtoutly oppoſed him, yet moſt commonly *William* got ſtill ſome advantages in thoſe parts; eſpecially in ſecuring thoſe paſſes whereby the ſiege which Prince *Maurice* intended to lay to *Groninghen*, might be made the more eaſie. All things neceſſary for this purpoſe being then prepared, about the end of *April Maurice* paſt over the *Mauſe* and the *Rhine*, and made his Rendezvouz at *Suol*, a Town near *Deventer* in *Overiſel*. Here Count *William* joyned with him; and *Maurice* going ſoon after from thence with aboundant proviſions of all things which concerned the determined ſiege, he went towards *Groninghen*; and with his whole Army incamped before that City. *Groninghen* (as it hath been already ſaid) lies upon the utmoſt bounds of that Confine which joyns together the Lower and the upper *Germany*, there is not in that part of the Low-Countries, a more noble City then this, either for the number of Inhabitants, for the quality of buildings, or for the frequency of Commerce. It formes the body of a Province which lies about this City; and which takes the name, and almoſt the whole Government from thence. It is ſeated low, well provided of a wall and ditch. It hath ſome works within the circuit thereof after the modern faſhion; and the reſt are for the moſt part, of the anti-

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ent form. It enjoys very large Priviledges. And the Citizens thereof, desirous out of a sense no less of Liberty then of courage, would themselves alone defend the City, and would not admit of any other souldiery amongst them. And though a little before, when they were threatned with this siege, they were at last perswaded to receive in five foot Colours, which *Verdugo* had sent them into an outward Borough, yet would they not till then receive them into the City. *John Balen*, the first Burgamaster and chief Magistrate had the chief Command there, both in Military and Civil affairs. He and all the rest did shew outwardly a great resolution of resistance; but *Maurice* did not notwithstanding want friends within the Town. and many Hereticks being mingled amongst the Catholicks, the former did secretly desire a change of Government: and it was discovered that they would willingly have assisted therein: nor was it doubted but that such intelligence had caused *Maurice* more willingly undertake this business. Yet was the Catholick and the Kings Party much the greater in *Groningben*, who sent away expres Messengers to *Brussels* to pray succour from the Archduke; wherein they were seconded by *Verdugo*. But Count *Maurice* hoping that the Kings men were not able to send relief, at least not so soon; and Count *William* having secured all the Passes better then before, he betook himself with greater diligence to the siege. He infinitely desired to effect this business, by the which, gaining so noble a City, and a Province so opportunely seated, he might at the same time advantage so much the general Cause of the whole Union, and his own particular glory. He had with him divers valiant Commanders, who had accompanied him the year before at the siege of *Getringberg*; to whom he assigned out the chief Quarters: and *Maurice* took up his own quarter where the greatest difficulty of the siege lay. He then fell to fortifie all quarters; and within a few days the fortifications were such, both on the fields side, and towards the Town, as those about *Groninghen*, being compared with those which were about *Getringberg*, it was not easie to be judged in which of the two *Maurice* had more signalized himself. In so much as not fearing any succour which might be brought by the Royalists from without, he applyed himself wholly to perfect his inward works. He had great store of Artillery in his Camp, with which he infested the City on all sides: making the trenches the mean while be the more speedily advanced, that he might the sooner come to a formal battery. The besieged shewed a ready willingness to defend themselves: and the souldiery which were lodged in the Suburbs had very well munited themselves, and going whethersoever occasion did most require, they were a great help unto the Townsmen, who had placed a good number of Artillery upon their walls, and by incessant shooting, indeavoured to anoy the enemies Camp, and to hinder their works as much as in them lay. They indeavoured likewise to indamage them by sallies, whereof they made divers which proved very bloudy on both sides: but being in a short time come unto the ditch, *Maurice* forthwith made his batterys; by which bereaving those within of their defences, he consequently brought them into greater straits. They had planted a Counter-battery upon a new Ravelin which they had made, the better to shelter one of their gates, and had placed thereupon 6 pieces of great Canon; *Maurice* had inforced the siege most on that side which was thought to be the weakest. The besiegers saw how much it imported them to be Masters of the Ravelin; and the besieged how much it concerned them to defend it: in so much as all indeavours being made on both sides to these ends, the whole weight of the oppugnation was soon brought to that only place. The enemy at the last fell into the Ditch on that side, and began to fill it up, and to advance with their works on both sides, leaving a narrovv space in the midst which they called the Gallery. Their chief designe was to undermine the Ravelin, if they could not ruine it by their batteries, vvherevvith having at last made, as they imagined, a sufficient breach, they delayed coming to an assault no longer: but in the doing of it, though they shevved great resolution, they could not get upon the ruines of the Ravelin, because they were not sufficient for them to mount upon; but much more because they were very gallantly defended, yet did the vigour of their resistance seem to cool every day, by reason of their small hopes of succour. Those who they had senc to that purpose, had still very much prest the Archduke in

that behalf. But to boot with the want of monies, and to the prolongation of time which the making of new Levies would have required, the disorders still increased in their former Souldiery, who for want of Pay did mutinie upon easie occasions; as hapned just at this time amongst a number of *Italians* who were quartered in *Brabant*.

Those of *Groninghen* were the more disheartned by this new disorder. Nor were Count *Maurice* his Fautors backward in representing unto the Inhabitants the danger the City was in of being storm'd, sackt, and suffering still greater calamities. The Magistrate was therefore inforced to send some to discover what hopes there might be of getting good Conditions from *Maurice*. But those who were more firm for the King and the Church, being of opinion that it was yet too early to do so; making use of this opportunity, they brought those five Foot-Companies into the City which were lodged without, as was before said. This occasioned a great tumult amongst the Citizens; every one clothing their private interests with appearing zeal unto the publike. But the dissention being at last appeased, they continued in making defence. On the other side, *Maurice* seeing himself deluded, grew more fervent in his oppugning. The chief contest of the siege was brought to about the aforesaid Ravelin. Therefore great was their advantage which were without: For being Masters of the Ditch, and falling already to work upon the Walls they had begun to undermine the Ravelin, to blow it up into the air, that they might the sooner and with the more safety come to the Assault. They would notwithstanding try a new Assault, before the Mine was fully finished: And it proved to be so fierce a one, as those within had much adoe to sustain it. But the Mine being at last perfected, they presently went to work with it; and the effect was this: The besiegers feigned as if they would give another assault; wherefore the besieged flocking to defend the Ravelin, the others on a sudden retreated; and at the same time the Mine plaid, which blew up almost all the men that came to defend it: Then the oppugners returning to a new, and true assault, they easily won the Ravelin. Great was the danger, but greater the fear that hereby arose unto the City. It was suspected that the chief Burgomaster did adhere to *Maurice*: Taking therefore the conjuncture of time when the Magistracie was fullest, he spake thus.

Had the King (most worthy Citizens!) done his part in preserving this City under his obedience, as well as we to our utmost have always done ours in maintaining it therein, we should not be subject to that change which now past all redemption and of necessity we must prepare for. The troubles of these Countrits have lasted now these 30 *years; and when did We in all this time ever forfeit our fidelity to his Majesty in the least degree? The Duke of* Alva *came to the Government of* Flanders *with cruel and imperious designs, as every one knows; and having yoaked* Antwerp *with a Citadel, he began to doe the like to* Groninghen. *We then resisted it as much as we might; shewing that the best Citadel for the Kings service would be our Hearts. But our intreaties were in vain, as well as our former complaints had been. Yet this new Work soon ceased, for the troubles would not suffer it to be pursued. The City therefore remained in her former condition: And since then till now, I must ask again, When did she ever vary in her allegiance to the King? How oft have the Enemies past and repast with great Forces through this so jealous Confine between the two* Germanies? *How often have they threatned this City either by underhand dealings, or openly? but still in vain: So vigilant have we always been in keeping it, and resolute in defending it. This may be witnessed by as many as ever governed the Kings Forces in these parts: And* Verdugo *himself, a* Spaniard, *who hath the chief Command here now, can best testifie it. I wish it had been Gods will that his councels had been followed a good while ago: The Kings affairs hereabouts would not then have been in that drooping condition that they are now, nor would this our City be in the danger that she is in at present. It will not then be we that have abandoned the King, being enforced thereunto by necessity; but the King will rather appear to have abandoned us, neglecting, as it is well known, his own affairs here no less then ours. Nay, it must be said that by his so many diversions in* France, *he hath been willing totally to forsake* Flanders. *How great have the losses been which by reason of this have insued to these Provinces? But I now come to the Siege, which is that which my precedent*

cedent diſcourſe doth point at. Every one knowes to what terms we are brought: And this laſt loſs of our Ravelin hath as much advantaged the Enemy, as it hath put us into greater ſtraits. I confeſs notwithſtanding we may for a while ſuſtein the ſiege, if we had any hopes of being freed by the wonted way of ſuccour. But where is there any appearance thereof? nay, does not all ſigns make for the contrary? The greateſt ſtrength of the Army is imployed in France; Flanders *is full of Mutinies; there is not time to raiſe new men, and mony is yet more wanting. Shall we then expect that this ſuccour ſhall fall from the air? I ſhall therefore adviſe to treat as ſoon as we can of a ſurrender. It will be ſome ſort of merit to have done that anticipately of our own choice, which muſt of neceſſity be done at laſt: And ſo making advantagious Articles, we ſhall the better unite our City, and the Country which depends upon it, to the States-Generall of the other Confederate Provinces. We ſhall not (as I have ſaid) have quitted our obedience to the King; but it is he who will not have us continue longer therein. For what remains, how much is ſuch a change to be deſired? In our ſubjection to the States Generall, we ſhall find Liberty which ſhall be enjoyed by this particular Province; we ſhall withdraw our ſelves from a Foreign yoke; we ſhall be freed of the Taxes which are impoſed upon us; we ſhall fight no longer for the intereſts of others, but for what concerns our ſelves: And in fine, all the good, and all the bad will be our own, which in defence of the common liberty we ſhall hereafter find.*

This diſcourſe wrought ſo upon the minds even of thoſe that were moſt affectionate to the King, as they knew not how to gainſay it. The no appearance of ſuccour was particularly of great force. Nor is it to be believed how much indignation it wrought, not only in *Groninghen* and the parts thereabouts, but in all other places which were under the Kings obedience, to ſee that his own affairs in *Flanders* were by him almoſt wholly abandoned, to ſuſtain thoſe of *France* which did daily decline. The chief of the Magiſtracy and of the Communalty went therefore to Count *Maurice* to agree with him touching the ſurrender of the City: And being very graciouſly received, the Agreement was made; and theſe were the moſt eſſential Conditions thereof.

That the City of Groninghen, *together with the neighbouring Country which makes up that Province, ſhould for the future be under the obedience of the States-Generall, repreſenting the Body of the Confederate Provinces. That it ſhould oblige it ſelf to the Union of this Body, by being a particular member thereof for the time to come; and that it ſhould ſubmit it ſelf to thoſe Lawes wherein the other Provinces were joyned for the defence of their common Cauſe. That the City of* Groninghen *and all the aforeſaid Country ſhould enjoy their antient priviledges, and all their former immunities. That that City and Province ſhould by the authority of the States Generall receive Count* William *of* Naſſaw *for their Governour; and that for the preſent five or ſix Foot-Companies ſhould be permitted to come into the City, to prevent all occaſion of Tumults which might happen there. That there ſhould be Liberty of Conſcience for matter of Religion in that City and Country: but that that which was called the Reformed Religion ſhould be exerciſed there publikely, and no other. That the City and Province ſhould concur in contributing ſuch taxes as did correſpond with their abilities, for the maintenance of the Souldiery, and for other neceſſary expences concerning the common Cauſe. That it ſhould be free for any man to tranſport himſelf and goods into whatſoever place he would, provided it were not in the Enemies country. That the Government of the City ſhould depend as formerly upon the Magiſtracie; and that the Magiſtrate ſhould be changed according to cuſtom, taking an oath to be true and faithfull to the States Generall, as the other Cities under the Union had done.*

Theſe were the chief Articles of Agreement which were made with thoſe of *Groninghen*. And as for the Foreign ſouldiers which were entred into the City, they were permitted by Count *Maurice* to march forth honourably with their Arms and Baggage, but upon promiſe not to ſerve the King of *Spain* for three moneths ſpace on that ſide the *Rhine*. The City was ſurrendred about the end of *July*; and Count *Maurice* made his entrance into *Groninghen* afterwards with all military pomp and ſolemnity: And leaving Count *William* there for the better ordering of all things in that City and Province, he within a few dayes re-

moved his Army from those parts, and went himself unto the *Hague*. Where it cannot be expressed with what applause and honour he was received by the States General, for having so much increased the advantages of the Union on that side the *Rhine*, by an acquisition of such consequence.

Whilst affairs went thus in *Flanders*, the Forces which were on the aforesaid Frontiers of *France* were not idle. The Duke *du Main* was Governour of *Burgony*; the Duke of *Guise* Governour of *Champania*; and the Duke *d' Umale* Governour of *Picardy*: all of them being of the house of *Lorain*; and upon whose personages the League did principally depend: some discord was already faln out in their former Union; and finally the Duke of *Guise* would be kept no longer from moving some Treaty of agreement with the King: since he had imbraced the Catholick Religion, and after his so many atchievements which had made him now be almost generally acknowledged for King of *France*. Neither was the Duke *du Main* much averse from coming to a Composition with him. But he endeavoured to negotiate with his sword in hand, that he might thereby get the better conditions. Only the Duke *d'Umale*, were it either that he was more firm in his former adhering to the League; or that he was a back friend to the King for some private respect of his own, was resolved to come to no accommodation with him; but rather in case the League should wholly cease, to go into *Flanders*, and put himself wholly into the King of *Spains* hands. To this end he favoured the Flemish Forces more then ever in his Government of *Picardy*. But such partiality was of no great availment: For the Kings reconciliation with the Apostolick See, being then mainly negotiated in *Rome*, the League declined daily, in so much as even almost whole *Picardy* was already come over to the King. To get the full possession whereof, the King was a little before entred into that Province with a potent Army, and had laid siege to *Laon*. The City of *Laon* being very strong both by situation, and Manual Fortification, the Duke *du Main* did much indeavour the not losing of it. To boot that the Count of *Sommariva*, *du Main*'s eldest son, being within the Town, and one that defended it; who though he were but very young then, was notwithstanding of great expectation; the Father did the more desire to see his son free together with the Town. To this purpose *du Main* was gon himself to use what diligence might be with the Archduke. And returning with new and very strict Orders to *Mansfield*, that he should use all the means he might for the preservation of the Town, they joyned both their Forces together: which were notwithstanding so weak as they exceeded not 8000 foot and 700 horse. The Rendezvouz being made at *la Fera*, which is within four leagues of *Laon*, they marched from thence about the end of *June*, with a resolution of relieving the besieged. There was a choice Garison in *Laon*, of 1200 foot, and 300 horse: nor were the Inhabitants less willing to make defence then were the Garison. The King had about 12000 choice foot, and 4000 horse, which were the very flowre of his Army. And having already taken and fortified his quarters, he was very diligent in advancing his Trenches, and other usual Works. The besieged shewed all manlike resolution to resist, which they witnessed by frequent sallies: to the which they were the more encouraged by the expectation of relief so near at hand. In the Colleagues Camp, which still held the exterior Title of the League, though it were almost wholly composed of Flemish Forces, the Duke *du Main* commanded in chief; the Archduke having thought it fit he should do so, that he might seem to put the greater esteem and confidence in him: and to keep him from falling into any precipitate accommodation, in his Treaties with the King in *France*. The Army going therefore from *La Fera*, came marching in great order to *Laon*. Betwixt these two places there lies a great Wood on the left hand called *Crepy*, taking its name from a little Town hard by. The Colleagues Camp coming out of this Wood into the open Champian, drew near the Kings Trenches. There lay also between the two Camps another lesser Wood, in view whereof the Colleagues lay. Their intention was to possess themselves of that Wood, and to advance so advantagiously on that side, as that they might the easilyer from thence bring succour into the Town. Which designe being by the King discovered, he resolved to oppose them with all his might. Skirmishes grew therefore very hot between them; the one endeavouring

vouring to enter the wood, the others to keep them out. The former placing their chiefeſt hopes of relieving the Town, in making themſelves maſters of the wood. And the others the greateſt ſecurity of their ſiege in defending it. But the skirmiſhes growing continually hotter, one of them turned almoſt into a ſet battel. In hazardous adventures, *Barlotte*, the Walloon Campmaſter, was rather raſh then daring. This man advancing with his Regiment into the wood, charged the Kings men ſo home, as he made them withdraw a good way within, not without the ſlaughter of many of them. It was not long ere freſh aid came in on the Kings part. Wherefore the Walloons were forced to give back; when the Campmaſters, *Auguſtin Meſſia* a Spaniard, and the Marquis of *Trevico* a Neopolitan appeared with their Brigades in their defence, and did vigorouſly ſuſtain the conflict: which was no leſs vigorouſly ſuſtained on the French ſide by the Baron of *Birouns* coming in with new men. Who being made Mariſhall of *France* after the death of the Mariſhall his Father, ſhewed himſelf to merit the title of his Son, much more by valor then bloud. The ſon was naturally very fierce; and herein only it was to be wiſhed he had had a little more of his fathers circumſpection. The advantage growing ſtill greater on that ſide by *Birouns* coming in, *du Main* came in likewiſe to aſſiſt his men, and ſoon after *Mansfield* came in too. And the King himſelf coming in on the other ſide, the conflict did ſo increaſe, as it was now almoſt turned to a ſet battel; the Commanders in chief of both Armies being preſent at it; and if not all, at leaſt the moſt ſelect men of both the one and the other Camp. The King had much the better in horſe; but by reaſon of the thickneſs of the wood, there could but ſmall uſe be made of them. On the contrary, the Colleagues Camp was much the ſuperior in foot, if not in number, at leaſt in goodneſs; but neither could they make uſe of that advantage within the wood, which they might have done in the open field. For the ſame ſtraitneſs and narrowneſs of ſituation did not admit of the forming of ſquadrons, nor of their orderly moving. The fight was therefore much more confuſed then regular. And thus it continued with much ſlaughter on both ſides, the victory remaining very uncertain, till the night coming on, both ſides were forced to retire unto their quarters. The King removed afterwards with a great body of men to another quarter where he might better keep the enemy from entrance into the wood. But their Camp began already to ſuffer very much in point of victuals: For the Kings Cavalry ſcouring the Country continually, the Colleagues came by their victuals upon hard terms. And juſt at this time as *Nicolas Baſti* was bringing a good quantity of proviſion with a ſtrong Conduct from *Noyon*, he was ſet upon by the Duke of *Longueville*, who with ſuch forces as he had with him, ſoon routed him, and to boot with his proviſions, took from him his carriages and draught horſes. They afterwards endeavoured to get ſome with greater forces from *la Fera*. To which purpoſe great ſtore of victuals, Munition, and whatſoever elſe the Colleagues ſtood in need of being provided, a ſelect number of Spaniards and Italians were ſent from their Camp, to bring them the more ſafely. But this their ſecond endeavour proved no more fortunate then did the former. For the King being advertiſed of this preparation, and that the buſineſs was to be effected by night, he commanded Mariſhal *Biroun* to impede them. Who having ſecretly ordered an Ambuſcado in a very opportune place, did with ſuch violence, and ſo unexpectedly ſet upon the adverſe party, as that being overpowred in numbers, they were forced to give ground, and leave all their victuals, and whatſoever elſe in *Birouns* hands. Yet the Spaniſh and Italian foot reſiſted ſtoutly for a great while, making uſe of their Carriages for their defence, and turning their faces whereſoever the aſſault was hotteſt. In ſo much as not endeavouring to ſave themſelves by running away, they were almoſt all of them ſlain upon the place. But they died not unrevenged; for they ſlew above 200 of the Kings men, and wounded above as many more. The Colleagues by reaſon of theſe two unfortunate events, loſt all hopes of being able to effect their intended ſuccour: wherefore they reſolved to raiſe their Camp, and to retreat. They were minded to riſe privately by night; but this was not to be done without great difficulty, they having an Army ſo near them, ſo much ſuperior to theirs, and which particularly did ſo far exceed them in horſe, by which they might upon

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such advantage assail them on the Reer, and on the Flanks, as they retreated. *Mansfield* inclined therefore to retreat privately by night; but *Du Mayne* thought it would reflect too much upon their reputation not to retreat by day light. Betwixt these two differences of opinions, it was resolved, that the Camp should move by night; and that the Van and Battel being advanced in that silent season, the Reer should march by day; and that the greatest resistance should be made where the greatest danger should lie. Thus then was the Army divided: The chief care of the Van, with which the Baggage was to go, and the greatest part of the Artillery was given to Camp-master *Barlotte*; *Mansfield* guided the Battel; and *Du Mayne* brought up the Reer: this was notwithstanding to be turn'd into the Van, if it should have any occasion to face about upon the Enemy, who were to fall upon them on that part: and certainly if ever the Duke *Du Mayne* proved himself to be both a gallant Commander, and a good Souldier, it was at this time. That he might make the better resistance, he kept with him the flower of the Infantry, which were for the most part Spaniards, the rest Italians, and who divided into well ordered Squadrons of Pikes and Musketteers, was to sustain the violence of the Enemies Horse, when they should charge hotlyest upon them. The flying Squadron thrust forward before the rest, which being used to march before the Army upon occasion of fight, came now in the Reer; for the Reer, as hath been said, was now to be the Van. This Squadron consisted of choice and select Captains, Officers, and other Souldiers, and *Augustine Messia*, one of the most esteemed Spanish Camp-masters that was then in *Flanders*, had the particular charge thereof. The Duke *Du Mayne* had placed himself in the last files of Foot of that Squadron, which were to be the first toward the Enemy: Saying, *That he would that day serve as a Souldier under Camp-master* Messia: and divers others of the best of the Army were there likewise. They were to march almost three leagues before they could bring themselves in safety into *La Fera*. The Van rising thus about midnight, the Battel began to move in its due time, and about the break of day the Reer began also to march.

When the King heard of this Retreat, he delayed not doing what he could to disturb it. Assembling the Flower of all his Cavalry, he charged the Enemies Rear on divers sides as they came out of the Wood into which the Leagues Camp for their better advantage had taken their way: And often renewing his assaults, endeavoured to overcome them. But still in vain: For the Squadrons keeping still a stedfast order, and the Muskets serving the Pikes with admirable discipline, and the Pikes the Muskets alternately in making the fittest opposition, the Kings men could not in the least part effect what they desired. Every encounter was valiantly sustained, in particular by the flying Squadron; they ever and anon faced about, and received the Charge with their Pikes couched; so great a shower of Musket-shot hailing down continually upon them, as they oft repented their being so far advanced. In all these conflicts whersoever the greatest danger was, there was the Duke *Du Mayn*, with his Pike in his hand, discharging the duty of a private Souldier much more then of a Commander: And the vigor of his mind was the better seen by the proportion of his body; for being very tall of stature, and his limbs very well proportioned, and armed with all such peeces as he ought to be upon such an occasion, he drew not only the eyes, but the praise of all men upon him. The assaults continued a while on the Kings part; but the Colleagues being more molested then prejudiced thereby, and still marching in very great order, at last free from all disturbance their Camp came safe to *La Fera*: And the King having compast his end in hindring the succour, he presently betook himself to finish the taking of *Laon*. The besieged defended themselves gallantly for many dayes; making many bold sallies, and persevering with singular courage in all other resistance: But the batteries never ceasing from without, after having sustained many assaults, and many of the defendants being slain, and having no hopes of further assistance, the City was at last delivered up unto the King upon honourable conditions about the end of *July*.

This mean while the King of *Spain*'s own affairs in *Flanders* were still in greater disorder and confusion; to boot, with the former two mutinies, which have been already mentioned: another had at this time hapned in *Brabant*; some

Foot

Foot colours of Italians were quartered in that Province, in the Towns of *Ariſcot*, and of *Sichem*, which Towns were very neer one another, the want of pay was very great, as you have often heard, by reaſon of the exceſſive charges the King was at both in *France* and *Flanders*; and it was the greater at this time in *Flanders*, becauſe the people which had mutined in St. *Pauls* and in *Pont*, had but juſt now received ſatisfaction of thir pay, which had coſt a great ſum of money. The foreſaid Italians being therefore moved thereto in part by need, but certainly much more by the example which they had before their eyes, of ſeeing ſo fowl an action in their companions, ſo advantagiouſly recompenced: they reſolved by the ſame means to endeavour the ſame ſatisfaction. The practiſe being carried on with wonted ſecreſie from the beginning, it was ſoon after put in execution; and thoſe of *Ariſcot* vying for diſpatch with thoſe of *Sichem*, at laſt all of them being agreed, they met together in *Sichem*, as in the greater place, and which might be the better fortified: and here throwing off all obedience, they openly mutined. This licentious enſign being raiſed, many other Italians flock'd ſuddenly unto it, and many ſouldiers of other Nations mingled alſo with them; their whole number came to between two and three thouſand. The Arch Duke was highly diſpleaſed at this diſorder; both in it ſelf and for the conſequences it drew after it: he ſaw that one mutiny begot another, nay, that divers were on foot together; that though they pretended neceſſity, it was rather out of corruption; and that the King of *Spains* condition was now very lamentable, his own forces proving more prejuditious to him then thoſe of his enemies. VVherefore he concluded, that laying aſide all fair proceedings, 'twas beſt to try once, if ſuch a miſchief could be ſuppreſt by rigour. The Councel of VVar inclined hereunto: but howſoever, it was thought to be too dangerous a buſineſs, and of too bad example to ſet thoſe ſouldiers one againſt another, who did militate under the ſame Colours: wherefore they reſolved to proffer ſome juſt ſatisfaction to the mutiners, whereby to reduce them to their former obedience. The offer was large enough, but they would by no means accept of it; for being become reſolute both by reaſon of their own numbers, and by the good ſucceſs of their other fellows in their mutinies, they obſtinately refuſed ever to return to their former Colours, till they were fully ſatisffed for their whole pay. Theſe contumacious ſpeeches were followed by much more contumacious actions. Not contented with ſuch uſual contributions, as in ſuch caſes are impoſed upon the adjacent Countrie; they began to lay heavy taxes upon the Towns round about, which were further off. And they grew to that inſolency, that in raiſing their contributions, they came once even to within the ſight of *Bruſſels*, where the Archduke and the Court was. But neither did their audaciouſneſs ſtop here. Fearing leſt open force might be uſed againſt them, they began to hold intelligence with Count *Maurice*: not that they would turn over to the adverſe party. They never were ſo baſe) but that they might have a ſafe refuge in caſe of neceſſity, if they ſhould be purſued by Arms. The Archdukes anger was much increaſed by theſe actions: nor made he any delay. He raiſed a good body of men out of the Spaniſh mutiners, who had already received their pay, and of many others of the ſaid Nation; and reſolved to ſend them againſt the laſt mutiners. Amongſt other Commanders *Lewis de Velaſco*, a Spaniard of great eſteem was of the aforeſaid opinion, that this new mutiny was to be quelled by force. The buſineſs was therefore aſſigned to him; being come with his men, (to whom were joyned certain VValloon foot and horſe) near *Sichem*, he began to ſtraiten the mutiners. His chief end was to take from them thoſe contributions which they gathered from all the adjacent parts. But he could not ſo eaſily compaſs his intent; for the mutiners horſe ſcouring the Countrey where it was moſt neceſſary, ſecured their Paſſes, and brought victuals as formerly into *Sichem*. This Town lies upon the River *Demer*, and the mutiners, for the better ſecuring of that Paſs, had raiſed a good Fort there, and ſheltered it with a leſſer. *Velaſco* goes againſt theſe Forts, indeavouring firſt to take the weaker, that he might have the leſſer difficulty in winning the other. But were it that the Spaniard had bin too immature in their moving, or that the mutiners made too ſtout a reſiſtance, the Spaniards were forced to retreat, leaving above 200 of their men dead behind them;

them, amongſt which divers Captains and Officers, and particularly *Pietro Portocarrero*, very near akin to *Fuentes*. *Velaſco* going then more deliberately to work about the one and the other of theſe Forts, and beginning to begirt them with trenches and uſual works, the Mutiniers reſolved to abandon them. Yet could not the people that were within them retreat to *Sichem* in ſo good order, but that ſome of them were routed, and many ſlain and wounded.

The Forts being loſt, the Mutiners were much leſs ſecure in the Town; and their difficulties of coming by victuals increaſing every day, they were already brought into great ſtraits. They therefore betook themſelves to more ſtrait intelligence with Count *Maurice*: and ſending ſome of their men to *Breda* where he then was, they at laſt obtained of him, that they might be permitted to come thereabouts under the ſhelter of *Breda* and *Getringberg*, till they ſaw what reſolution the Archduke would take with them. They deſired no more then this, nor to more then this did *Maurice* oblige them. They parted thus from *Sichem* about the midſt of *December*, and marched ſtill in good order till they came to within the Territories of *Langheſtrat*, within the Enemies Country, where they were received with all ſecurity. Their affairs being brought to this paſs, the Archduke, *Fuentes*, and all the reſt of the Kings Officers, were of opinion that their former reſolutions againſt them were to be mitigated, to keep them from falling into greater precipices. Therefore it was moved that the ſame means of accommodation might be uſed with them as was uſed with the others: which was not by them refuſed. So with Count *Maurice* his permiſſion, who ever treated them with much humanity, without ever endeavouring in the leaſt manner to tempt them to violate their loyalty; Count *John Jiacomo Belgioſo*, a Gentleman of *Milan*, was oft-times by them received, who was imployed to this end by the Archduke. The agreement was,

That they ſhould go to Tilemone, *a place which did belong unto the King in* Brabant. *That they ſhould keep there with all fitting ſecurity. That ſome Spaniard ſhould be left with them for hoſtage, till ſuch time as they ſhould be ſatisfied; and that when they ſhould have received their pay, they ſhould return unto their former ſervice.*

Franciſco Padiglia was therefore given them for an hoſtage, and ſo they went to *Tilemone*; where they ſtaid above a year, ſuch difficulty was found in raiſing moneys to ſatisfie them; there never having been any mutiny wherein there were more Captains, inferior Officers, Souldiers who received great advantages of pay, and other old Soldiers, who likewiſe had large pay, then there was in this. This mean while the year ended, with the divulging of a memorable Navigation thoroughout *Europe*, which the Hollanders and Zealanders had that year found out, of finding a nearer cut to the Eaſt-*Indies* by the North.

They had already wrought themſelves into the Eaſt-*Indies* by the wonted way of the South. Though they had not apply'd themſelves to ſo far remote and ſo laborious Traffick, till after the Crown of *Portugal* was come again into the King of *Spains* hands. Before this happened, they by their neer hand, and commodious navigations, frequenting often the Coaſts of *Portugal*, and eſpecially their chief Port of *Liſbone*, did much to their advantage partake of the Merchandiſes which were more peculiar to the *Indies*. But when the King of *Spain* ſucceeded to that Crown, and forbad all manner of Trade to the Hollanders and Zealanders with *Spain* or *Portugal*, they reſolved they would go themſelves into the Eaſt-*Indies* by the ſame way of the South, which the *Portugals* had at firſt ſo happily diſcovered, and ſtill more happily purſued. This enterpriſe proved very hard unto them at the firſt; finding themſelves to ſeek in the immencity of ſo long a voyage, and no leſs in the knowledg of winds, ſeas and people, which they had never before practiſed nor ſeen. The greateſt obſtacle which they met withall was in the oppoſition made unto them by the Portugeſes; who being the only men who had formerly ſailed upon thoſe ſeas, and given what Laws they liſted to that Commerce, could not admit of any aſſociates therein, much leſs of enemies, and ſuch enemies. But the Flemiſh growing the more hardy in the purſuance of their enterpriſe, by how much they were withſtood at firſt, have at laſt proceeded ſo far therein, as (as it is well known to all men) the Crown of

Spain,

Spain could not be more indamaged then it hath been by them in thoſe parts: Nor could this ſatisfie their hatred to that Crown, or yet their own thirſt after gain. Hoping by one good ſucceſs for the like happineſs in others, they were not long in trying whether they could not by the ſame means work themſelves into the VVeſt-*Indies*, and get footing there. And truely therein either their fortune, or their audacity, or rather their ſingular skill in Navigation, hath been ſuch, as having at laſt tamed and overcome the Ocean, they have landed there, on divers ſides: haye built Forts there; eſtabliſhed Gariſons; and gotten no leſs advantage in thoſe Weſtern *Indies*, then they had formerly got in the Eaſtern. Nay it may be ſaid to be greater, by how much the occaſion of enjoying it there hath been the greater. Out of hopes eſpecially that they may ranſack the Spaniſh Plate-Fleet which through that immence way by ſea, is every year brought into *Spain*. Or at leaſt that they may ſo annoy them, as the danger of the paſſage growing every voyage greater, their trouble and expence in making them might likewiſe daily increaſe. Deſignes which have in a good part been ſince effected. For to boot with the great increaſe of expence which the Crown of *Spain* hath been forced to be at ſince, to maintain the Empire of thoſe Seas and Lands; their Fleets have been indangered more then once; and the neceſſity of having them ſafely convoyed, hath made the paſſage much more difficult and expenſive then it was before: Though it may be ſaid on the contrary, that all theſe oppoſitions have ſerved to make the greatneſs of *Spain* appear the more, both in maintaining greater Forces and greater expences, where it hath been neceſſary to increaſe them; and in preſerving the reputation of their Arms both by Land and Sea; where there hath been any occaſion to imploy them. But theſe Navigations of the Hollanders and Zealanders on both ſides of the *Indies*, eſpecially in the Weſt-*Indies* have happened for the moſt part, ſince their having found out the North-weſt paſſage into the Eaſt-*Indies*; to return to which, their reſolution was to ſail by a nearer cut if they could, and to come to the Oriental regions of *Cataia*, *China*, and the *Indies*, ſteering their courſe on the right hand, and drawing ſtill nearer the Pole. In which ſhort Voyage, they thought that at ſome ſeaſons of the year, they might find ſuch acceſs into that almoſt continually frozen Sea, as that they might at laſt get out of it. And to this purpoſe they prepared four ſhips, and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe. Then going out of their own ſeas, and having paſſed through thoſe of *Norway*, and then the others of *Greenland* and *Iſeland*, which are the utmoſt on the North ſide moſt under the Pole, they wheeled about to the right hand and came ſucceſsfully to the Strait which is called *Nova Zembla*. There began the difficulty of the paſſage, which increaſing ſtill the more by how much they advanced further, it proved ſo exceſſive at the laſt, as their trouble to return back was incredible. They ſaw the ſea freeze into mountains, the skies hidden in thick cloulds, and amidſt thoſe horrors, Nature ſeemed almoſt wholly to fail. Being ſtaid by Ice, they were forced to break one of their ſhips, and turn it into Cabins and Cottages. Nor were they then free from new dangers. They were oft-times ſet upon by great numbers of white Bears, of an extraordinary bigneſs; and were by other neceſſities reduced to ſuch a point, as they oft-times diſpaired of life, or that they ſhould ever be able to return: but at laſt they did: for the chiefeſt dread being over, and the Ice melted, they might (though not without great ſufferings) return home by the ſame way they came. Thus did they end this Navigation. Of which, and of others, which they have made into the *Indies*, we have been deſirous here to give you this ſhort account. For though they may be accounted ſucceſſes, which do in ſome ſort appertain unto the Arms, which the United Provinces of *Flanders*, have by all poſſible means oppoſed againſt the Crown of *Spain*; yet being ſo diſ-joyned from thoſe which we deſcribe; the making of them known, and joyning of them by diſtinct relations, to the others of this Hiſtory, would doubtleſly rather breed confuſion then perſpicuity.

At the expiration of this year the Archduke grew to be very weak in body, by reaſon of a lingring feaver, wherewith he had been a good while troubled, and whereof he finally died, not being full 42 years old. It was thought that the indiſpoſition of his body was occaſioned by the like of his mind, finding the af-

fairs of *Flanders* in so bad condition, and by reason of the little hopes of their amendment. Nor peradventure was he less troubled, for fear lest the Treaty of Marriage between him and the Infanta *Isabella*, the King of *Spains* eldest daughter, which had been a good while in agitation, might either prove totally vain, or by long delays be too long defer'd. The time of his Government was not above one whole year. He was a religious, grave Prince, and singularly good; and his German candor made him the more acceptable to the Flemish. For what remains, he was not good at action; no Warriour; made much more for Peace, then for the managing of Arms; and who coming with very great expectation into *Flanders*, had better satisfied that expectation, if he had not come to the test thereof in that Government. He declared at his death, that Count *Fuentes* should succeed in his place, till the King should take some other resolution. Who afterwards ratified his Government, with such necessary Authority as Count *Mansfield* had divers times formerly exercised it.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK II.

The Contents.

It is resolved in France *to declare open War against* Spain. *The Duke of* Bovillon *enters therefore in hostile manner into the Province of* Luxemburg; *and at the same time the United States surprise the Castle of* Huy, *in the Country of* Liege. Verdugo *is sent with considerable Forces by Count* Fuentes, *to chase the* French *from out that Province: wherein he had good success; as had also Monsieur de* la Motte, *in the recovery of the aforesaid Castle. From hence* Fuentes *resolves to pass into* Picardy. *His design touching the recovery of* Cambray, *and many difficulties in the undertaking; yet* Fuentes *prepares for it. He first besieges* Chatelet, *and suddenly turns from thence, in hopes of winning the Town of* Han: *But being deceived, he returns to his Siege, and quickly ends it. From thence he goes to before* Dorlan. *The French come to succour it. A field-fight, wherein* Fuentes *hath the victory: He therefore straitens the Town yet more; and after a fierce assault the oppugnors storm it, and commit all manner of hostility in slaughter and sacking. Immediately he incamps before* Cambray. *The description of that City, and the particular ordering of the Siege. Duke* Retel *enters the Town with a small succour; and soon after comes in Monsieur* de Vich, *a valiant and greatly experienced Souldier. He makes the Spanish Camp resent his opposition soundly; yet* Fuentes *loseth neither hope nor courage. His secret intelligence with the Citizens, who are ill affected to the Marshal of* Baligni, *as Usurper of that Dominion. He joyns threats to his practices, and prepares to storm the walls by assault. But the*

Citizens prevent him; and falling into tumults, resolve to deliver up the City into Fuentes *his hands. Which they doe. The Confederate Provinces move this mean while with their Forces; but succeed not neither in their Siege before Grol, nor in the surprise which they attempt upon Lira. Archduke Albertus comes to the Government of Flanders, in the name of the King. And soon after* Fuentes *departs, and goes into* Spain.

Anno 1595.

WE will begin the year 1595 with the resolution taken by the King of *France* to break into open war with the King of *Spain*. He considered that many Towns in *Picardy* were under the self Forces of *Spain*. That indeavours were still had to win more. And that look how much more the League did decline in *France*, so much the more was it fomented by *Flanders*, his having declared himself to be a Catholick, and his having advanced his endeavours of reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*, with the Pope so far, not causing them any whit to alter their designe. Wherefore thinking that he was already too much injured, he resolved not to indure it any longer. To the which he was the more incouraged for that he saw his Authority and power did daily increase in *France*. He therefore proclaimed War against the King of *Spain*; and endeavoured by a bitter Declaration to invite all his Subjects to the War. Nor was it long ere another contrary manifesto came from *Flanders*, wherein the King of *Spain* indeavoured to justifie all that he had done in order to the affairs of *France*. And some other Declarations were added, which were requisite upon such an occurency. War being thus declared between the two Kings; the greatest designs of both sides were turned towards the Frontiers of *France* and *Flanders*. The King of *France* had sent the Duke of *Bullion* with good Forces a little before into the Country of *Luxemburg*. Wherein the United States did likewise joyn with a certain number of horse and foot on their behalfs. Wherefore *Bullion* having soon won the Towns of *Frette* & *Yvois*, which lay neareſt the Frontiers of *France*, he marched further into the Country, pillaging and preying upon that Province in hostile manner. At the same time the States took likewise the Town of *Huy* in the Country of *Liege*, that they might advance nearer the Confines of *France* on that side, and in the mutual communication of their designs, communicate their Forces also the easilier. The Town of *Huy* lies upon the *Mause*, with a Bridg which expedites that passage; and a Castle eminently seated, which commands the Town. The Town belongs to the Bishoprick of *Liege*; and till this time had always enjoyed Neutrality between the Kings Forces and the adverse party, as all the rest of that Country had likewise done. *Ernestus* the Elector of *Bavaria* enjoyed that Bishoprick, together with the Archbishoprick of *Colen*. The invasion being made, he applied himself to the United States for the restitution of that Town which was taken. But his endeavours proving vain, he had afterwards recourse to the Kings forces, to which he promised to joyn his also, that such a novelty might be the sooner remedied. The Archduke was no less moved upon this occasion, nor less ready on his part to remedy it. And he being dead, Count *Fuentes* appear'd to be of the same mind. He therefore (and 'twas his first action) sent Monsieur *de la Motte* with good Forces to recover *Huy*; which were quickly augmented by those which the Elector added unto them. *La Motte* being come near the Town, began to play upon it, and within a few dayes took it, and reduced the State of *Liege* into total security. He being afterwards sent for back by Count *Fuentes* to *Brussels*, who intended to imploy him elsewhere; Colonel *Verdugo* was sent by the Count with a great strength of men, to free the Country of *Luxemburg* from the excursions made by the *French*, and to recover the Towns which *Bullion* had taken. *Verdugo* went thither, and did so handle the *French*, as making them first forsake the field, he made them afterward quit the Country and the Towns which they had taken. The King of *France* his Forces were then chiefly turned upon the Dukedom of *Burgony*, to take it from the Duke *De Mayn*: To the defence whereof, as also of the County of *Burgony*, which was likewise threatned by the King, the Constable of *Castile*, Governour

of

of *Millan*, was come with very gallant Forces from *Italy*. *Fuentes* had thought to have sent *Verdugo* thither also with some assistance from *Flanders*. But he dying at that time, it could not be effected. In him the Spanish Nation lost one of the most valiant and best experienced Commanders in War, that was then in all those Provinces. Wherein he had served the King of *Spain* little less then 50 years. And passing through all the degrees of the Militia, he had still shewed himself most worthy in the last; and particularly most in such as required either greater vigilancy in command, or greater wisdom in advice. He commanded the Kings Forces with great authority a long time on the further side of the *Rhine*, with much variety of acquisitions and losses; till that the Spanish Forces being diverted too much in *France*, the Kings own affairs in *Flanders* were brought to too bad a condition.

Count *Fuentes* being freed from that diversion which the enemy had occasioned in the Countries of *Liege* and *Luxemburg*, and leaving Colonel *Mandragone* well furnished with forces thereabouts, he applyed himself wholly to the Frontiers of *Picardy*, resolving to go thither himself, accompanied with a great strength of men, and to advantage the Kings affairs there as much as he could. Count *Charls Mansfield* did formerly command the Kings Flemish Forces which were upon that Frontier, as hath been often said. But he being gon into *Germany*, to serve the Emperour against the *Turk* in the VVars of *Hungary*, the Arch-duke, before he died, had substituted the Marquis of *Barambone* in his place; who was Governour of *Artois*, which joyns upon *Picardy*. VVho being entred into that Province, had overrun it in divers parts, and taken *Anker*, and some other Towns, all but of small importance. He afterwards returning into his own Province, had sent Monsieur *di Rone* in his place, of whom and whose Military worth, mention hath been often made already. He was one of the chief of the League of *France*; but resolving at last actually to establish himself in the King of *Spains* Service, he was received thereunto, and had a great stipend allowed him, and was made Campmaster General of the Army. VVherefore the command of those parts being past into his hands, he went thither, and made likewise some small acquisitions.

The Spring was by this time over, and Count *Fuentes* did no longer delay to prepare for putting his designs into execution. He desired above all things to take the City of *Cambray* from the French; and to reduce it, as formerly it was, under the particular Authority of the King of *Spain*. In the revolutions of *Flanders*, soon after the death of *Don John*, that City was fallen into the hands of the Duke of *Alanson*, as was then said. *Alanson* at his death, left the Queen his mother heir to those parts which he could pretend to, by such an acquisition; and she had confirmed the Government of *Cambray*, and of the Castle and Territory of *Cambresis* upon *Signor di Baligni*, who had the same charge whilst *Alanson* lived. Nor did *Baligni* omit to make use of the present conjuncture of times, by becoming as it were absolute Lord of that City, and of all that depended upon the Dominion thereof. He having always wrought his advantage on both sides during the troubles of *France* and *Flanders*; had brought that Country into a condition as it were of neutrality. Yet upon all occurrences he lean'd much more to the French, where his acquisition might cause less jealousie, and consequently receive more protection. But the King of *France* his affairs bettering every day in that Kingdom, and especially upon that Frontier, *Baligni* had condescended to put the City of *Cambray* under the direct dominion of the King, reserving unto himself the usefull part thereof, together with the Prerogative of calling himself Prince of *Cambray*. *Baligni* being thus become Lord of that City, he began to be diligent in fortifying it, and muniting it with Bulwarks, Arms, Ammunition and Victuals. He foresaw the Tempest which was likely to fall upon him from the King of *Spains* Forces in *Flanders*, if ever any occasion thereof should be offered. And doubtlesly as that was the greatest advantage which *France* had reaped in those parts during the troubles of *Flanders*: so could not the King of *Spain* benefit himself better upon that Confine, then by reducing *Cambray* to its former condition. In former times the City of *Cambray* had been as it were a strong Bulwark to the whole Walloons Country against the French

assaults

assaults on that side. And the Emperour *Charls* the fifth, the better to secure himself thereof, had by the Archbishops good will, who was Lord both spiritual and temporal of that City, built a strong Castle there; which was better furnished and fortified afterwards by *Baligni*. He kept the two neighbouring Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois* in great subjection: grieving them with quartering, indamaging them with inroads, putting them to pay contributions, and using other great violences against them; such as if greater could not have been used by a declared enemy; at least not by a bad neighbour. They therefore greatly desired to see that Town return under the King of *Spains* devotion. And had offered all possible assistance to Count *Fuentes*, to make him the willinglier resolve upon that enterprise. But in the mature agitating thereof in the Counsel of War there was some opposition found; and there was great ambiguity in Votes. Monsieur *de la Motte*, General of the Artillery, and a man of long experience and known valour, was particularly against the Enterprise. He said,

That the Kings forces were not as then strong enough to be thought proportionable for such a siege. That the City of Cambray *was of a very large circuit, and very well munited with flanks and ditches on all sides. That the City was secured by a very strong Citadel; and that it was to be believed that neither the Citadel nor City would want either men, ammunition, or victuals requisite to make resistance; That on the contrary the Kings Forces being well considered, it would clearly appear that they were not sufficient so to begirt such a Town as that, as it ought to be. That if it were not well surrounded with Trenches, it could not be kept from being relieved; and say it should be perfectly incompassed; was it not to be believed that all means possible would be used by* France *to force those Trenches? That lesser Interests gave way to more urgent necessities. That there could be none of greater consideration for* France, *then to keep* Spain *from making so important an acquisition. That therefore it was necessarily to be supposed that the King of* France, *laying aside all other affairs, would bend all his Forces to keep the City of* Cambray *in* Baligni's *command, which was as much to say, as in his own. That the agreement between him and* Du Main *was still in hand; which the King would endeavour the more, that the concord might be made in such a conjuncture of time. Neither would the United Provinces lose that oportunity; but seeing the Spanish Arms in* Flanders *more languishing now then ever, they would certainly apply themselves to some important siege, which they might as easily effect as designe.*

These were the Objections made by Monsieur *de la Motte* against the Enterprise. But the new Camp-master-General, *Ronye*, was very stiff for it; shewing himself the more to be a Spaniard in his opinion, lest he might be thought to be too luke-warm, as being a Frenchman. He said,

That the Provinces of Hennault *and* Artois *had made large promises of assistance, toward the effecting of the Enterprise. And that it was to be hoped all the rest of the Walloons Country would concur thereunto: That therefore the Kings Forces might be so increased by such and so opportune helps, as they might be sufficient to make such a siege, and manage it as it ought to be. That the City of* Cambray *seemed very much to hate* Baligni: *and that he was acknowledged by the people thereof rather as a Tyrant then a Prince. Wherefore by reason of the jealousies within, he would be the less able to withstand the forces without. That it was doubtlesly to be believed the French would not omit doing of any thing which might keep the Town from being lost. But that the King was already so deeply ingaged in* Burgony, *and was so prest upon on one side by the Duke* du Main, *and on the other by the Constable of* Castile, *as he would hardly free himself of that trouble. That the King being held in play so far off, there was small fear to be had of his Captains that were nearer hand. And what a madness would it be thought in the Duke* du Main, *if when he might better his condition the more, amidst Arms, he should so slightly forgoe them? That if in the mean time the United Provinces should make any opposition, they might be met with forces sufficient to suppress them. That all men were usually set upon in their highest designes by hopes and fears. That in this, hope was to have the upper hand. And why should they not hope to find a friend of Fortune, since their Cause was so just? For what remained, that the recovery of* Cambray *was of so great consequence, as all the expences the King of* Spain *had been at in the present occurrences of* France *might be thought*

thought well imployed, if only thereby Flanders *might be again posſeſt of ſuch a Bulwark as this, in that ſo ſuſpitious corner.*

Fuentes inclined to this opinion, being naturally full of high thoughts, and deſirous to innoble his Government by ſome extraordinary ſucceſs. He therefore acquainted the Provinces of *Hennault* and *Artois* with this his reſolution, moving them the more to aſſiſt him. He eaſily drew over likewiſe the Cities of *Tornay* and *Lille*, with the Countries which lie more inward upon the Walloons, to be of the ſame mind. But the Archbiſhop himſelf ſeemed more deſirous of this Enterprize then all others. VVho alſo offered ſome monies towards the effecting of it; hoping by the King of *Spains* power and protection, to return to his City, and enjoy his former Government thereof.

VVhilſt theſe aids were preparing, and that divers other neceſſary proviſions were made to the ſame purpoſe, Count *Fuentes* reſolved to enter *Picardy*, with thoſe men which he had already gathered together, ſo parted from *Bruſſels* about the beginning of *June*. Being come upon the Frontier, his firſt deſign was to get *Charolet*, a ſtrong place, and ſo neat *Cambray*, that unleſs he could bereave the enemy of it, it might much hinder the intended enterpriſe. He treated likewiſe at the ſame time with the Town of *Han*, to get it into his hands; it being a place ſeated advantagiouſly likewiſe thereabouts. Monſieur *di Gomeron* was Governour of this place, and Monſieur *Orveglier*, his brother by the mothers ſide commanded the Caſtle, which joyn'd upon the Town on one ſide. VVith both theſe there had been much tampering already, and at laſt *Gomeron* received 1000 foot, part Neopolitans, part Spaniards and VValloons into the Town. He promiſed faithfully to make *Orveglier* do the like in the Caſtle. And for a greater gage of his fidelity, he was gon to *Bruſſels* with two of his younger brethren, and gave himſelf up into *Fuentes* hands, who therefore cauſed 20000 crowns be given to him. And loaded him with divers other great offers, in caſe that the Town and Caſtle of *Han* ſhould remain in the King of *Spains* abſolute poſſeſſion. And this *Fuentes* did the more hope for, for that *Gomerone*, and *Orveglier*, had been always partial for the League upon that Frontier. This was the condition of *Han*, when *Fuentes* began to begirt *Chatelet*. VVhich was fortified in oppoſition of the Citadel of *Cambray* even from the firſt time that that Citadel was built by *Charls* the fift; *Chatelet* being the neareſt Town of *France* to the Frontiers of *Flanders* on that ſide. The form thereof is four ſquare, like that which was deſcribed in the ſiege of *La Chapelle*, but it is not altogether of ſo large a content. At every corner is placed a Royal Bulwark, the ditch about it is part dry, part full of water. And it was ſo well provided with all other things neceſſary for defence, as it might be feared it would hold out a long time. The greater the acquiſition was known to be, the greater was *Fuentes* his deſire to compaſs it. He therefore with much fervor begirt the Town; and advancing with his Trenches, prepared to batter the VVall on one ſide with a many great guns. VVhen on the ſudden news came, that inſtead of his taking of the Caſtle of *Han*, the Mariſhal *Bullion*, with the Meſſieurs of *Sanſeval*, and *Humiers*, all of them Commanders of the French forces in thoſe parts, were entred thereinto; and that they prepared to ſtorm the Town likewiſe. *Fuentes* began already to ſuſpect *Orviglier*, the Governour of the Caſtle, by reaſon of ſome of his no ſincere proceedings: But then he thought that the Gariſon which was placed in the Town, would keep from all novelties. And he was herein the more confirmed by his having *Gomeron* the Governor of the Town, and two of his brothers as gages, in his hands. Captain *Checco di Sangro*, a Neopolitan, and *Olmedo* a Spaniard commanded the Kings of *Spains* Flemiſh Forces in *Han*. Theſe immediately acquainted *Fuentes* with what danger the Town was in. He made no delay, but ſuſpending the continuation of the ſiege, and leaving Campmaſter *Auguſtine Meſſia* with ſo many men onely as might keep any relief from being brought into the Town, he went immediately away with the reſt of his Camp toward *Han*: hoping that when he had ſecured the Town, he might take the Caſtle: but it fell out otherwiſe. For the French Commanders not loſing any moment of their advantage, as ſoon as they were entred the Caſtle, did forthwith furiouſly aſſault the Town. VVhich firſt aſſault was no leſs vigorouſly

ſuſtained

ſuſtained by the Kings Flemiſh Forces. But being aſſailed not many hours after with greater violence and more men, a ſecond time; they were at laſt forced to yield, and march out of the Town; a great ſlaughter being firſt made; and almoſt all their Commanders taken priſoners; particularly *Sangro* and *Olmedo*. Nor did the French eſcape without loſs of bloud. Particularly *Humiers* was there ſlain, who was highly eſteemed of for his valours by the French. *Fuentes* hearing this news, returned as ſuddenly to his ſiege, and apply'd himſelf more hotly thereunto then before. That he might make amends for the loſs of one Town by getting another. Advancing therefore ſtill forwards with his works, he came ſoon to battery. And having made one very great one, the Spaniards with equal ardor fell to the aſſault. But the defences not being ſufficiently taken away, they could not ſtorm the wall: to boot that the beſieged plaid their parts manfully. Monſieur *de la Motte* was in the Camp, who failed not in making all diligence, to facilitate a ſecond aſſault by his batteries, he being the General of the Artillery. And they were now ready to fall on more fiercely then before, when an unfortunate accident befalling them within, did mightily diſcourage them. For ſom fire lighting among the powder which they had brought to the wall that was play'd upon, as to the place where they were to uſe it moſt, blew it almoſt all up, and conſequently very much weakened their defence. Wherefore having no hopes of relief, not waiting for a ſecond aſſault, they came to parly, and delivered up the Town upon honourable conditions to *Fuentes*, where he reſted his Army a few days, and at which time he received new hopes from *Orveglier*, of putting the Caſtle of *Han* into his hands. And *Gomerons* own mother came to the Camp and confirmed the ſame; fearing leſt otherwiſe *Fuentes* might proceed againſt her ſons. *Fuentes* being then allured by theſe ſecond hopes, marched again with his Army to within ſight of *Han*: but failing of his expectation, and thinking himſelf too much deluded, he could contain himſelf no longer, but in view of the whole Camp made the eldeſt *Gomerons* head be cut off, and ſent the other two brothers to be kept at *Antwerp*.

He returned from thence towards *Cambray* again, intending to beſiege it: but thinking that it was not ſufficient that he had taken *Chatelet* from the French, unleſs he ſhould alſo take *Dorlan*; he reſolved to incamp before *Dorlan*, and to bring that Town likewiſe into his power. In his march he took the Towns of *Clery* and *Bray*, which made hardly any reſiſtance; and about the midſt of *July* began to begirt *Dorlan*. There is no Town in all *Picardy* which is nearer the oppoſite Confine of *Flanders* then this; nay it doth rather interfere then joyn upon the Confines of *Artois*. It is little above an eaſie days journey from *Cambray*. It is a large Town well invironed with a wall and ditch: and it is munited on one ſide by an indifferent ſtrong Caſtle. The Duke of *Nevers* commanded over all the King of *France* his forces upon all thoſe Frontiers, being made Governour of *Champagne*, in ſtead of the Duke of *Guiſe*: who having made his peace with the King, had the Government of *Province* given him in lieu of *Champagnia*. *Nevers* began already to ſuſpect that *Fuentes* intended to beſiege *Dorlan*. and therefore he had added a good number of horſe, and choice foot to the Gariſon thereof, before *Fuentes* ſate down before it. The King had conferred the Government of *Picardy* upon Count St *Paul*; after that the Duke *d'Umale* had been proclaimed Traitor in *Paris* by the Kings Commiſſion, and had his head ſtruck off in Effigies. And in *Normandy* Monſieur *de Villiers* commanded under the King; who was eſtabliſhed as formerly in his Office of Admiral of *France*, in recognition of his being alſo reſolved to adhere unto the King, and for his having drawn the City of *Roan* to do the like. To boot with theſe Governours of Provinces, the Mariſhal of *Bullion*, and Monſieur *de Sanſeval* had a great influence upon the Forces within the ſame Frontiers, but the chief command lay in the Duke of *Nevers*. All theſe Commanders uſed the greateſt induſtry they could in gathering together ſuch Forces as might ſuffice to keep *Dorlan* from falling into the King of *Spains* hands. *Fuentes* was this mean while incamped before the Town. And it was argued in the Councel of VVar, whether were the better to begirt it on the Towns ſide, or on the Caſtles: and at laſt it was reſolved that they would bend all their forces againſt the Caſtle. For

that

that being won, they might much more easily take the Town. Amidst which contrariety of opinions, whilst Monsieur *de la Motte* in order to his office was viewing where he should fittest dispose of his Batteries, he was casually shot in the eye with a musket, and slain. A great loss: For *Flanders* had not a more experienced Commander in Arms, nor who had passed with greater approbation through all offices, even from the meanest to the greatest. The winning of the Castle being then resolv'd upon, divers Forts were raised on that side in such places as were most requisite to secure their quarters on the & outside, the Works which were to be made within. They fell presently to making Trenches. On one side which was of greatest concernment, the Spaniards, Burgonians and Walloons were so fervent at their work, as they soon fell into the Ditch. *Hernando Teglio Porcatorra* Serjeant-Major of a Spanish Brigado did in particular merit great praise herein. To become masters of the Ditch more easily, it was necessary to take a little Ravelin from the besieged. To this end the Spaniards and the rest made a furious assault upon the Ravelin, which was so well sustained by the French, as the success was doubtfull for some hours: But those without being still reinforced by new men, they took the Ravelin at the last, and lodged in it.

The Town was thus begirt, when *Fuentes* came to know that the *French* came to relieve it. The Admiral *Villiers* had brought 400 Horse a little before this, to this purpose, out of *Normandy*; and a great number of Horse was raised to the same end in the neighbouring Frontiers by *Saint Paul*, *Bullioun*, and *Sansevalle*. The besieged desired only to be succour'd by 800. or 1000 Foot. And though the Duke of *Nevers* was diligent in his endeavours likewise to secure the Town as soon as might be with new men, yet he maturely judged that it was needfull to assemble yet greater Forces together, whereupon the succour might be better grounded. To the which he was the rather moved, for that he knew *Fuentes* had received considerable Recruits from the *Flemish* and *Walloons*. But the French Commanders confiding in the Cavalry which they already had, and which consisted of prime Gentry, sent word to *Nevers*, who was at S. *Quintains*, that he should no longer delay endeavouring the succour; and that undoubtedly they would effect it with the Forces which they had. Going therefore from *Amiens*, which is the chief City of *Picardy*, and which is within a short dayes journey of *Dorlan*, they moved with 1500 Horse and 1000 Foot, intending to convey the Foot into the Town, and that the Horse should make their way. When they were come within sight of the Spanish Camp, *Fuentes* and the rest of his Commanders thought that this was rather to make a discovery, then to fight. But when they saw that the real intention of the *French* was to endeavour the succour with those men; *Fuentes* getting on horse-back, and in that posture suddenly sending for the rest of the Commanders to Councel, they resolved to leave the Trenches well provided, and to march and meet the Enemy with the rest of the Army. And *Fuentes* foretelling the certainty of the Victory,

This (said he) *may be termed a French Butado. Do they think to find us asleep within our quarters? or that we be not able to sustain that double assault which they peradventure intend to make at once, these from without, and the besieged from within? I believe they will soon find they are deceived; and that this their design partakes much more of fool-hardiness then of courage.*

Then taking all requisite order for the defence of their Trenches, and particularly for withstanding the Assault which the besieged might make, he drew forth the rest of his men into the field, observing first in what order the Enemy marched. They had made three almost equal bodies of Horse: The first was led on by Admiral *Villiers*; the second by Monsieur *Sansevalle*; and the third by Count *San Paul*, and the Marshal *Bullion*. Under the shelter of these Horse the Foot marched on the right hand; and in such order as they might easily disjoyn, and get into *Dorlan*, when the Horse should have opened them the way. Thus came the French marching on; and *Fuentes* ordered his Camp thus: On the right hand he formed a Squadron of Flanders Train-band Horse, which in their several Companies might come to 600 Curasiers, and who upon this occasion were commanded by Count *Bossu*. He placed the Light-Horse on the left hand under the command of *Ambrosio Landriano*, who was Lieutenant-General of the

Horſe; the Duke of *Paſtrana*, who was Generall, and who was a little before returned from *Spain*, being not well then. He himſelf kept in the midſt with his wonted Guard of Lances and Carabins; and followed by a great many Perſonages of great Port, amongſt which were the Duke *d'Umale*, the Campmaſter Generall *Ronye*, the Princes of *Simai* and *Avelino*, the Marquis *Barambone*, and divers others of the beſt quality that were in the Camp. The Foot were divided in the moſt advantagious places; and there was therof particularly one little flying Squadron of *Spaniards*, which might be ready to turn whereſoever occaſion ſhould moſt require. *Fuentes* having thus ordered his Army, *Villers* advanced, and with great fervencie charged the firſt Squadrons of the Light-horſe: Thoſe firſt Squadrons, which were all *Spaniards* and *Italians*, did not ſtand the charge of the French; but wheeling about, were diſordered and almoſt made to run. The ſecond Squadrons did then advance, who were *Spaniards* led on by *Carlo Colonna*; and fiercely ſetting upon the French on the Flank, they came to cloſe fight. The French Vanguard being thus advanced, *Sanſeval* made forwards with the Battel; againſt him came *Landriano* with the reſt of the Light-horſe, which were placed there: And here began a fierce and bloody conflict; where *Villers*, *Sanſeval*, and the reſt of their Company fighting courageouſly, the *Spaniards* Light-horſe were again diſordered. *Fuentes* gave the ſign then to the Curaſiers, who charged ſo cloſe and home upon the French Horſe, as they beat them back; and the reſt of the Horſe being rallied together and come in to them, they at laſt routed and diſſipated them. Wherein notwithſtanding the Foot had a great ſhare; who advancing, and letting flie with their Muskets on ſundry ſides upon the French, did more facilitate the ſucceſs in opening and breaking their ſquadrons, and in making a bloody ſlaughter: But it proved particularly moſt bloody againſt the Foot; for they being quite abandoned by reaſon of the Rout given unto the Horſe, were almoſt all of them cut in peeces; with a great deſire of revenging the blood which the French had drawn of the Spaniards in the aforeſaid aſſaults at *Han*. And for the ſame reaſon the like cruelty was uſed againſt the Horſe, after they were routed and defeated. Yet the third Squadron of the Rereward got almoſt all ſafe off: For *San Paul* and *Bullion* ſeeing what ill ſucceſs the other two had, retreated without further fighting, and did it ſo early as they could not be purſued. Whilſt they were thus buſie on this ſide, the beſieged failed not to ſally out upon the Spaniſh quarters, endeavouring to overcome them, and then joyn with the French that were without: But they met with ſuch reſiſtance, as all they could doe was in vain. And thus *Fuentes* had the victory on both ſides. Few in his Camp were either hurt or ſlain. On the contrary, few of the Enemies Foot were ſaved, and great ſlaughter was made amongſt the Horſe. Many Priſoners were likewiſe taken, and of thoſe, many of the chief men: One, and the chiefeſt of them all was Admiral *Villers*: when contention ariſing amongſt thoſe in whoſe hands he was, and he offering a very great ſum of money to ſatisfie all their greedineſs; *John Contrera*, a Spaniard, who was Commiſſary-Generall of the Horſe, fuller of rage then anger, made him be cruelly put to death. An action whereat *Fuentes* was highly diſpleaſed. Another of chiefeſt eſteem amongſt them that were ſlain, was Monſieur *de Sanſeval*, who was Lieutenant-General of *Picardy*; of a noble family, and of high deſerts in war. Many others of the prime Nobility of thoſe parts were either taken priſoners, or ſlain. And *Fuentes*, were it either to boaſt his victory or civility, ſent the bodies of *Villers* and *Sanſeval* to the Duke of *Nevers*, that they might be honourably buried by their friends, according to their merits.

Fuentes having gotten this Field-victory, returned with more fervencie then formerly to beſiege the Town, and the beſieged ſeemed as reſolute in the defence thereof. Count *Dinan* was Governour of the place; and he had a very numerous Gariſon in the Town, compoſed almoſt altogether of Gentry, who were reſolved rather to die then yield. Reſiſtance was made in the Ditch, as you have heard; and though the Spaniards had won the little Ravelin, yet the French did ſtill defend themſelves there with Galleries and ſuch other works. But *Fuentes* reſolving to force the Town as ſoon as poſſibly he could, placed a great Battery almoſt cloſe to the Counterſcarf, and began to thunder furiouſly from thence

upon

upon the walls: He planted likewiſe ſome Artillery upon the riſe of a Hill, which from above, ſhot point blank upon the *French*, much to their prejudice, and might continue doing ſo without hurting the *Spaniards*, when they ſhould make an aſſault. The wall was plaid upon for many hours; and a great part thereof with its platform being thrown down, inſomuch as the breach was almoſt levell'd, thoſe without preſented themſelves to make the aſſault, and thoſe within to receive it. *Fuentes* ordered the Aſſault on his ſide thus. He made 3 Squadrons, the firſt conſiſting of 600 Foot, and the other two of not full out ſo many: The ſecond was to ſecond the firſt, and the third the ſecond. The beſieged on their behalf likewiſe prepared to make all manly defence, with military order and reſolution. The chiefeſt for valour and birth were placed in the firſt Files; who keeping cloſe together, and well arm'd, ſeemed like a great high bank covered with iron. And a ſufficient breach being made, thoſe without marched to the aſſault. The firſt Squadron advanced firſt, and with great courage endeavoured to get footing upon the wall that was beaten down; but it was ſo much better defended then aſſailed, as the ſecond Squadron muſt come in to aſſiſt the firſt. Then the combat began to be very fierce; for thoſe within being likewiſe reinforced with freſh ſuccour, they did renew their reſiſtance with more ardor then before. In the heat of the conflict, like waves ſucceſſively, now theſe, now thoſe were ſeen to give way: Pikes were ſucceeded by ſwords, and ſwords by all manner of other cloſe fight, which not only the deſire of defence, but of offence might teach upon that occaſion. The ground was all covered with dead bodies, or ſuch as were ſorely wounded; and thoſe who were unwounded ſeemed much more deſirous to dye then to live: Blood ran down every where; all was full of horror and death. And the conflict was ſo various between hope and fear, as it could not be diſcerned to which ſide the fortune of the day would turn. Thus did the combat for a while continue: But *Fuentes* reſolving to try the utmoſt, made the third Squadron come in; and thoſe within were likewiſe invigored with new aids: inſomuch as it is not to be ſaid how fierce and how uncertain the fight was for a while. Yet the aſſailants began already to prevail, by reaſon of two manifeſt diſadvantages which the aſſailed ſuffered under: The one was the great ſlaughter which was made amongſt them from aloof off by the Artillery that was placed upon the little Riſe, while they fought at nearer diſtance: The other, that the place where they fought being very narrow, they could not make way one for another, nor keep ſuch order as they ought to have done. Not being therefore able any longer to reſiſt, they were at laſt inforced to yield: But they ſtill gave back with their faces towards the Enemy; and with ſo great undauntedneſs, as the moſt of them, at leaſt the better ſort choſe rather to loſe their lives then their ſtation. The Caſtle being forced, the Victors ſoon entred the Town; and the Gates being opened, all the reſt of the Camp came in, who ſtraightways pillaged and plundred it all over in hoſtile manner. Great was the number of thoſe that were ſlain, and great the number of priſoners. But the Plunder proved not to ſuch a value, as did any ways ſatisfie the Souldiers avarice; which was the cauſe, as it was thought, why (the Prey not anſwering their hopes) ſome houſes were deſpightfully ſet on fire; which firing a great many others, the whole Town would quickly have been conſumed, had not *Fuentes* come in himſelf in perſon, and remedied the diſorder. Count *Dinan*, the Governour of the place, whilſt he gave proof of great valour, dyed in the Aſſault: And his Brother Monſieur *de Ronſoy* was ſo ſore wounded, as he lived not long after. All the reſt of the better ſort were ſlain or taken priſoners. Divers Captains of the Spaniſh Camp were ſlain, and many inferior Officers, together with a great number of common ſouldiers. In fine, the ſucceſs of this Aſſault was ſuch, as a more fierce, bloody, and longer doubtfull fight had not till that time been heard of neither in the Wars of *France* nor *Flanders*.

Fuentes having taken *Chatelet* and *Dorlan*, and gotten the aforeſaid victory in the field, he had the greater deſire to incamp before *Cambray*; and he hoped the more to win it at laſt. He firſt reſted his Army for ſome days, and in the mean while ſollicited thoſe aids, which diverſly and plentifully was preparing for him in *Henault*, *Artois*, and in the other neighbouring Countries, and by the Biſhop of

Cambray. The aids consisted in monies, souldiers, victuals, ammunition, Artillery, together with a great number of Pyoners, to serve for the mannual work of the siege. But in the Interim, he being willing to gain as much time as he could, parted from *Dorlan*; and with those men which he had, incamped about the midst of *August* before *Cambray*. His Camp consisted not then of above 7000 foot, and 1500 horse. VVherefore the Duke of *Nevers* who was then in *Peroune*, resolved to try whether he could bring any relief into the Town or no, before his Army should be increased. He to this purpose sent his eldest son, the Duke of *Retel*, who was not then above 15 years old, accompanied with 500 horse. By sending such a pawn *Nevers* desired to assure the besieged the more, that he himself would soon come to succour them with other forces. The young Duke met with a brisk opposition, wherein *Carlo Colonna* with his Cavalry did particularly signalize himself. But the French prevailed, and having lost some of their men, entred most of them into the City. *Fuentes* his Army did this mean while daily increase; in a short time his Camp consisted of 12000 foot and 3000 horse; he had moreover above 80 pieces of Artillery, great aboundance of Ammunition and victuals, and 4000 Pyoners. At his first incamping, *Fuentes* had rather designed where he would take up his quarters about the Town, then taken them up, deviding them the most advantagiously that the several situations would suffer him to do. But now abounding in all things that was necessary to fortifie them, he applyed himself suddenly to bring them to intire perfection. *Cambray* is seated (as hath several times been said) upon that edg of Frontier, made by the two Provinces of *Henault* and *Artois* on *Flanders* side towards *France*, opposite to *Picardy*. It hath under its command abroad, only the little Castle of *Cambresis*, with a very narrow precinct of ground; but the Prerogatives of the City, make good the smallness of the Territories. It enjoys a free Government, under the spiritual and temporal dominion of its Archbishop. It is indowed with very large Priviledges; full of noble Churches, whereof the Cathedral is such as hath not its like in any of the chief neighbouring Cities. It is sufficiently provided also of other Edifices, either for use or ornament; yet are not the Inhabitants answerable in numbers to the houses. Many of which being Ecclesiasticks, foreign Commerce, and Merchandizing doe rather languish then abound there: Neither doth the *Scheld*, though it run through the City, afford Commodity for it; for that River takes its head but from a little above that City, and hath therefore there so slender a Channel, as it is hardly Navigable in those parts. The City is about a league in compass, and is invironed with an ancient wall, flank'd for the most part after the ancient manner; but with many Bulwarks also after the modern way of Fortification. It hath a ditch which is very broad and deep on the one side, whereinto for a great part the *Scheld* runs; but the rest thereof by reason of the hight of its situation is dry; but so much the deeper. On the highest side, which is on the East, stands a Citadel, with four royal Bulwarks, having a great half Moon between two of them which are next the fields; and divers other defences for the better custody of the ditch. The ground descending from hence towards the South side, and still more and more as it inclines towards the VVest, stands the Port *Neufe*, and then that of St *Sepulcher*; afterwards another called *Cantimpre*; and more towards the South, that of *Selle*. And lastly more higher towards the Citadel there is another Gate called *Malle*. Between these Gates is the compass of the City divided. It had for the defence thereof about 2500 foot, and 600 horse, besides 500 foot which were reserved for the Citadel. Amongst the foot some Companies of Swissers were comprehended, and some others of the confining VValloons which served *Baligni*. The rest were French, all of them well trained up in wars. The City and Citadel did abound in Victuals, Ammunition, Artillery, and with whatsoever was requisite for the maintaining of a long and hard siege.

Now to turn to the adverse party. *Fuentes* had taken up his quarters chiefly over against the Gates, that he might block up the most frequented avenues; and that he might the better keep out succour. On that side which lay neareſt *France*, from whence relief was most to be feared, and which was on the South side, he raised a great Fort near the Village *Nierny*, and gave the custody thereof to the

Prince

Prince of *Simay*. He raiſed another Fort towards the weſt called *Premy*, taking its name from a near neighbouring Village; and gave the charge thereof to Count *Bilio*, Colonel of a *German* Regiment. Then turning towards the North, he added another Fort, which was called St. *Olao*, the name of a Church not far from it; and he committed the defence thereof to the Baron *Anſi*. On the fourth ſide towards the Eaſt did *Fuentes* his ſelf quarter, by reaſon of the near accommodation of the Village *Evendunre*; and here he raiſed the greateſt Fort; for on that ſide which was the moſt eminent, and where the ditch was dry, he intended to open his Trenches and to make his batteries. Theſe were the chief quarters; and the defence was to be ſecured by the aboveſaid Forts. From one Fort to another, did certain little Forts, or rather Redouts run, with double Trenches; becauſe the inward might ſerve to refrain ſallies, and the outward to keep out ſuccour. To each Fort and Redout he aſſigned ſuch men as were requiſite, together with all things neceſſary for the well maintaining of them. And the horſe were likewiſe diſtributed in places moſt needfull to ſcoure the Country and to be ready to diſturb relief. The ſiege being thus ſetled, they began to work their Trenches againſt the wall. But as that higheſt or moſt eminent place which hath been ſpoken of, was moſt commodious for the opening of them, ſo was the wall on that ſide the City hardeſt to be forced. A half Bulwark was thruſt out from the Citadel with a great Orillioune: which with the well covered fences within, did ſerve for a curtain to a long line of wall which ran between that Bulwark and the Port *di Malle*. Between that Port and that of *Selle*, another great Ravelin ſtood out likewiſe, called *La Nue*, and ſo high was the ditch every where thereabouts, as it appeared more difficult being dry, then if it had had water in it. But in all other parts thereabouts the earth was ſo ſoft and myery, and ſo troubleſome for the making of Trenches, as *Fuentes* no leſs out of neceſſity then choice, reſolved to accoaſt the City on that higher and ſteeper ſide, and to ſtorm it there. The works being then begun with great fervency, great and ſodain advancement was made therein, through the inceſſant labour of ſo many Pyoners; though it coſt much labour by reaſon of the quality of the earth, which moſt commonly was too hard, and ſometimes ſtony. They wrought upon two Trenches, the one juſt over againſt the wall, which ran along from the Port *di Malle*, towards the Bulwark *Robert* (ſo was the aboveſaid *Orillion* called) and the other towards the ſame Port *di Malle*, which the Townſmen by reaſon of the ſiege had then block'd up with earth. *Fuentes* had given the care of all theſe works to the Campmaſter *Auguſtin Miſſia*; who with the Spaniards did moſt tend that which was the chiefeſt, and which led towards the Bulwark *Robert*. The Campmaſter *Barlotta*, with his VValloons apply'd himſelf to the other which led towards the Port *di Malle*; and great diligence being had in the making of both theſe Trenches, they were within a few days brought even to the edg of the ditch. This mean while thoſe within the Town ceaſed not continually to moleſt theſe works both nearer hand, and at a further diſtance; neerer hand by frequent ſallies, and at a further diſtance by their Canon from off their walls. So as many actions had, and did daily happen; ſometimes between foot and foot, ſometimes between horſe and horſe; and often between both horſe and foot. *Baligni* was one of the Mariſhals of *France*, and his wife was in *Cambray*. A woman ſo highly ſpirited as ſhe would not yield unto her husband in ſuſtaining the difficulties of the ſiege. She her ſelf made the round. She reviewed the ſentinels, incouraged the ſouldiers, took care for what they wanted: and behaving her ſelf valiantly in all other Military exerciſe, ſhe appeared to be of ſo warlike a ſpirit, as almoſt nothing of womaniſh was ſeen in her. The husband and the wife ſtriving thus who ſhould moſt incourage their men to reſiſtance, they indeavoured to retard the enemies proceedings as much as they could. But theſe did every day advance more and more, and had already begun to fall into the ditch, and to place their batteries on two ſides; the one being of 14 great piece of Canon, againſt that part of the wall towards which the Campmaſter *Meſſia's* works tended; and the other of 10 ſuch like Canon, againſt the Port *di Malle*, towards which the Campmaſter *Barlotto* did addreſs his works. Nine pieces were placed in a battery apart againſt the Bulwark *Robert*. And above 30 others here and there, to

play

play where it was moſt behovefull, and ſo much the better impede the Defence. They fought this mean while in the Ditch; and the dryer the Ditch was, the greater was the Conteſt. But thoſe within ſeeing themſelves daily to be more and more ſtraitned, *Baligni* began to be afraid, and to preſs very much for ſpeedy ſuccour; which was no leſs deſired by the *French*.

The King of *France* had juſt now reconciled himſelf to the Apoſtolick See: and as Pope *Clement* the eighth could not have ſhown more zeal in endeavouring the preſervation of that Kingdom in the unity of the Church, nor more wiſdom in guiding that buſineſs throughout; ſo did not the King omit doing any thing which might make the reverence and honour moſt appear, which he deſired upon ſuch an occaſion to render to the Holy See. His affairs in *France* were hereby mightily advantaged; and no relicks of the League now remaining, it was daily expected when the agreement already begun between the King and Duke *Du Mayne* ſhould be perfected. The King was therefore much grieved, that amidſt ſo much felicity, he muſt be in danger to loſe *Cambrey*, unleſs it were ſpeedily relieved; Wherefore he reſolved to go thither in perſon with powerful Forces; but not being then in poſture to do it ſo ſuddenly, he reſolved to ſend one of the prime Captains of *France* thither for the preſent, very ſpeedily, by whoſe authority and valour the ſiege might in the interim be the better ſuſtained. To this purpoſe he choſe Monſieur *de Vich*, who was eſteemed the beſt of all *France*, particularly for what concern'd a ſiege: *Du Vich* viſited the Duke of *Nevers* firſt at St. *Quintain*: And taking from thence 500 choice Dragoons, he marched about the midſt of *September* upon the coming on of night, towards the Enemies Trenches; and winding about on the left hand towards the gates *Cantimper* and *Selle*, he came before them, intending to enter by one of them into *Cambray*. As he advanced the Spaniſh Scouts gave the alarm.

And *Landriano* advanced ſuddenly with ſome Troops of Horſe, and 300 Foot to obviat him. *Landriano* knew not by which of the two gates *Du Vich* intended to enter; wherefore placing himſelf between them both, he hoping to keep him from entring at either of them. *Du Vich* fained as if he would enter by the gate of *Selle*, and drew *Landriano* with all his men thitherward; but turning ſuddenly towards the other of *Cantimper*, and making all his Dragoons light on foot, that their ſorrowful horſes might ſerve for prey to *Landriano*'s ſouldiers, who already followed him, and ſo to entertain them the longer, he came to the City without the loſs of ſo much as one man. He was welcomed thither with great applauſe, and ſoon confirmed the opinion, both of the King that had ſent him, and of the others that received him. He ſuddenly reviewed the Line, and endeavoured divers waies to advantage it on that ſide where the Enemies Trenches, and the Batteries which they were preparing, did moſt threaten it. He firſt raiſed a great half moon between the Bulwark *Robert*, and the gate *Malle*; thinking that that Curtain was not ſufficiently Flank'd. Upon the Rampire, between the gate *Malle* and the other gate *Selle* he raiſed a great Platform, the more to anoy the Enemies works; and he furniſhed it with good ſtore of Artillery: he diſpoſed of many other peeces by way of Counterbattery to the fourteen which were placed without, to play upon the Curtain between the Bulwark *Robert*, and the gate *Malle*. He placed ſome likewiſe againſt thoſe nine which were to play upon the Bulwark *Robert* in a Battery apart: He raiſed divers other advantagious works in the ditch; and from the firſt day that he entred into *Cambray*, thoſe within the Town were ſo encouraged, as they ceaſed not afterwards to make continual ſallies. It was now towards the end of *September*; and the Artillery on the outſide were ſo prepared for Battery, as they were ready to fall to execution; when *Du Vich* prevented them with his from within, and began to ſhowre down a horrible tempeſt upon the Enemy. Theſe continued to play a whole day and a half unceſſantly, and had ſuch effect, as they diſmounted nine peeces of Canon of the Spaniards Camp, and ſlew many Canoneers, and many other ſouldiers. Thoſe within the Town, by their accommodation of working within the dry ditch, had underminded the nine peeces which were to play upon the Bulwark *Robert*, ſo to blow them up, and cauſe ſome impediment to the Enemy. And though the effect was not altogether anſwerable to the deſign; yet did the

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mine ſo much indamage them, as four of thoſe Canons were buryed in the ground, and the reſt were made unuſeful for the preſent, and for a good while after.

This ſo lively and ſo well wieghed reſiſtance, cauſed great confuſion in the Spaniſh Camp. Some of the Commanders propounded to *Fuentes*, that the Aſſault might be removed from the higher to the lower ſide. Nor were there thoſe wanting, who ſeeing further into the difficulties of ſtorming ſo large a Town, and which was ſo well defended, adviſed to raiſe the ſo cloſe ſiege, and to beleaguer it at a further diſtance by the way of Forts. Theſe thought it impoſſible but that the cold and rainy weather would come in before the ſiege ſhould be ended, and that likewiſe the King of *France* would appear in ſuccour of the City with great Forces; in either of which caſes they muſt of neceſſity doe that with ſhame, which they might now doe out of choice, with leaving at leaſt ſuch Forts as might keep thoſe of *Cambray* from making ſuch excurſions as they formerly were wont, to the great annoyance of all the parts thereabouts. As for altering the place of aſſault, *Fuentes* did no wayes incline thereunto: For he conſidered that that would be to begin the ſiege anew; that peradventure the difficulties would not prove leſs elſwhere; and that the mean while all the labour which they had imployed in making Trenches and raiſing Forts would be loſt. But he was much more againſt raiſing the ſiege: How could he excuſe ſuch an act to the King of *Spain*, to the *Walloon* Provinces in *Flanders*, and to his own Honour? Nor yet could he approve of a ſiege at a further diſtance by the way of Forts: For if the Duke of *Alanſon* had formerly freed *Cambray* from thoſe that the Duke of *Parma* had planted about it, certainly the King of *France* might much more eaſily doe the like now to theſe. Wherefore no ways yielding to the difficulty of the undertaking, he reſolved to continue the ſiege in the ſame place. The Commanders in chief, in all governments, uſe always to keep ſomwhat to themſelves of ſecret and of weight. And thus did *Fuentes* at this time. One of the chiefeſt motives which had made him fall upon that ſiege, was the ſecret intelligence which chiefly by the Archbiſhops means he held in *Cambray*: He had received much encouragement from his Complices within the City, for his incamping before it, and for his continuing the ſiege, which had been ſo well begun. Hoping therefore no leſs in theſe ſecret machinations of intelligence, then in his other openly put in execution, he appear'd more firm then ever in his former reſolution. And he did this the rather by reaſon of his new recruit of Forces, of which a ſtrength of 700 choiſe Horſe was very conſiderable, which the Mutiniers of *Tillemont* prepared to ſend to ſerve him in that enterpriſe, but upon certain conditions whereby thoſe Mutiniers were more aſcertained of their pay. They returned then again to work upon their Batteries; the two Campmaſters *Meſſia* and *Barlotta* being very diligent therein. A great Rampier of Earth was raiſed to ſhelter *Meſſia's* greater Battery from *Du Vich's* new Platform; and ſome pieces of Artillery were placed upon a Riſe without towards the Gate *Selle*, which did command that Platform; which Pieces did not only ſerve to weaken that defence, but alſo to clear all that wall which ran between the Gate *Selle*, and the Flank *Nua*, as alſo to beat down the houſes within the City. Another way to iſſue out was alſo opened in the Ditch over againſt the Bulwark *Robert*, that they might have more Avenues, and come the eaſilier to the Aſſault which was intended to be made on that ſide. To theſe divers other Works were added to haſten the buſineſs as much as might be; and all parts where ſuccour was moſt apprehended, were chiefly reinforced with ſouldiers.

This was the condition of the ſiege in the beginning of *October*: when *Fuentes* thought he might now come to Battery, and then fall ſuddenly to aſſault. All the Batteries began to thunder tempeſtuouſly on the Enemies wall, at day-break; which they did with ſuch uniformity, as they ſeemed not to be ſeverall, but one ſole Battery. *Barlotta's* ten Peeces plaid againſt the Gate *Malle*; *Meſſia's* fourteen againſt the Wall which ran from thence to the Bulwark *Robert*; and *Meſſia's* other nine againſt the Orillioun of the ſame Bulwark; to diſcover, and take away that Defence, which might more hinder the Aſſault which was intended to be made in that place, then any other. Nor did the reſt of the Artillery which were

were placed elſwhere ceaſe playing at the ſame time, eſpecially thoſe that were on that higher part without, from whence the houſes of the City were beaten down. Alike was the Tempeſt which plaid from the batter'd Walls upon the Batteries. So as by ſo great and horrible a Thunder, the Fields ſhook without, and the City within: The uſe of Eyes was loſt, and almoſt the uſe of Ears: Smoak clouded the Day; and the horror was the greater, for that it was obſcured by Horror. Whilſt the great Batteries plaid thus from one part, the Spaniſh Camp was in Arms in all other parts; *Fuentes* being very carefull that at the ſame time the outward Line of the Siege ſhould be well guarded; to which purpoſe he had aſſigned particular ſtations and Forces to the Duke *d'Umale*, to the Campmaſter Generall *Reny*, to the Prince of *Avelino*, and to divers other Commanders. And to the end that when ſufficient breach ſhould be made by the Batteries, the Aſſault ſhould immediately enſue on *Meſſia's* and on *Barlotta's* ſide, *Fuentes* gave likewiſe ſuch Orders as were moſt requiſite for them both: He gave *Meſſia* eſpecial charge, that when the Aſſault ſhould be given, he ſhould by all means hinder the Town from being plunder'd, and from ſuffering any other kind of diſorder. The Batteries continued the ſpace of eight hours; and had made ſuch ruine, as the *Spaniards* began to prepare for the Aſſault: when it appeared, that the machinations within the City had wrought more upon the Citizens minds then thoſe without whereby the City-walls were ſo cruelly batter'd. Thoſe who were for *Fuentes*, and eſpecially the Eccleſiaſticks who depended upon the Archbiſhop, taking this occaſion, had ſundry ways endeavoured to incite the People againſt *Baligny*, and againſt the *French*: And juſt at this time *Baligny* and his wife were become more odious then before, by having coyned a great quantity of Braſs-money, which went at the rate of ſilver; giving out, that when the Siege ſhould be over, every one ſhould be ſatisfied with their true value: but this was not believed. *Baligny*, whilſt the Batteries were a playing, had aſſembled a great number of armed Citizens together in the largeſt Piazza, that they might be ready to ſuccour the Wall which was plaid upon. When the aforeſaid Firebrands diſperſing themſelves boldly here and there amidſt thoſe Citizens, with a loud voice ſaid,

Shall we through obſtinacie rather ſuſtain the intereſts of a baſe Tyrant, then our own concernments? nay, not of one onely Tyrant, but of two? the Wife having by her actions done more to merit that name, then her Husband. Were not the paſt inventions ſufficient to get monies, but that this of equalling Bruſs to Silver ſhould be added? What defence is there now to keep our Wealth from being devoured by the one or the other of theſe Whirlpools? Where is the antient ſplendor of our Cambray? *where her glory amidſt ſo many negotiations both of Peace and War, and of all other kinds which have hapned in the greateſt occurrences of Chriſtendom? The Duke of* Alanſon *brought us firſt into theſe miſeries; and now we are enforced to endure them more then ever by the King of* France *his Arms.* Cambray *is full of French garriſons, our houſes full of their rapines and violences; and in all other kinds, in all other places, the City groans under this ſo heavy yoke. It is now therefore time to throw it off. And what better occaſion can we have to doe it, then to ſtir now whilſt the French ſouldiers are imployed, and to call in the* Spaniards? *So the throwing open of the Gates ſhall be our work; it ſhall be our work to reſtore the Archbiſhop to his dominions; and it ſhall be we who will make ſo great and ſo Catholick a King enjoy his former Priviledges on theſe Frontiers. But this reſolution muſt be acted, before it be conſulted upon. The Guns thunder from without againſt our walls: Aſſaults will quickly follow; and we in* Cambray *ſhall have our houſes plunder'd, and our ſelves ſlaughtered, according to the freſh and fatal example of* Dorlan. *And finally, when our City ſhall be ſtorm'd, we ſhall loſe all our rights, and in lieu thereof receive whatſoever either the reaſon of war, or the will of the Conquerors ſhall pleaſe to impoſe upon us.*

Theſe Citizens being by ſuch incitements moved to new and greater anger, and their number ſtill increaſing, a great Tumult ſuddenly aroſe. From tumults they came ſoon to inſurrection; and from inſurrection, to reſolution of letting in *Fuentes*, and of withdrawing themſelves from *Baligny's* yoke. To theſe Citizens, which were 3000 in number, did 300 Walloon Horſe joyn, which ſerved under

under *Baligny*; and 200 *Switzers*, who were in another neighbouring *Piazza*, were what by threats, what by intreaties drawn to be of the ſame mind: whereby the Citizens were the more encouraged; who made no longer delay, but chuſing out ſome of the beſt of them, acquainted *Fuentes* with the Cities reſolution, and intreated him that he would give over ſhooting. *Baligny*, together with his Wife, *Du Vich*, and the other French Commanders were this mean while very much troubled at this unexpected novelty; and knowing that to uſe force would be but in vain, they thought it better to uſe intreaties. *Baligny* and *Du Vich* went therefore to the Piazza, and ſtrove by divers wayes to appeaſe the Tumult; and *Baligny's* Wife appeared there likewiſe, with great ſtore of money, ſeeking by that means to mitigate the Citizens anger; but ſhe did thereby the more exaſperate them; for they thereby ſaw that it was rather avarice then need which had made Braſs be turned to the value of ſilver. The Citizens did therefore utterly refuſe to treat with *Baligny*; and continuing the Treaty which they had already begun with *Fuentes*, it was ſoon concluded: The ſubſtance whereof was,

That the Archbiſhop ſhould return to his former Government; and ſhould be as formerly, under the particular protection of the King of Spain.

But the ſo jealous conſiderations of that Confine, and the like jealouſies touching the Government of that City, did not long after make thoſe that governed under the King extend their authority almoſt as much to the Civil as to the Military Government. This Agreement being made, *Fuentes* ſent *Meſſia* with ſuch numbers of men as was thought fit, into the City; and he himſelf entred ſoon after, with reſolution to fall afterwards upon the Citadel with all ardencie. But *Baligny* and *Du Vich*, together with the other Commanders, thinking that they were not able to defend it, for that it was not ſo well fortified towards the City as it ought to have been, treated of ſurrendring. Which inſued upon all the moſt honorable Conditions which could be deſired. *Fuentes* received the young Duke of *Retel*, as alſo all the reſt of the French Commanders, with all poſſible honour. But *Baligny's* Wife, (who was a woman of a high and domineering ſpirit) not being able to digeſt ſuch a fall, and to return to her former condition, fell ſo very ſick for ſorrow, as at the inſtant of the ſurrender ſhe ended her Principality and life together. Thus did *Fuentes* happily end the Siege, to the unexpreſſible joy of the obedient Provinces, and particularly of the *Walloons*, who had aſſiſted the enterpriſe with ſo great Forces, and were now with ſo much advantage to enjoy the fruits thereof.

Whilſt they were thus buſie on the Frontiers of *France*, with ſo greatly conſiderable ſucceſs, the United Provinces ſuffered not their Forces to lie idle in *Flanders*. *Fuentes* being entred at the time as we have told you into *France*, Count *Maurice* delayed not to march with a great ſtrength into the Field, and in the beginning of *July* turn'd upon *Groll* in the County of *Zutfen*. This was almoſt the only place of any conſequence, which as then remained under the King of *Spain's* Forces in the parts beyond the *Rhine*: And therefore the United Provinces deſired to make themſelves maſters thereof, and to have all thoſe Countries at their free will and diſpoſal. *Groll* is but a little Town; but ſtrong both by ſituation and handy-work, and placed in a very important Paſs. *Maurice* had not above 8000 Foot and 2000 Horſe; with which he ſate down before the Town and began to begirt it, hoping to win it before *Mandragone* could come to ſuccor it; who, as we told you before, was left in thoſe parts with good Forces, after *Verdugo's* death, to counterpoiſe whatſoever of evil which might be endeavoured there by the United Provinces to the Kings prejudice. But *Maurice* was ſoon deceived: For *Mandragone* who had a watchfull eye to all dangers, provided quickly for this. To boot with his former body of men, he gathered as many more together as the Kings near Garriſons could furniſh him withall; ſo as he was almoſt as ſtrong as *Maurice*. And paſſing ſuddenly over the *Mauſe* and *Rhine*, he marched towards *Groll*; reſolving either to relieve the Place, or to fight the Enemy. *Maurice*, though in his prime of youth, began even then to ſhew that he liſtned more to wary then to hazardous councels. To the which inclination, as was then ſeen, and afterwards in the continuance of his military command,

he was not ſo much drawn by his own proper addiction, as by the expreſs orders of the Confederate Provinces, which have always made it their maxim, to hazard their Forces as little as may be to the uncertain event of battels. Therefore ſhunning the Combat he roſe from before *Groll*; and retreating towards *Zutfen*, tarryed there to obſerve *Mandragone's* ways. There was ſome conformity in the ends of theſe two. For as *Mandragone* had determined to keep *Maurice* from making any acquiſition: So *Maurice* reſolved to entertain *Mandragone* with ſuch jealouſies, as he ſhould not be able to go from thoſe parts, and conſequently not to joyn with *Fuentes*. This was particularly agreed of likewiſe between the King of *France* and the United States. For the King hoped that *Fuentes* his Forces alone, would not be able to effect what you have already heard, and particularly not that wherein *Cambray* was concerned; though it proved otherwiſe. *Maurice* being retreated from *Groll*, and *Mandragone* having provided well for that place, he tarried not far from the *Rhine*, over againſt *Reinburg*, the better likewiſe to ſecure that place, and that paſſage, and to be victualled from thence with more ſafety. *Maurice* drew afterwards towards the Kings Camp, each party endeavouring to hinder the others deſign.

Between the two Armies ran the River *Lippa*, which falls into the *Rhine* not far from *Weeſel*; and over which River they had often occaſion to paſs and repaſs to get Forage. There happened therefore divers skirmiſhes between the two Camps, which for many days were but very ſlight, without any conſiderable event. But there happened one in the beginning of *September*, which was very notable, and wherein much bloud was ſpent. The Kings Camp ſuffered much more for want of Forage then did the other; wherefore they were to fetch it from far, and with great convoys: *Maurice* thought therefore to light with ſuch advantage upon the enemy, upon this occaſion, as they ſhould not by any means be able to eſcape his hands, to this purpoſe he made *Philip* of *Naſſaw*, General of the horſe, to lie in ambuſh with 500 horſe, and gave him ſuch other orders as were requiſite for the effecting his deſigne. Woods are very frequent in theſe parts: and Plains as frequent between them. *Mandragones* vigilancy was ſuch as he got notice of this ambuſcado. Wherefore willing to delude one fraud with another, he firſt reinforced the forragers convoy, and then placed divers troops of horſe in a wood, giving them ſuch further orders as were requiſite upon ſuch an occurrency. *John di Cordowa* commanded the horſe of his Army, an ancient Commander, and whoſe valour was well known: and this *Cordowa* was preſent at the prepared action. He had with him Count *Henry de Berg*, *Jerolomo Caraſa*, Marquis of *Montenegro*, *Paulo Emilio Martiningo*, and their troops, together with his own, and ſome others without their Captains. In ſo much as theſe horſe were not only equal, but rather more in number then thoſe of Count *Philip*. The forragers appearing where the enemys were placed, they were ſet upon on divers ſides, nor was their Convoy through reinforced, ſufficient to defend them. VVherefore many of them either ran away, or were taken, or ſlain: Then came Count *Henry* out of the wood; and many of the enemies horſe iſſued likewiſe out of another wood. In ſo much as the action falling out there, and coming from ſecret ambuſhes to an open field, a fierce and bloudy fight began, the enemy at the firſt had the better over the Kings men; Count *Henry* and his aſſociates being worſted, but being ſuddenly back'd by the reſt, his men rallied and returned couragiouſly to the conflict. And the enemy being again reinforced by their whole horſe, the ſucceſs was for a while doubtfull. Count *Philip* in particular fought egregiouſly on their ſide: when being mortally wounded, he drop'd off horſeback; which did ſo much diſcourage the reſt, as beginning preſently to give back, they were ſoon diſordered, and at laſt quite routed. To boot with Count *Philip* who was taken priſoner, and who ſoon after died, his brother Count *Erneſtus*, and another *Erneſtus* Count of *Solme*, and who was their kinſman, were taken priſoners, and *Solme* died likewiſe of his wounds. Divers other Captains and perſons of quality were likewiſe taken. There were above 300 ſlain, many of which were drowned as they paſſed over the *Lippa*. Of the Kings men there was not above 60 ſlain: but *Caraffa*, *Martiningo*, and *Caratcholo* were all three ſorely wounded. After this, the two Camps made no further attempts: but remaining

reaſon either of War, or yet of State would permit that the Spaniards ſhould hazard themſelves upon the uncertain event of a battel. That if the King ſhould be routed, he might eaſily gather new forces; but put the caſe the contrary ſhould happen, what difficulties would the Cardinal Arch-Duke meet withal, and what expences would he be at, in making new Levies of Spaniards, Italians, and of other Forraigners, of which the chief body of the Kings Forces in Flanders *is uſually framed? And ſay ſuch a loſſe ſhould inſue, what new acquiſitions would the Confederate Provinces hope to make?*

Theſe reaſons bore with them ſo much weight to plead againſt the aboveſaid ſuccour, as the votes were already for propoſing ſome diverſion, which might force the King to riſe from before *la Fera*: when news was brought that by *George Baſtie*'s means that Town was victualled ſufficiently for at leaſt two moneths, not long before this *Baſty* was returned into *Flanders*; with leave for ſome ſhort while from the Emperor, who had long before imployed him in the wars of *Hungary* againſt the Turks: he had won very great experience in war, by his having ſpent ſo much time in the war of *Flanders*, and by reaſon of the ſo many noble employments, wherein he had ſerved the Duke of *Parma* in particular: in whoſe laſt expeditions in *France*, *Baſti* had almoſt alwaies commanded the Armies horſe: in which ſort of ſervice, there was no man held more able at that time then he, nor who knew better what belong'd thereunto neither in point of command, nor execution. He had received orders from the Cardinal, that he ſhould endeavour to relieve *la Fera* with ſome victuals, from the neereſt Frontiers of *Flanders*: to which purpoſe 800 choice horſe were in readineſs upon the ſame Frontiers, which were to take each of them a ſack of corn behinde them, and to cauſe them to be brought by ſmall boats into *la Fera*. This deſign required great ſecreſie; wherefore *Baſti* having very ſecretly acquainted *Oſorio*, Governor of the Town therewithall, and ſuddenly aſſembled the 800 Horſe together, upon ſome other pretence, came with ſuch ſpeed ſo near the Town, as he might eaſily effect the Succor. The Agreement made between him and *Oſorio* was, that *Baſti* ſhould come at a certain prefixt time to a part where the Mariſh was moſt watry, and that *Oſorio* ſhould ſend all the Boats he could get to receive the Corn, & to bring it to the Town. And juſt ſo it fell out, to *Baſti*'s unſpeakable praiſe and honor; he having been continually on Horſ-back for little leſſe than Forty hours, and having known ſo well to chooſe his time, to deceive his own men firſt, and then the Enemy much better: and how to return without the loſs of ſo much as one man; nay more, having defeated ſome of the Enemies horſe which would have oppoſed him as he returned.

This ſmall ſuccour gave ſome hopes that a greater might enſue; but the former oppoſitions ſtill ariſing, and it being known that the King did ſtill more and more fortifie his quarters and that his Forces grew ſtill greater: the Cardinal began to incline to the making of ſome important diverſion, and hereupon they gave their opinions in the Councel of war. Some were for beſieging *Peronne*, others St. *Quintain*, and others other Towns thereabouts. The Camp-maſter General *Ronye*, was very well acquainted with every corner, and every paſs of the Province, by reaſon of his being ſo long thereabouts in the time of the League: he was more averſe to the ſuccour then any other, and adviſed more to the diverſion, and willing to ſpeak his minde clearly therein to the Cardinal; but with ſuch ſecreſie as ſo jealous an affair required: He took an occaſion to ſpeak thus unto him in his Chamber, when but ſome few were with him.

It is now agitated (moſt excellent Prince) whether it be better to ſuccour la Fera *by all our Forces, or to endeavour ſuch a diverſion, as the King of* France *may be thereby more damnified, then he ſhall be advantaged, though he doth not raiſe his ſiege. enough hath been already ſaid touching the difficulties of the ſiege; which truly are ſo great, as there is no hopes of overcoming them: Let* la Fera *then be loſt, provided that in lieu thereof we get another Town which may recompence the loſs thereof with advantage. I muſt confeſs the keeping of* la Fera, *and other Towns in* Picardy, *was of ſome concernment during the League, and Civil wars of* France; *but now that there is no ſign of League left, nor of civil commotions, and that* la Fera *is ſurrounded with ſo many Towns towards the Frontiers of* Flanders, *what conſiderable*

considerable advantage will it be to the King if he do chance to get it? Nay how great will his trouble and expence be to keep it? Let the King continue then at that siege, and let us betake our selves to a diversion: but, as I have already said, let it then be such a one, as the acquisition which shall thereby be made may much exceed the loss which may be apprehended by the other. I shall not propound Peronne, *St.* Quintain, *nor any of those other Towns wherewith* la Fera *is surrounded, unto your Highness; every one of which may be thought equal, or rather inferior to this; I shall advise you to another, of so much greater concernment, as it may of it self alone, weigh against all those put together. I mean* Callis. Callis, *a Sea Port; the Key to the English Channel, from whence passage may be had in a few hours into that Island, and in a few more into* Holland *and* Zealand. Callis, *where succour may so commodiously be received by Sea from* Spain, *and which certainly will be the sharpest Thorne at the present in the sides of* France, *which fears nothing less thereabouts then to see* Callis *besieged. The Commander there is a very weak man, the Garrison at the present is as weak, and you shall find all other provisions for defence of equal weakness. This is the diversion which I propound in enterprises of this nature, in the first place great secresie is requisite in the resolving thereupon; and then speed in putting it in execution. Your Highness must therefore possess your self of all the Avenues about* Callis, *before the Enemy get any inkling of it; otherwise succours will be soon sent thither both by Sea and Land, and so the undertaking will be defeated before it be begun, when on the contrary, if the Avenues be speedily secured, either my military experience deceives me, or our Arms and your Ensignes shall in a few dayes be seen to enter there.*

The Cardinal seemed to be mightily pleased with the propounded diversion, which was fully approved of by the rest that were with him, who were the chief commanders of the *Flanders* Forces. They then fell to treat of putting it into execution, and the Cardinal chose *Ronye* to be the guider thereof, who was the first adviser: but for the better concealing it, they gave out, that they were resolved to relive *la Fera*, or attempt some diversion thereabouts. To this purpose *Valentiennes* was chosen for their Randezvous; one of the neerest Cities upon that Frontier: and after having made great store of victuals be brought thither, the Army began to march, which was one of the most flourishing ones that had of a long time been seen in *Flanders*. It consisted of 5000 Spaniards, 1500 Italians, 1000 Burgonians, 1000 Irish, 2500 Germans, and 6000 Walloons, all these were very choice Foot; and to these were added 3500 Horse, the Train-bands of *Flanders* being numbred thereinto, which did serve upon that occasion. The Cardinal was in *Valentiennes* about the beginning of *April*, and had with him the greatest part of his Army, and ordered divers marches the more to confound the King of *France*, and to keep his true design unknown to him. From hence he sent *Ronye* with great celerity and secresie towards *Callis*, with the Camp-masters *Lewis di Vilasco*, *Alonsa di Mendosa*, *la Barlotta*, and the Count *Buckquoy*: The two first Spaniards with their Brigadoes, and the other two Walloons with their Brigadoes also: and these Foot were accompanied by 400 Horse. *Callis* lies upon the very brink of the Channel which divides *France* from *England*; and in that very point of Land where the two Kingdoms are neareſt one another. This was the last place from whence the English were driven, after they had so long possest *Normandy*, together with so many other provinces of *France*: and as the repurchase thereof made by the French, was thought a great concernment; so did they ever after studiously endeavour to keep it. But the Kingdom falling into civil discord, *Callis* was no happier then were the other Towns, which being all of them almost in private mens hands, for their own ends, could not be so well kept as the service of the Kingdom and Crown required. *Callis* was not therefore now so well provided of Flankers, Platforms, and other warlike provisions for its defence, as was necessary. It is no Town of any great Circuit, nor much inhabited; but it is of good Commerce by reason of its situation: it hath a Suburbs but meanly fortified, which looks towards the Sea; and a Castle of four Bulwarks which command the Haven. On the Land side it is fortified more or less, according as the several situations will allow of. From the side where the Town lies, a great bank of sand thrusts it self out into the sea, and then bends back again towards the land; which

which being reduced to better form by Art, makes the Haven, which is one of the beſt that is upon that Channel. Upon the utmoſt point of the bank ſtands an antient Tower, called the Riſe-bank, which commands the mouth of the Haven; and uſually this Tower is very carefully kept. More within land, and about a quarter of a league from *Calis*, there is a Paſs or Avenue of great conſequence, called *Nienlet*, by reaſon of a Bridge which opens and ſhuts the coming to the Town on the lands ſide; this Paſs is likewiſe guarded by another Tower. The other ſituations about it are for the moſt part low and watry, ſo as but little part thereof is tractable.

Monſieur *de Gordan*, a valiant and well eſteemed Souldier, had for many years been Governour of this Town; and a Nephew of his called Monſieur *di Bidoſſan* ſucceeded him therein, rather for his wealth then merit. This man being but young in years, and younger in experience, had not been ſo carefull as he ought to have been in cauſing the Town be well munited and provided for; and at this time there was not above 600 Souldiers in the Garriſon. *Rony* parting with his men from *Valentiennes*, drew ſo unexpectedly neer *Calis*, as at the firſt aſſault he took the Tower of *Neiulet*. The Tower was munited by a little Fort; but all was ſo weakly looked unto, as the Aſſault met not with almoſt any reſiſtance. Having won this Paſs, *Rony* turn'd immediately upon the Riſe-bank which commanded the mouth of the Haven: here ſome more reſiſtance was made; but the Artillery was no ſooner preſented before the Garriſon, but that ſome of them being ſlain, the reſt were ſo diſcouraged, as that *Rony* within a few houres made himſelf maſter thereof likewiſe. He did not believe he could ſo ſoon have taken theſe two Paſſes: And doubtleſly had either of them been better guarded by the *French*, ſuch a ſuccour would ſoon have entred *Calis*, as there had been little hopes of taking it. *Bullen*, which ſtands upon the ſame Sea, is within ſix leagues of *Calis*, from whence ſome Boats with men in them were ſpeedily diſpatcht to relieve *Calis*; and ſoon after many others appeared both from *England* and *Holland* to the ſame end. But *Rony* had already ſo fortified himſelf in the Riſe-bank, as none of them could get in.

The Cardinal being advertiſed of this ſo fortunate beginning, went preſently from *Valentiennes*; and muſtering all the men who upon occaſion of the aforeſaid March were divided into ſundry quarters, brought them all before *Calis*; which being ſurrounded on all ſides, they began to play upon the Suburbs. Before they could come to an aſſault, they muſt needs wade through a low peece of Mariſh ground, which was overflown by the high Tide, ſo as they were forced to expect the Ebb. About break of day they began their Battery; nor was it long before they had thrown down above 30 yards of Wall. The Aſſault fell to *Mendoza's* Foot, with whom were likewiſe ſome Companies of *Velaſco's* and *Barlotta's* Brigadoes. The Tide was no ſooner over, but the Aſſailants fell on with great reſolution, who found ſo weak withſtanding, as they preſently took the ſuburbs: then turning their Battery upon the Town, which was likewiſe but weakly fortified on that ſide, the Inhabitants began to parley, and the Articles agreed upon were,

That the Governour might go from the Town with all his men, and with what goods he pleaſed into the Caſtle, leaving ſuch ammunition and victuals in the Town as were there at the preſent:

But thinking himſelf as unſafe in the Caſtle, he parlied again, and had ſix dayes ſpace allowed him to ſurrender in; in which time he was permitted to wait relief, which if it ſhould not come in that time, he was to retreat with all his men either by land or by ſea to *Bullen*. This mean while Arms were ſuſpended, and it was agreed upon by both ſides, That for thoſe ſix dayes it ſhould be lawfull for each of them to make what Works they pleaſed. To which agreement it was interchangeably added; That if the Caſtle ſhould be relieved within the aforeſaid time, it might be lawfull for them within to defend it, and thoſe without (as formerly) to oppugn it. Wherefore they without fell immediately to making of Trenches, diſpoſing of Batteries, and to preparing all things which might make for their Aſſault. They within the Caſtle on the other ſide built a great Half-moon, in the place which was fitteſt for it, and two great Platforms; they fill'd that Wall which was to be batter'd, better up with Earth, and did all things elſe

which might make moſt for their defence. And for that theſe Works were made without any oppoſition, there were never better known of their ſeverall kindes. And certainly you have hardly heard of ſo ſtrange a novelty in any other ſiege: For in this, all thoſe that were without, ſave ſuch as were imployed about the Works, ſtood with a great deal of ſafety and quietneſs, looking upon the Works made by the beſieged; and on the other ſide, thoſe within the Caſtle were ſpectators on the wall, as in a ſcene, obſerving with all quietneſs and attention all that the beſiegers did. So as the ſpectacle ſeemed rather to be a fiction then a truth; and it appeared rather to be a gratulation for Peace, then any thing that bore with it a neceſſity of real War.

The King of *France* was this mean while mightily incenſed, conſidering in what danger he was of loſing *Calis*, unleſs the Caſtle were all the ſooner ſuccor'd. The King was come from before *La Fera*, upon the firſt news that *Rony* had taken the Towers of *Neiulet*, and the *Risbank*: And was come in all haſte to *Boloign* with only 1000 Horſe, that he might be near *Calis*, and take the beſt courſe that might be for the relief thereof. He would not abandon his Siege, knowing that *La Fera* could not keep long from falling into his hands for want of victuals; and believing that the Suburbs and Town of *Calis* might have held out much longer, and that he might ſo have ſuccoured it as it might not have been ſo ſoon loſt. But ſeeing what progreſs the Cardinal had on a ſudden made, and that the Caſtle was in ſo great danger, the King was ſtrangely madded to think he ſhould be in ſuch a condition, as he could not with his whole Forces endeavour the ſuccour, and that thoſe that were with him were too weak to effect it. Four of the ſix dayes granted for the relief of the Caſtle, were already paſt. Wherefore the King not willing to leave any thing unattempted which might contribute to the preſervation of it, reſolved to ſend 300 choiſe men with all poſſible ſecreſie from *Boloign* to *Calis*; with a reſolution that hazarding themſelves upon all dangers, they muſt either get into the Caſtle, or die in the attempt. He would have many Captains and Officers of known valour to be of this number; and he gave them the Signor of *Campignuola* for their Commander, a Souldier of great eſteem, and who was Governour of *Boloign*. *Campignuola* marched on; and being come two hours before day to within half a league of *Calis*, he went to enter the Caſtle. The chiefeſt difficulty lay in getting over certain low Mariſhes whither the Tide came, and which were guarded by a Fort govern'd by the Marquis of *Trevico* a Neopolitan, with his Brigado of the ſame Nation. But the *French* had ſuch luck to come at a low Ebb, and ſuch was the careleſneſs which was uſed in the Fort, as *Campignuola* entred into the Caſtle with all his men not meeting with any obſtacle. Here he declared the Kings Commiſſions, concluding, that they muſt either defend the Caſtle, or die in the defence thereof: That if they could but make it good for a ſmall time, the King would come himſelf in perſon with full Forces to relieve it; and that he was ſo reſolved thereupon, as he would uſe all imaginable means to doe it quickly. Theſe words did much inhearten thoſe within the Caſtle; inſomuch as the Governour *Biddoſan*, together with the Garriſon, and the reſt of the Inhabitants aſſured *Campignuola* that they would be faithfull in making the defence. The Spaniſh Camp began to ſuſpect, by the proceedings in the Caſtle, that it had received ſome ſuccour; which when the Cardinal was better aſſured of, he complained much of *Trevico*. Yet that he might come to the more perfect knowledg thereof, the ſix dayes drawing now to an end, the Cardinal ſent to the Caſtle, to demand the delivery of it according to the agreement. To which the Governour anſwered, That without violation of faith, he was at liberty to defend it; for he had received ſuccour, and ſuch, as he hoped he ſhould be very well able to hold out: This being known, thoſe without prepared for the aſſault, and thoſe within to defend the Caſtle. And during theſe preparations, the ſixt day was fully expired. The next day did hardly well appear, when they began from without to play furiouſly upon the Caſtle; and the chief Battery was placed againſt the chief Bulwark which did moſt command the gate. Many other Peeces of Artillery were made uſe of, at the ſame time to bereave them of their defence. Wherefore the tempeſt of ſhot was ſo great, and ſo continual for ſo many hours, as the greateſt part of that ſide of the

the Bulwark being beaten down, the oppugnors thought they might fall to the assault. The Artillery had plaid incessantly at the same time from the Castle; and they within received the Enemy with great courage, so as a sore conflict insued. The Assailants were *Spaniards* and *Walloons*, with their Campmasters *Mendosa*, *Velasco*, and *Barlotta*: Who striving to give example, and their Souldiers to imitate them, there could not be a fiercer fight on this side. Yet those within did so stoutly withstand the first assault, as the Assailants not able to mount the breach, were beaten back: But at the very instant of their giving back, being asham'd that they had done so, they suddenly returned, and falling more fiercely then before to the assault, they so renewed the fight, as at one and the same time almost they got upon the Breach, planted their Colours there, and entred with the Defendants into the Castle. In this renewing of the assault, the Governour *Bidossan* was slain, together with many Captains, and other valiant Souldiers, who were present at the defence-making. For what remained, military fury was used, few being left alive, of which *Campignuola* was one. From blood they fell to plunder: which though it was not answerable to expectation, yet it was thought to come to about 5000 o Crowns worth in goods, together with a very considerable quantity of victuals and ammunition. Many of the assailants Captains and Officers were slain: The greatest loss they suffered was in the death of Count *Pacchiotto* an Italian, chief Enginer of the Spanish Camp, who through a desire of honour would be present at the assault, where fighting valiantly he was slain. Thus in less then 20 dayes, *Calis*, one of the chief Towns of *France*, fell with so little opposition into the King of *Spains* hands. *Guines* and *Hames*, two Towns near *Calis*, surrendred themselves also quickly to Monsieur *de Rony*: The first was of some consequence; the other very weak, and not able to make any resistance. The Cardinal staid ten dayes in *Calis*, that he might leave the Town well munited and provided. To the recovery whereof it appeared that the Queen of *England*, and the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* would buckle themselves with great Maritime preparations; both these parties thinking themselves more concern'd in the loss of *Calis*, then the King of *France* himself.

The King having received so great a blow, returned speedily to his siege of *Fera*, that he might put an end thereunto as soon as he could, and keep the Town from being relieved with victuals. Yet before he went from *Bullen*, he secured that Town from all danger, and furnished *Montreille* and *Ardres* with sufficient Garrisons and all mannner of necessary provisions; but especially the last, as being nearer *Calis*, and against which it was most to be feared that the *Spaniards* would address themselves. Wherein he was not deceived: For after divers consultations had, the Cardinal being still thereunto advised by *Rony*, made his Army march towards *Ardres*, and on the beginning of *May* incampt before it. The Town of *Ardres* is placed in a vally which is much more long then broad, not above three leagues distant from *Calis*: The Country about it is more watry then dry: It is but of a small circuit, but very strong both by nature and industry; in the highest part thereof there is a suburbs, which being formerly but weakly fortified, was now very well munited by the Garrison and Townsmen. Monsieut *de Anneburg*, a well reputed Souldier, was Governour of the Town; And there were about 2000 Foot, and 150 Horse there in garrison, with good provisions for all things necessary for defence: And for its greater advantage, the Marquis of *Belin*, the Kings Lieutenant of *Picardy*, was come thither; and with him Monsieur *di Monluck*, a young man, but one of the most cry'd up valour that was in all *France*. *Rony* had the chief care of the siege: wherefore having first well disposed of the Quarters, and then provided for their security, he began to advance with his Trenches. They were first led on towards the Town; but *Rony* thought it better afterwards to endeavour the winning of the Suburbs, the taking whereof would make much for carrying the Town. The besieged this mean while made out frequent sallies, in all which *Monluck* was still the formost; nor made they less opposition by their Artillery which were placed upon their walls. So as great was the damage which those without received by both these means. Yet overcoming all difficulties, they still straitned the Town more and

more. And *Monluck* being ſlain by a Canon-ſhot, it might ſoon be diſcerned that thoſe within cooled in their courage. Coming at laſt to battery, *Rony* was very ſollicitous in indeavouring the effect thereof, for fear leſt the King having rid his hands of *la Fera* might come with his whole Army joyn'd together, time enough to relieve *Ardres*, as it was clearly ſeen he intended to do. But the Suburb was ſo well defended, that ſuch progreſs could not be made by battery as the ſtraitneſs of time required. Between the Suburb and the Town there was a certain ſecret way, which led out afterwards into the fields abroad, and which was but little known ſave to ſuch Inhabitants as moſt frequented that place. The Campmaſter *Teſſeda* had notice hereof by a Walloon Souldier, who upon other occurrences had been converſant in that paſſage. *Teſſeda* therefore acquainted the Cardinal that entrance might be had into the Burough ſecretly by night, through that paſſage; and he deſired that he might be truſted with the Government of the deſign. The Cardinal yielded to the propoſal and to the deſire. Wherefore *Teſſeda* went to the aforeſaid place the next night, taking with him 1000 foot, part Spaniards, part Walloons. To divert the defendants the more, a briſk alarm was given againſt both the Town and Suburb, from the part without, where the batteries were placed. The enemy flocking apace to thoſe parts, *Teſſeda* paſſed on, and began to enter the Suburbs with his men. But the enemy being aware thereof, they ſuddenly turned all their oppoſition thither, ſo as for a while the buſineſs was hotly diſputed on both ſides, till *Teſſeda* being recruited with new forces, got a good way into the Suburb, and forced the enemy at laſt to quit it, and to retreat to within the Town: in which retreat there happened a misfortune which added much to their loſs. For the Percullis being too haſtily let down by thoſe that guarded the Gate, for fear leſt the aſſailants might enter into the Town pel mel with the aſſailed, 200 of their own men were ſhut out, who were al miſerably put to the ſword by the aſſailants. The Suburbs being won, *Rony* immediately turned the batteries upon the Town; and that they might be the more terrible, ſome pieces of great Canon were brought from *Calis*, and planted upon the chief battery; and many other pieces of Artillery were planted againſt the fences; in ſo much as the like preparation for thundring ſhot upon the Town, had not been ſeen in many former ſieges.

It was this mean while diſputed between the Marquis of *Belin*, and the Governour of the Town, whether it were better to do their utmoſt to withſtand the aſſault, which was to be expected would inſue the batteries; or not to hazard a fight, the event whereof was ſo uncertain, and dangerous. The Governour was for making good the defence, alleadging,

That the Gariſon could not be more incouraged, and that the mean while the King having diſpatched the buſineſs of la Fera, *would undoubtedly come himſelf in perſon to the relief of* Ardres.

The Captains were of the ſame opinion, and the ſouldiers likewiſe ſhewed great reſolution therein. But *Beline* was of another mind. He ſaid,

That if it ſhould come to the tryal, they ſhould not be able to withſtand the aſſault. That the greateſt part of ſo valiant ſouldiers would be loſt. And that it tended much more to the Kings ſervice, to preſerve them to loſe them.

Theſe reaſons were not admitted of neither by the Governour nor Gariſon. But *Belin* urging Authority, which was diſcerned to proceed wholly from fear, would by all means, that without expecting ſo much as one ſhot, they ſhould treat of ſurrender. He deſired that he might firſt ſend unto the King. But his requeſt being denyed, he yielded to the ſurrender, upon ſuch honourable terms as he could get. One thouſand five hundred ſouldiers marched out of the Town with him: at which Action it cannot be conceived how hainouſly the King was incenſed. Both in reſpect of the action it ſelf, and for that *la Fera* falling juſt then into his hands, he did verily hope either to make the Spaniſh Camp quit the ſiege of *Ardres*, or elſe to force them to fight with him in the open fields. And his Forces were by this time ſo increaſed, as he had great reaſon to hope for one of theſe two. *Belin* would have gon to have juſtified himſelf; but the King inſtead of hearing him, thought to have put him to an ignominious death; though after-

afterwards, together with his anger he mitigated *Belins* puniſhment, and only baniſhed him the Court.

This mean while thoſe of *la Fera*, being reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity of hunger, could no longer defer the ſurrender of the Town. The King, that he might the ſooner be gon from thence, and come to the relief of *Ardres*, granted them all the honourable conditions they could deſire. But *Ardres* being loſt, and the King ſtill more incenſed thereat, he ſeemed to be much perplexed in his thoughts, not knowing what to reſolve upon. His Forces were then very ſtrong: he had no leſs then 18000 foot, and 6000 horſe, together with the flowre of the chiefeſt of the Kingdom, and a numerous other Nobility which did then wait upon him. His end would have been, either to have recovered *Calis*, or ſome other of the Towns which he had loſt; but he foreſaw all ſieges would coſt much expence both of time and monies: and the Kings monies were at this time ſo exhauſted, and *Picardy*, together with the other Provinces, ſo waſted with the ſo long quartering of Armies, as out of each of theſe conſiderations, it was impoſſible for him, long to maintain ſo great Forces, or to make uſe of them in any long ſiege. He therefore by the conſent of his Councel of War, reſolved to draw near to the Cardinal Archdukes Army: and to endeavour by all means poſſible to draw him forth to battel. But the Cardinals intentions were far otherwiſe; for being fully informed of the Kings mind, and knowing himſelf to be much ſhort of him in men, as being inforced to leave ſtrong Gariſons in the places which he had won; he thought it might ſuffice if he could ſecure theſe, and for what remained ſhun all field-battel. His people had likewiſe ſuffered much diſaccommodation in theſe laſt expeditions. In ſo much as being willing to refreſh them with the moſt commodious quarters he could, he reſolved to go into *Artois*; and going himſelf into St. *Omers*, he diſpoſed of his Army in divers Towns thereabouts; having firſt left that part of the Frontiers of *France* which was then in the King of *Spains* hands, well provided. The King of *France* perceiving this, reſolved to diſmiſs the Nobility and Gentry that followed him; and leaving Mariſhal *Biroun* with 4000 foot, and 600 horſe, to ſecure ſuch places of *Picardy* as he was moſt jealous of, he went himſelf for ſome other important affairs to *Paris*.

Whilſt the Cardinal Archduke was in *France* about theſe aforeſaid enterpriſes, the United Provinces of *Flanders* took this occaſion, and infeſted and overrun divers parts of *Brabant* with 800 horſe. But ſoon meeting with ſuch oppoſition as was needfull, and particularly by the Italian mutiniers, who ſent the greateſt part of their horſe from *Tilemon* againſt the enemy, the excurſions laſted but for a while, nor did they do any great damage. The Cardinal this mean while raiſed 3000 Walloons, and as many Germans, to ſupply the place of thoſe that were found wanting, and of thoſe that were left in the French Towns. The particular Province of *Flanders* could have very much deſired that he would have undertaken the taking of *Oſtend*, a ſtrong Sea-Town; and from whence the inland Countries thereabouts were much damnified. The Cardinal ſeemed no leſs deſirous thereof; to witneſs which, he went himſelf to *Newport*, which is not above three hours journey from *Oſtend*, and being there nearer at hand, he cauſed the condition of the Town to be diligently examined. But judging that it was impoſſible to keep it from being relieved, and that being ſo near *Zealand*, it might be ſuccoured every hour, the Cardinal thought it was not a thing feiſable, and that therefore it was by no means to be undertaken. On the other ſide, not being willing to loſe the Summer, without imploying his Army about ſome new expedition, he thought good to know his Councel of Wars opinion therein. Some propounded the ſiege of *Hulſt* in the particular Province of *Flanders*: as well for the importancy of ſuch an acquiſition, as for the ſatisfying of that Province in ſome ſort, ſince it was impoſſible to pleaſe it in the enterpriſe of *Oſtend*. Others thought upon *Berghen ap Zome*, *Getringberg* or *Breda*, all of them Towns in *Brabant*. As for *Breda*, it might the eaſilyeſt be kept from ſuccour, becauſe it lay more within land. But for all things elſe, it was ſo well munited, and ſo well provided to make long reſiſtance, as there were found great difficulties in bringing that ſiege to a good end. The other places were ſo ſeated by nature, as enjoying

ing the opportune neighbourhood of *Holland* and *Zealand*, either by the accommodation of Channels or Rivers, it would be very hard to keep the enemy from relieving them whensoever they would.

The difficultys of the propounded sieges being weigh'd, and the hopes of overcoming them, the Cardinal resolv'd at last to besiege *Hulst*, and to use al possible means for the taking of it. On the East side where the Province of *Flanders* terminates, and where with the interposition of the River *Scheld* it joyns to *Brabant*, there lies a small Territory called the *Wasse*. It is bounded on the East by the *Scheld*, that River keeping still its own name; on the North it is bounded by the *Honte*, a branch of the *Scheld*; but which is already grown so large, and so ready to fall into the Sea, as it may rather be called an arm of the Sea, then the branch of a river. On the West and South it reaches more within land, and is not far from the Territories of *Gaunt*. The *Wasse* hath many great Villages in it, and also some walled Towns. And though the situation thereof be very low, yet it enjoys many commodities as well by its own natural situation, as by the Inhabitants industry. In almost the midst of it, stands the Town of *Hulst*. Which is but small in circuit, yet of great Traffick: and out of some other circumstances, the chief Town of that Country of *Wasse*. Count *Maurice* had won it five years before, whilst the Duke of *Parma* was upon his diversion in the French expedition, as was then more largely related. To boot with its situation and some handy works, which made it even then a considerable place; the fortifications thereof had since been much increased by the United States; flanking it better where it was most needfull, and securing it better by Pallisadoes, and other Works. But not content with having fortified the Town, they would for as much as they could make the Country for a good part unaccessible. They therefore resolved to make it an Island between two large Channels: and to this purpose they cut one, which fell into the *Scheld*, and another which fell into the *Honte*. The former was over against their great Fort of *Lillo*, which lies upon the other shore, and the latter drew nearer *Zealand*; with equal design notwithstanding of receiving such succour as was requisite, from the one and the other of them: to which purpose they had built two Forts to secure both their mouths; calling that towards *Lillo*, *Nassaw*; and the other towards *Zealand*, *Maurice*. By means of these two Channels, they at the high tide could overflow the Country, and make it thus almost unaccessible.

The Town of *Hulst*, and the circumjacent Country being thus secured, the Confederate Provinces assigned a great Garison, not so much for keeping the Town, as to overrun the Kings Country thereabouts; and to get either greater contributions of free-will, or larger bootie where they would not contribute in a friendly way. This prejudice grew sencible, even in the time of Archduke *Ernestus*, and Count *Fuentes*. Wherefore to bridle their inroads in some sort, they had then placed two chief Forts upon the banks of *Scheld*, turned towards the Country of *Wasse*, and called the one the Fort *Austria*, and the other the Fort *Fuentes*. And to these two they added some other lesser ones, more inward, in such places as were thought fittest. These Forts being raised, the enemy raised some likewise against them on their side. They built two upon the banks of the neighbouring Channel which fell into the *Scheld*; and for the greater security of them both, they raised a lesser in the midst between them. They called one of the greater *Mornal*, and the other *Rape*; and that which was in the midst, and might rather be termed a Redout then a Fort, they called little *Rape*. Unless it were the rise of the Dike, which served for building the Forts; (and it was that which was towards *Hulst*) all the rest on both sides was laid level, to make the greater overflowing, and the difficulties of the two chief Forts of *Austria*, and *Fuentes* the greater, either in hindring the Garisons excursions, or in attempting any other enterprise against the Town. In the Islanded ground between the two Channels, not far from *Hulst*, there was a rise spacious enough, and of such a hight, as the highest tide never reaching it, the Town was chiefly to be indamaged from thence, and might be best from thence besieged. The Cardinal having exactly informed himself of the condition that *Hulst*, and the Country thereabouts was in, and being resolved to besiege the Town, he feigned, as is usually done,

done in ſuch caſes, to beſiege another, that he might divert the Enemies Forces in ſundry parts, and ſo make them the weaker. Count *Maurice* was chiefly jealous of *Breda*; wherefore the Cardinal ſeemed as if he would ſit down before it, and to colour it the better, he made Monſieur *Ronye* paſs over the Scheld with 7000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, and to bend thitherward; nor was this done to no purpoſe.

There was little leſs then 5000 ſouldiers in *Hulſt*, all almoſt Foot, and the beſt that the united Provinces had. Upon this concevied danger of *Breda*, Count *Maurice* made almoſt half the Garriſon that was in *Hulſt* paſs ſuddenly into that Town, and into other Towns in *Brabant*, which might be ſubject to the like ſuſpition. Of which the Cardinal being advertiſed, he delayed no longer diſcovering his true deſign: but muſtering his Army, he marched in the beginning of *July*, to enter into the Country of *Waſſe*, and to ſtraiten *Hulſt*, by all ſuch waies as might make him hope for good ſucceſs in that enterpriſe. The chief care of the two aboveſaid principal Forts of *Auſtria* and *Fuentes*, and of the other leſſer ones were given to Signior *Biſſa*, who had been formerly Commiſſary General of the Horſe, and who divers times had carried himſelf very gallantly againſt the Garriſon of *Hulſt*. The Cardinal therefore gave orders to him, and to the Camp-maſter *Barlotta*, that they ſhould do their utmoſt to enter the Iſland, and to poſſeſs themſelves there of ſuch a place, as they might keep footing in. To this purpoſe 2000 Foot, part Walloons, part Germans, were choſen out, who were led on by their own Colonel *Teſſelinghen*, and to theſe were added 300 Spaniards, and 200 Italians. Theſe were muſtered in Fort *Fuentes*; and Signior *Biſſa* the mean while, with great diligence, made ſome Barks be towed over the drowned Country at a low ebb. The Superficies of that Earth, though the water was gon off, remained ſtill very ſoft and miery, wherefore it was very hard getting over it. Yet thoſe difficulties were overcome, and the barks were at laſt brought to the Channel, upon the banks whereof ſtood (as hath been ſaid) the Enemies two greateſt Forts, *Morual*, and *Rape*, and the little *Rape* between them. Uuder the ſame ſilence and obſcurity of the night, the ſouldiers began to move, and *Barlotta* led the Van with his Walloons, Spaniards, and Italians. When he was come to the Channel, after having ſuffered very much in his paſſing over that miery peece of ground, he arrived at the banke over againſt the little *Rape*, intending to ſtorm it. The march, arrival, and aſſault was ſo ſudden and unlooked for, as thoſe within were much perplext. And though the Enemies neereſt great Fort, when they diſcovered the Kings men, failed not to annoy them with its Artillery; yet did they but little harm thereby, ſince it was by night; ſo as the aſſault growing ſtill hotter, *Barlotta* at laſt took the little Fort, and began to fix his foot in the Iſland: where he fell to fortifie. The mean while *Teſſilinghen* came in with his Germans, and he fortifying himſelf alſo, as much as the narrowneſs of the bank, and the anoyance from the Enemies Forts, would permit him to do, he endeavoured the more to ſecure the entrance into the Iſland. The Count of *Solme* was Governor of *Hulſt*, and he had with him a Garriſon of little leſs then 3000 ſouldiers, and had all ſuch proviſions as were requiſite for the defence of any how important a place ſoever. He then ſeeing himſelf aſſaulted, in manner as hath been ſaid, failed not upon break of day to ſally out againſt the Kings men, to chace them from the little Fort which they had taken, and from the bank where they were fortifying themſelves. The Germans had not yet ſufficiently fenced themſelves; wherefore turning upon them with a great Squadron, he eaſily diſordered them, which was much occaſioned by *Teſſelinghen*'s being ſuddenly ſlain, whilſt he valliantly withſtood the fury of the Enemy. But *Barlotta* coming ſuddenly in with more men, after a fierce bickering, wherein many of each ſides were ſlain, the Enemy retired into the Town, and the Kings men kept themſelves in the places they had poſſeſt, with more ſecurity then before. At the news of this the Cardinal would approach himſelf in perſon, and took up his quarters in a Village, called St. *Nicholas*. From whence ſending *Ronye* ſuddenly back, he ordered that he, together with all the reſt of the Commanders, and the whole Army ſhould preſently enter the Iſland, and that they ſhould beleaguer the Town on all ſides where it was poſſible

poſſible ſo to do. *Ronye* being entred the Iſland with his men, all the reſt of the Kings Camp paſſed over thither: but not without ſome ſlowneſs and trouble, by reaſon of the myre, and the narrowneſs of the ſpace which they had won. *Ronye* began then to diſtribute his quarters, and his chief end being to keep off ſuccour, and particularly ſuch as might be had neereſt hand from *Zealand* by the Channel which was turned towards *Honte*, he uſed all poſſible diligence to that purpoſe. The Fort *Maurice* vvas built on that ſide for the ſervice of the Enemy; ſo as neither then, nor during the whole ſiege, could they keep off ſuccour on that ſide; and eſpecially by little boats, which paſſing through the Channel by night, received very little harm. The Walloon Brigadoes of Count *Bucquoy* of *Griſon* and *Cochella* were quartered thereabouts, as alſo *Auguſtine Meſſia's* Spaniſh Brigado, which in his abſence was commanded by his Sergeant Major *Pietro Ponze*. Nearer the Town lay *Alphonſo di Mendoſa*, with his Spaniſh Brigado; the Signiors *Friſen*, and *Lyches*, with their Walloon Brigadoes; and Count *Bilia* with his German Regiment; the Spaniſh Camp-maſters *Velaſco*, and *Zuniga* were quartered in the higheſt part of the Iſland, and near them the Marqueſs *Trevico* an Italian, with his Brigado of the ſame Nation; and further off in other parts, where the more firm ground afforded commodity of joyning with the more muddy, Count *Sols* was quartered with a new German Regiment which he had raiſed; as alſo Count *Boſſu*, and *il Signor Barbenſon* with two other Walloon Brigadoes. Not any Horſe was brought into the Iſland, becauſe they could be of no uſe there. Thus did *Ronye* divide the quarters; each of which began afterwards to open their Trenches. But this mean while the Kings Camp began to be in great want of victuals. There was no entrance to be had into the Iſland, ſave onely by way of the little Fort which *Barlotta* had taken; vvhich lying in the middle betvveen the tvvo greater of *Morual* and *Rape*, and in a narrovv ſpace, it vvas very hard to get thither, and very dangerous to keep there: vvherefore *Ronye* reſolved in the firſt place to poſſeſs himſelf of all that vvhole bank upon vvhich the tvvo aforeſaid greater Forts ſtood; and then to uſe all his endeavours to vvin *Morual*, vvhich lay neareſt the Tovvn, and from vvhence the Kings Camp received moſt prejudice. To effect vvhich the tvvo Camp maſters *Velaſco* and *Barlotta*, after midnight, and vvhen the tide vas at the lovveſt, began to move vvith ſome of their Spaniards and Walloons. The Enemy had fortified themſelves upon that bank vvith divers earth vvorks, and hoped alſo to be better defended by the Artillery from the Tovvn, and Forts: Yet did the Royaliſts make ſo fierce an aſſault, as after a bitter bickering, the Enemy vvas forced to retire from the bank, and the Royaliſts remained in full poſſeſſion thereof. But this buſineſs coſt them much blood, and in it divers of the beſt Spaniſh and Walloon Commanders, and other Officers vvere ſlain. Then *Ronye* began to batter the Fort *Morual* vvhich lay neareſt the Tovvn, and the Kings men being already lodged betvveen the Tovvn and the Fort, ſo as the one could not ſuccour the other, the defendants vvould not vvait an aſſault, but reſolved to ſurrender the Fort; vvhich vvas accepted of, upon condition that the defendants, vvho vvere almoſt 800 in number, ſhould not re-enter into *Hulſt*, but ſhould retreat vvith their Arms and Baggage to the *Holland* Fleet vvhich vvas then about *Lillo* in the *Scheld*. The taking of this Fort, together vvith the command of the bank, gave free paſſage for the bringing of victuals; great ſtore of vvhich vvas quickly brought into the Iſland, and their very ſore ſufferings for many daies for vvant of victuals vvas remedied.

After this the Cardinal came himſelf in perſon to vievv the quarters, trenches, and all the other vvorks. And then returning to his former quarter at St. *Nicholas*, it was reſolved in the Councel of vvar, that all diligence ſhould be uſed in advancing the Trenches, upon vvhich in that higher part, *Velaſco's* and *Zunigo's* Spaniards, and *Trevico's* Italians, vvhich vvere quartered near them, vvrought. Theſe Trenches vvere dravvn out againſt three Ravelins, by vvhich the Tovvn vvas defended on that ſide. Thoſe Ravelins ſtood looſe from the principal vvall, and though they vvere made onely of earth, yet they ſerved for a good defence, becauſe they had a good ditch vvithout, and there vvas a high Platform on that ſide vvithin the Tovvn, vvhich did much diſturb the oppugners: inſomuch as many

many persons of account were slain from thence, and the prejudice grew daily greater. Yet since it was thought the works could not be better advanced from any other part, the Cardinal resolved they should be chiefly prosecuted there. But a sore mischance rendred that resolution soon fatal. *Rony* went oft thither, to give such orders as were requisite: and being one day under the Campmasters *Velasco's* Tent, which lay open to the Canon from the Town, an unfortunate shot came, which took off his head. A loss which was highly resented in the Kings Camp.

Monsieur *de Rony* was born in *Champania*, where that Province looks neerest *Lorain*. And because in all the French revolts, he always adhered to the Princes of the House of *Lorain*, he was usually taken to be a *Lorainer*. He was come of a noble family, and was called *Christian of Lavigny*. The Princes of the League had not a more zealous Officer, nor a more worthy Commander then he, in all their affairs both of State and War. He executed the chiefest part under the Duke *Du Mayn*, in those two so famous succours of *Paris* and *Roan*; and may be said to have executed the second, under the Duke of *Parma*. Then putting himself wholly into the King of *Spain's* service, valour was ever seen to vye in him with loyalty, and loyalty with valour. He was master of all the most practised Tongues; and all they of so many and so different Nations, took him for their Countryman: so greatly was he beloved and esteemed by every particular Souldier. He was equally good at Command and Execution; though his being very corpulent made the latter somewhat troublesom to him: But for the former, there was never any who gave out more cleer Orders, more speedy, nor more resolute.

The Cardinal expresst more sorrow for this loss, then any one. To witness the which, he made his Corps be carried to *Brussels*, where by his direction his obsequies were solemnly celebrated in the chiefest Church. The Cardinal declared the Count *de Varras* General of the Artillery, to be Camp-master Generall in *Rony's* place. He was brother to the Marquis of *Barambone*; and of himself a person of great experience, and much cry'd up in Arms. He had used much diligence and industry particularly in this Siege, in conveying many Peeces of Artillery into the Island, notwithstanding the difficulties sometimes of the high Tide, sometimes of the low and miery situations. And having already placed many of them against those Ravelins, towards which the Trenches of the *Spaniards* and *Italians* pointed, those Ravelins were furiously plaid upon, and likewise their Defences with other Peeces. They this mean while labour'd their falling into the Ditch: which succeeding, and then falling to fill it, wherein they were much opposed by the Enemy, the *Spaniard* at last, and at the same time almost the *Italians*, marched to go to the assault. The *Spaniards* endeavoured to get upon a side of the Ravelin which was beaten down; but meeting with stiff resistance there, the Campmaster *Velasco* made the other side be assaulted. By which the Assailants entring whilst they within were busied in making the first defence, the second unexpected assault proved so lucky, as the Enemy were forced to retreat from the Ravelin, and to get into the Town. The *Italians* had not so good succes in their assault; yet they lodged themselves under the very foot of the Ravelin, and after three dayes making a Mine play, and then returning with great courage to the assault, they likewise possest themselves of that the Enemies Flank. The two Ravelins being won, Count *Varras* planted ten Peeces of Canon between them, to play therewithall upon the opposite Wall; and many other Peeces of Canon in places which were thought most fit to discurtain it on the sides and to take from it its defences. The wall was likewise made of Earth, and therefore the Batteries could not much ruine it; and the Earth yielding, they found that to make themselves masters of it they must use Pickaxes and Mines; but they could not come to this kind of work, till they had fill'd up the Ditch. To effect the which all possible diligence being used, and the *Spaniards* vying with the *Italians* who should most advance the Works, they endeavoured to put an end to the Siege as soon as might be. But still they met with many difficulties; so often did the besieged sally out, such bold opposition did they make on all parts, and so fierce were the contentions every where. A continual shower of shot powred

down from their Artillery; and the tempeſt of fire which was thrown, by reaſon of the abundance thereof proved almoſt greater. The which was done in ſeveral ſorts; particularly by Granadoes which ſhot off three or four times, miſerably lacerating the ſouldiers which were near at hand, and indammaging thoſe that were further off. It was impoſſible to keep the Enemy from being ſuccour'd by way of the above mentioned Channels: wherefore the more to encourage his men, the Cardinal reſolved to draw nearer the Camp, and lodged in the Fort *Fuentes*. From thence he went to view both the Channels, and conſultation was had how the uſe thereof might be taken from the enemy. But the two Forts of *Maurice* and *Naſſaw* did too much intricate the buſineſs. In ſo much as all their indeavours in that point proved to no purpoſe. For by night, and eſpecially at the high tides, ſome boats by the ſaid channels did continually bring victuals into the Town: the Enemy being ſtill incouraged by theſe advantages, made out a great ſallie againſt the Campmaſter *Mendoſa*'s Trenches; and did ſo reſolutely aſſault them, as they killed above a hundred Spaniards, and clog'd ſome of their Artillery. *Mendoſa* after this, fortified his Trenches better, and the reſt of the Kings men grew more wary in theirs. And being more vigilant then formerly in keeping out relief, which was convoyed in by the Channels, the Kings men took ſome of their boats, and by the example thereof, bridled the boldneſs of the reſt. *Velaſco's* Spaniards, and *Trevico's* Italians, did this mean while eagerly attend to advance againſt the wall that was plai'd upon; and being already entred into the ditch, they endeavoured as much as in them lay to fill it up: wherein the enemy manfully oppoſed them. So as there was not any day that paſt which brought not forth ſome conteſt, nor no conteſt which drew not the beſt bloud on both ſides. Mines, and Counter-mines were uſed by theſe and thoſe. And all was done that Art could inſtruct, both on the offenſive and defenſive part, upon ſuch an occaſion. The Kings men were this mean while notwithſtanding ſo far advanced, as they lodged at the foot of the wall; which being continually plaid upon, ſeemed as if it might be ſoon aſſaulted. But the Cardinal underſtanding that the enemy had undermined it on ſundry parts, to blow up the aſſailants as they ſhould mount the breach; and that they had provided themſelves within with a new and ſtrong defence; it was therefore judged better by the Councel of War to uſe countermines, and to defer the aſſault for ſome few days. This was the condition of the ſiege, and theſe the difficulties which appeared of ending it; when the Count *de Solm* gave the Cardinal to underſtand that he would liſten to ſome honourable Treaty of ſurrendring up the Town. The Cardinal greedily imbraced the offer: and that the ſurrender might be all the ſooner made, he willingly granted all whatſoever large conditions to the Count, as well for himſelf, as for the Gariſon, and for the Inhabitants. And the agreement being made, the Town was delivered up to the Cardinal about the end of *Auguſt*. About 2500 ſouldiers marched out of *Hulſt*; beſides thoſe that were in the two Forts of *Maurice* and *Naſſaw*. Wherefore ſo numerous a Gariſon being conſidered, and that of ſo ſelect Souldiers: and that by reaſon of the plenty of all proviſions, the Town might have held out longer; it was thought that *Solm* had received expreſs orders, not to delay the delivering up thereof, that ſo he might preſerve thoſe men, for the Confederate Provinces other greater affairs. The Cardinal went from *Hulſt* to *Antwerp*, where after he had tarried awhile, he went to *Bruſſels*, full of glory and reputation, for the ſo many noble enterpriſes which he had undertaken, and ſo happily atchieved in the beginning of his Government. When he was come thither, the firſt thing he did, was to pay the Mutiniers of *Tilemone*, that he might the ſooner make uſe of ſo good a ſtrength of men. Though when they had received their pay, a good part of them returned to *Italy*, to enjoy the moneys in quiet at home, which they had got by ſo long and bloudy ſervice.

The Arms which on the behalf of *France* an *Flanders* lay then on that Frontier, were not this mean while idle. The Mariſhal *Biroun* commanded the French; and the Marquis of *Barambone*, the King of *Spains* men, as hath been ſaid in its proper place. Nothing conſiderable had notwithſtanding been done all this while. But ſoon after the ſurrender of *Hulſt*, there happened an incounter of con-

concernment. Which was this, *Biroun* was resolved to enter the Country of *Artois* with soome troops of horse, and to overrun it as far, and in as hostile a manner as he could. *Barambone* had notice hereof, who with a good number of horse likewise, went to meet *Biroun*. Scouts being sent out to make the usual discoveries on both sides, *Biroun* haulted, and placed the greatest part of his in ambush in an opportune place. This mean while Count *Alfonso Montecucully*, Captain of a Company of Lanciers, came up. He immediately charged *Biroun*, who being afterwards overlaid with the rest of *Barambones* horse, retreated till he had drawn the Enemy into the Ambush. The French came forth then very fiercely, and *Biroun* fighting according to his wonted valour, more then any of the rest, *Barambones* men were soon routed and put to flight; he himself and *Montecucully*, were taken prisoners; and Count *John Jacamo Belgioso*, who was there also with his Company of Lanciers, was sorely wounded. The Marishal was much incouraged by this succes; who therefore endeavoured to do the aforesaid damage, and greater also to the Frontiers of *Artois* But meeting still with such opposition as was sufficient to break his designs, and the winter coming on, he retreated with his men into their Garisons, as did also the Spaniards. Now began the year 1597. in the beginning whereof there happened another succesſe in *Flanders*, which was of great dammage to the King of *Spain's* Party.

During the siege of *Hulst*, the United States had caused *Brabant* be infested and overrun, in so much as a good part of that Country, to keep themselves from further evil, had submitted to pay contribution; by means whereof the States did so much the more easily maintain their Garisons of *Breda*, St. *Getrinberg*, and of other Towns which they were Masters of in that Province. This grievance was likewise felt in *Campagne*. VVherefore the Cardinal as soon as he was returned to *Brussels*, he sent Count *Varras*, General of the Artillery with 4000 foot and 300horse to *Turnaut*, a Town which lies towards *Campagne* to free the Country (as he did) from the contributions which they paid. Look how much the Kings party was thereby eased, so much were the United Provinces perplexed. Nor was Count *Maurice* slow in endeavouring to regain the same advantage. VVherefore gathering together with great speed and secrecy 6000 foot, and little less then 1000 horse, and making the Rendezvouz near *Breda*, he marched with these men about the end of *January*, towards the Royalists who were in *Turnaut*. *Maurice* could not make the aforesaid preparation neither so soon nor so secretly, but that Count *Varras* got notice of it. He had with him the Marquis of *Trevico's* Italian Brigado, which was commanded by his Serjeant Major. Count *Sols* his new Regiment of *Germans*, and two *Walloon* Brigadoes of *Barlotta*, and *Assicount*. These *Germans* and *Walloons* were also without their Commanders, and were Governed by other inferior Officers. *Nicholas Basti* Commanded the horse, which were all Spanish and Italian. Count *Varras* having discovered the Enemies march, and thinking that he had not sufficient Forces to fight him in the Field, knowing also that *Turnaut*, as being an open Village, was not a place for defence, resolved to go to *Herentales*, a Town which he might easily get unto, being but three hours easie march from *Turnaut*. Yet he would retire by day, lest if he should have marched by night, his retreat might have seemed a running away. Thus resolved, and sending out his baggage by night, upon the break of day *Varras* left *Turnaut*, and made his men march in this manner. He devided the foot into three squadrons; in the first he placed the Walloons, in the second the Germans, and in the third the Italians. But that which at their first going out was the reer, if the enemy should come upon them, was to be the van. The horse were placed on the right hand, where the field was more free; and a great wood served for a sufficient defence on the left hand. *Maurice* hearing of this removal, he suddenly advanced with all his horse, and with 300 musketiers behind so many Curassiers en Croup: and the Curassiers advancing foremost, with the musketiers en Croup, he gave them order to charge the enemy home in the reer, and that they should endeavour to hold them play till his foot should come up. With *Maurice* were the Counts of *Hollack* and *Solm*, Colonel *Vere* an English-man, and divers other Commanders of great experience

and valour. The Kings Horſe valiantly oppoſed the like of the Enemies; and the Squadrons facing about, did likewiſe ſuſtain the firſt charge of the Enemy. But all *Maurice* his Horſe coming in, and ſoon after his Foot, the Kings Horſe being no more in number, could make no longer reſiſtance. So as theſe being routed, the reſt were diſcouraged; though Count *Varras* galloping here and there, and in every place, ſhewed all the proofs of valour and undauntedneſs which could be deſired of him upon ſuch an occaſion. And finally preſſing forwards amongſt the *Italians*, when he ſaw their Squadrons begin to flie, he was ſuddenly ſlain; and he failing, the Kings men were wholly overcome, and the Enemy had the total victory over them. The *Walloons* fought not that day according as they were wont to doe; and the *Germans* made but little reſiſtance: And therefore the moſt that were ſlain or wounded, were *Italians*. In all there were above 1200 ſlain, and almoſt as many taken. There were 37 Colours loſt, and a great part of the Baggage. There were not above 100 of the Enemy ſlain: And *Maurice* wan ſuch a Victory with the loſs of ſo little blood, as made much for the advantage of the Confederate Provinces, and for his own Honour in War. After this miſchance, the Cardinal failed not ſuddenly to provide for the neceſſities of *Brabant*, by ſending in many Horſe and Foot. He was about likewiſe to make many great new Levies: But the King was in ſo great ſcarcity of monies, as the Cardinal could not make proviſions ſo ſoon, nor yet ſo fully as the neceſſity of the *Flanders* affairs required, and much more thoſe which were of ſo great concernment on the part of *France*. Nor was it long ere an occaſion aroſe in *France*, which being one of the moſt remarkable which the wars of *France* or *Flanders* hath produced in point of Surpriſe and Siege, you ſhall have a particular diligent account thereof in the next Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK IV.

The Contents.

The Spaniards *ſurpriſe the City of* Amiens *by ſtratagem. The King of* France *immediately beſiegeth it. The chiefeſt ſucceſſes thereof, and of the Defence are related. The Cardinal-Archduke goes himſelf in perſon with a powerfull Army to relieve the beſieged: but being kept off by the Enemies forces, the Town returns at laſt into the Kings hands, who preſently fortifies it with a ſtrong Caſtle. The Cardinal retreats to* Artois, *and from thence paſſeth into* Flanders. *Here he viſits* Oſtend; *but not attempting any thing, he returns to* Bruſſels, *and puts his Army in garriſon. The acquiſitions this mean while made by Count* Maurice, *to the great advantage of the Confederate Provinces, are related. Nor is it long ere Peace is declared between the two Crowns; ſo as the Kings Forces are now at liberty to attend only the proper affairs of* Flanders. *At this ſame time great conſultations are had in the Court of* Spain *about a Marriage propounded between the Cardinal-Archduke, and the Infanta* Iſabella, *the Kings eldeſt daughter; with the giving of the* Low-Countries *to the Infanta for her portion. The King inclines thereunto out of many good reaſons, and therefore will have it effected. The Archduke parts from* Flanders, *to go for* Spain; *and Cardinal* Andrea d' Auſtria *ſtayes in his place. The Cardinal-Archduke is not well gone, when the King of* Spain *dyes; and his ſon* Philip *the Third ſucceeds him. To whom the*

the King had alſo a little before deſtined the Archdutcheſs Margaret *of* Auſtria *for Wife.*

Anno 1597.

HErnando Teglio Portocarrero was Governour of *Dorlan*, being left there by Count *Fuentes* after the taking of that place, as choſen by him for one of the beſt Souldiers that the Spaniſh Nation had in *Flanders*. *Portacarrero* not ſatisfied with the bare cuſtody of *Dorlan*, wherein he was extraordinarily vigilant, he oft-times iſſued out with his Garriſon; and aſſaulting the Enemy ſometimes in open fields, ſometimes by ambuſhes; now preying upon their Cattel, and then ſetting their Villages on fire, he was almoſt become the Terror of that Frontier. But neither did his thoughts end here: He had an earneſt deſire to doe ſome great action for the Kings ſervice in thoſe parts, by which he himſelf might likewiſe acquire reward and glory. *Amiens* is the chief City of *Picardy*; and *Dorlan* is not above ſeven leagues diſtant from it. This neighbourhood afforded occaſion to *Portacarrero* to penetrate almoſt hourly into what was done in *Amiens*, and thereabouts. That City had appeared much for the League; and being now fallen into the Kings hands, it coveted much to have its antient priviledges obſerved, and eſpecially that the City ſhould be governed by Perſonages of their own Inhabitants, and by their own proper Forces. Nor would the King (the preſent condition of affairs conſidered) doe any thing to the contrary. Thus the City was its own Guardian. And though there were a great number of Citizens who had liſted themſelves under Colours, yet were they not any way diſciplin'd according to cuſtom in the handling of their Arms; nor were they ſo vigilant as they ought to have been in guarding their Gates: The Country without was not well ſurveyed before they opened them; and being open, they were but careleſly lookt unto, and more for form ſake then out of duty. *Portocarrero* being fully informed hereof, he thought he might by ſome ſtratagem ſurpriſe that Gate of *Amiens* which lay neareſt *Dorlan*; and that then bringing in a great body of men, he might poſſibly poſſeſs himſelf of the reſt of the City. To this end he by fitting means made the Gate be firſt well ſurveyed, and all the Country and wayes thereabouts, whereby with all poſſible ſecreſie ſuch men might be brought in as were to back the enterpriſe. And this was the order he took to effect it. Three Souldiers clad like Peaſants of *Picardy*, with ſacks upon their backs, full of Nuts and Beans, and ſuch like ſtuff, were to ſeem as if they brought this ware into the City. After the three Souldiers a Cart was to follow under the ſame pretence, loaded with ſacks of Corn; but theſe ſacks were to lie uppermoſt; ſo as the ſuperficies being only ſurveyed, the reſt of the body of the Cart ſhould be full only of great Planks. His deſign was to get within the Gate by means of this Cart; and by the Planks to keep the Percullis from falling to the ground, which otherwiſe might have been let down, and ſo have kept the Aſſailants from coming in. The guidance of the Cart and horſes which were to draw it, was given to eight or ten other Souldiers, clad as were the other like Peaſants, who together with the other three were to be the firſt actors in the ſurpriſe. The gate being thus got, and the ſign being given by the ſhooting off of a Piſtol, 300 Souldiers were preſently to make in, who were lodged as near the Gate as was poſſible; and to behave themſelves ſo in getting further into the City, as the reſt might have time to come up, and perfect the work.

Thus had *Portacarrero* plotted the ſurpriſe; and hoping ſtill more and more to ſee it happily effected, he with very great ſecreſie diſpatcht away *Franceſco del' Arco* a Spaniard, to *Bruſſels*, to acquaint the Cardinal therewithall, and (if he ſhould approve of it) to receive ſuch Orders from him as were neceſſary for the putting of it in execution. The Cardinal approved of all that was propounded, and ſuch Commiſſions were given as were requiſite to ſuch Commanders whoſe Garriſons lay neareſt *Dorlan*. *Franciſco del' Arco* being returned from *Bruſſels* with theſe Orders, *Portacarrero* deferr'd the buſineſs no longer. He gathered together with as much ſecreſie as might be, about 2200 Foot, and 600 Horſe; and

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did ſo well lay the time, and the places, as they met all at *Dorlan* on the tenth of march. The Foot conſiſted of 600 Spaniards; of Germans, Iriſh, and Walloons, all of them about the like number. The Horſe was compoſed part of Launciers, part Curaſſiers, part Harquebuſiers; in alike equal numbers of Spaniſh, of Italians and walloons. There could not be a more ſelect company of Souldiers, nor could they be commanded by more experienced Officers. *Jeroſſemo Caraffa*, Marqueſs of *Montenegro*, a Neopolitan, commanded the Horſe. But *Portacarrero* was to have the chief command, as author of the deſign, & he as who had received ful authority from the Cardinal for the leading of it on. *Portacarrero* was low of ſtature, but of a very ſtrong body, and yet ſtronger ſoul; and capable of guiding any enterpriſe, no leſs for the maturity of his judgment, then for his courage in execution. Having then diſpoſed of his men in ſuch order as they were to march, he went from *Dorlan* about the coming on of night, and took his way towards *Amiens*. He had not as yet diſcovered his deſign to any of them; but after they were a little advanced, he haulted; and drawing aſide the Captains both of Foot and Horſe, he with words full of Millitary vigour, acquainted them with the occaſion why they were firſt ſummoned to meet at *Dorlan*, and wherefore they were now marching towards *Amiens*. He ſhevved them the Cart, and vviſhed them to ſpeak to their ſouldiers that vvere to ſurpriſe the Gate. He further added,

How great will be our good fortune, how great our glory, if we coming in with the reſt of our men, can purchaſe ſuch a City for our King, which is the chiefeſt of all Picardy, *and one of the moſt eſteemed of all* France? *How great will the preſent plunder be for all of you? And how much greater rewards are we hereafter to expect from our King But this action will prove particularly glorious to us the Commanders, who making this ſucceſs memorable to perpetuity, ſhall thereby likewiſe eterniſe our own names.* Amiens *is within three ſhort dayes journeys of* Paris; *the Country open, without either rivers, woods, or any other obſtacles.* Amiens *may then be made ſo great a Magazin of Arms, and may admit of ſo numerous a Garriſon, as may rather be termed an Army then a Garriſon; and how eaſily may we then march even to the gates of* Paris? *Infeſt all the adjacent Country? And every day add to our acquiſitions in* Picardy? *So as the King of* France *will at laſt have good reaſon to repent his having choſen rather to make war then peace with our King. I confeſs, as there cannot be a purchaſe of greater importance, ſo muſt we expect to meet with all poſſible difficulties therein. I know what the nature of a ſurpriſal is; and how great the difference is between the framing it in our fancies, and the effecting of it. I know that* Amiens *is a great City, full of a warlike people: and who will ſpeedily make in, either to keep us from making our ſelves Maſters of the Gate, or to take it from us, when we ſhall have gotten it. But I would we had got it, as the careleſs keeping of it, may make us hope we ſhall; as for the reſt, it will be our parts, by the vigour of our bodies, and the valour of our arms not onely to maintain the entrance, but to advance further into the inhabited places, and at laſt to make full conqueſt of the City I ſpeake my hopes; let us then conragiouſly purſue our march, and let each of us diſcover the deſign unto our Souldiers, and enflame them thereunto. I for my part will rather act then command. And whether I ſhall live or dye, How can I live or dye more gloriouſly?*

Portacarrero was very attentively liſtned unto; for all the Commanders, as alſo all their ſouldiers deſired much to know what enterpriſe they were led unto at that time of the night, and with ſuch ſecreſie. The Commanders thought almoſt it impoſſible that ſo negligent guards ſhould be kept in *Amiens*; there being ſo many Spaniſh Garriſons neer it, and the war being ſo hot round about. They had therefore but ſmall hopes of the ſurpriſal; judging that they ſhould meet with much greater difficulties in endeavouring it, then was thought upon when it was firſt deſigned: but *Portacarrero*, did ſo aver for truth all that he had told them, as both they, and their ſouldiers ſhewed themſelves ready, to do what upon ſuch an occaſion might be deſired of them. They came to within ſight of the Gate vvhich lies tovvards *Dorlan*, and vvhich is called *Montrecurt*, about the break of day; there vvith great ſilence they poſſeſſed themſelves of a certain Abbey, vvithin leſs then a mile of the City: they took likevviſe another place,

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yet neerer the City, where was a little Hermitage; from thence thoſe that were clad like Peaſants advanced towards the Gate, with their Cart and Sacks full of Apples, and ſuch other things as have been ſpoken of. This mean while the Citizens opened the Gate; and ſurveying the Country about with their wonted negligence. They ſtayed in the Court *de Gard* under the ſame Gate; but the ſouldiers were ſo few in number, and ſo unfit for ſuch an office, as the Gate could not be more weakly, nor more negligently kept. It was now Lent, and Sermons being uſually made in *France* early in the morning, almoſt all the people were then at Church. *Franciſco d' Arco* had the command of thoſe that were clad like Peaſants, and who were to make the ſurpriſe: he who, as you have heard, *Portacarrero* ſent to *Bruſſels* to negotiate the buſineſs with the Cardinal; *Baptiſta Dognano*, a Milonoiſe, was another chiefly imploy'd; and Captain *la Croy* with particular diligence attended upon the Cart, who was a Burgonian: The reſt were almoſt all Walloons, who by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Frontier, were better known both in the language and faſhion of the Peaſants of *Picardy*: But were all of them Souldiers of tryed fidelity and valour. As they drew neer the gate, theſe mingled themſelves with other Country people, who entred the Town at the ſame time either to buy or to ſell commodities. Wherefore entring more eaſily with them into the Ravelin which covers the Gate, they ſtayed under the Arch thereof, and one of them letting the Sack fall, which was upon his ſhoulders, the nuts and things that were in ſcattered upon the ground; thoſe of the Guard ran in, and mocking either the ſimplicity or poverty of the Peaſants, began to ſcramble for what was on the ground; the Cart came in this interim, which being made to ſtay by him who guided it, at the firſt entrance into the Gate, the horſes were preſently faſtned; leſt frighted at the noiſe which was to enſue, they might run away elſewhere with the Cart. *Franciſco d' Arco* was to give notice to *Portacarrero* of the Carts being entred, by the ſhooting off of a Piſtol; which he failed not to do, for carrying two under his counterfeit habit, he diſcharged one of them in the breſt of one of thoſe that kept the Gate. Which when he had done, his aſſotiates did the like; and ſeiſing upon ſome Halberts which belonged to the ſame *Corps de Gard*, they ſo behaved themſelves, as they ſlew or deadly wounded all thoſe few French who had the cuſtody either of the gate, or of the ravelin. For the better ſecurity of the Gate it had two Percullefes which over-hung it, they were guarded by a ſentinel, who let them both down; the firſt was eaſily kept from falling to the ground by the Cart, but the ſecond broke it all in peeces, and almoſt quite ſhutting up the paſſage, brought the Aſſailants into great ſtraits, when the other who were hid in the Hermitage came in with all ſpeed, who ſecuring themſelves firſt of the Raveling without, and ſuddenly taking away all hinderances within, made themſelves Maſters of all the avenues to the Gate. The noiſe was already grown ſo great, as many of the neereſt Inhabitants taking up arms, and haſtning thither, began boldly to oppoſe the aſſailants; who increaſing ſtill in number and in courage, eaſily overcame all oppoſition: inſomuch as having won the firſt Avenues to the City, and fully ſecured the Gate, as alſo the contiguous walls, they afforded time for the reſt of the Foot and Horſe to come up, and fortunately to perfect the premediated deſign. Nothing is ſo prejuditial, or doth more endanger ſurpriſes, then giving way to fall ſuddenly, and tumultuouſly to plunder: for in ſuch a caſe, the Townſmen within may either take up arms, or the Enemy may come in from without, ſo as the Aſſailants may be eaſily ſuppreſt, by reaſon of their being diſperſt, and diſordered amidſt rapine, and other military licentiouſneſs. For this cauſe *Portacarrero* commanded under penalty of the ſevereſt puniſhment, that none of his men ſhould dare to fall to plunder the City, till the market places, chief ſtreets, and all the Gates were fully taken, and well guarded; which being by him performed in great order, and the ſouldiers in much obedience, they fell to plunder, of which they found ſuch, and ſo great ſtore, as few the like was met withal in all the vvars of *France* and of *Flanders*. Count St. *Paul*, Governour of *Picardy*, vvas in *Amiens* at the time of the ſurpriſal; but he vvas got out as the Aſſailants firſt entred, providing in great haſte for his ovvn ſafety, and leaving his vvife there, vvho vvas preſently ſet at liberty by *Portacarrero*,

tacarrero, and used with all respect and honour. The plunder lasted one whole day; and nothing else of cruelty was used, nor of dissolute licentiousnes There were not above 100 of the Inhabitants slain, and three or four of the assailants, and some few others were hurt. At the news of the surprise and plunder, many other souldiers of the neighbouring Spanish Garisons, came flying in, to partake of the plunder; and who afterwards helped very much for the defence of *Amiens*: for *Portacarrero* would not permit them to go out again. Yet for greater security he disarmed the Citizens; and with great vigilancy ordering all things every where as best befitted the safety of the City, he together with the rest of the Commanders and all the souldiers, prepared with all courage to sustain that hard and dangerous siege which he foresaw would soon befall them by the King of *France*.

This mean while the King had speedy advertisement, both of the surprise so boldly undertaken, and of the happy success thereof. It is impossible to relate how much he was afflicted at this his mischance, and how much he was inwardly tormented in his mind, particularly in the point of Honour. He seemed to be much offended with himself.

Had he so quelled the Rebellion of France, *and so suppress the League maintained by the Spaniards, to the end that breaking into war with them, their sole Forces should triumph over his? How many victories had* Fuentes *got the year before, sometimes by sieges, sometimes by open field-fight? and how many other great acquisitions had the Cardinal Archduke lately made? was not that of* Calis *sufficient by open siege, but that the other of* Amiens *must issue by surprise? What two other Towns could the Spaniards have desired, whereby they might receive more advantage in the affairs of* France, *both by sea and land? The way was short and free between the Gates of* Amiens *and* Paris: *Nor did* Calis *afford less opportunity to offend so noble a part of the Kingdom by sea. And what would* Europe *think of a King, who contented with his only home-victories, should suffer himself to be thus overcome by Forreign Forces? How much would the Malcontents of the Kingdom be hereby incouraged? to set the League on foot again, perhaps, which was or too lately suppress, or not yet fully extinguished.*

Thus did the King of *France* with great anger storm against himself, for the surprisal of *Amiens*. Being then thus agitated by these considerations, he speedily removed from *Paris* to *Corbie*, a Town standing upon the banks of *Some*, not above three leagues from *Amiens*. Here he together with Marishal *Biroun*, and other Commanders in war, resolved immediately to incamp before that City, and not to leave any thing undone, whereby to drive out the Spaniards, and to free *Picardy* from all their Forces. *Biroun* Commanded the Kings Forces, who being naturally very haughty, thought it redounded much to his own particular dishonour, that the Spaniards should daily make such advancements in those parts. The King therefore commanded him, that mustering together as many of the French souldiery as might be had from the neighbouring Garisons, he should begin to begirt *Amiens*, and to take a particular care that no fresh men should enter into it. This order being given, and such others as were requisite upon such an occurrency, the King went again to *Paris*, to sollicite such Forces and preparations from all parts, as were requisite for such an undertaking. The River *Some* runs a long course through *Picardy*; and cutting it as it were through in the middle, fals afterwards into the British Sea. Upon the Banks of this River stands the chiefest Cities and Towns of the Province. But *Amiens* doth flourish there beyond them all, as well for the antiquity of its foundation, as for the beauty of its buildings, and for the quality, industry, and number of Inhabitants The *Some* enters it with many Branches, and washing the wals in many places, makes the circuit thereof stronger on those sides then on the others; it is also well provided of Curtains, Flanks and Ditches: but that part which looks towards *Flanders*, as being most subject to danger, is best fortified. And because the Spaniards in likelyhood would have endeavoured to relieve the City on that side, and especially from *Dorlan*, the Marishal *Biroun* did therefore incamp himself on that side; and began to break up the ways, to possess himself of the Passes, and to design out his quarters for the future siege.

Portacarrero had this mean while sent back *Francesco d' Arco* to *Brussels*, to advertise the Cardinal of his happy success, and to desire him to send some new recruits of men with all speed. Great store of Artillery, Ammunition, and Victuals was found in *Amiens*: *Portacarrero* did therefore for the present, only desire a recruit of men, that so he might make good the Town, till such time as the Cardinal might come to relieve it with a compleat Army. The Cardinal shewed such signes of joy as became such a purchase, and sent back the same *Francesco d' Arco*, having first honoured him upon this occasion with a Company of Spanish Foot, to assure *Portacarrero* that he would speedily send him some good succour; and that he would forthwith muster the whole Army, with which he himself would come in person, and undoubtedly raise the siege. On the other side the King of *France* being fully resolved to continue it, went perpetually from one place to another to raise what moneys he could, what men, and what provisions, as were requisite for such a purpose. A Renovation of League was then in Treaty between him and the Queen of *England*; which he very much desired might be effected. And he Treated likewise with the United Provinces of *Flanders*, that they might make some considerable diversion against the Spaniards, and that in particular they might send him some aid for the business of *Amiens*. The mean while Marishal *Biroun* prosecuted the already begun works; he had thrown a bridg of boats over the uppermost part of the River between *Corbie* and *Amiens*; and another over the lower part thereof, where the Village *Lompre* stands, to the end that he might have free passage from the one side of the River to the other, and might at his pleasure joyn the Kings Forces on either side. He drew a Line in compass from the one bridg to the other, of well Flank'd Trenches, towards the City; but of much greater compass towards the field-side. All these Works were made on the side towards *Flanders*, as hath been said, because the besieged were to be succoured from thence. Nor did he forbear beleaguering the Town in such sort as was fitting on the side which lay towards *France*. It is not to be said with what ardency and eagerness *Biroun* behaved himself; adding a rigid imperious command to his innate pride, and making it evidently appear in his Military haughtiness, that he would bequeath the siege in such a condition to the King, when his Majesty should come thither, as he should acknowledg the good success thereof chiefly from him. Thus had *Biroun* laid the siege; but at the same time he hoped to make so important a surprise on the neighbouring Frontiers of *Artois*, as the Spaniards should be so much the more hindred from the freeing of *Amiens*. To this purpose he did so unexpectedly assault *Arras* by night (which is the chiefest City of *Artois*) with 4000 foot, and 1200 horse, as he indangered it. He planted a Petard luckily, his men began already to enter the Gate; but the people thereof which are numerous, and warlike, taking up Arms, the French were soon repulst; wherein Count *Bucquoy's* valour did very much appear, who being in *Arras*, had the fortune to signalize himself more then any other upon that occasion.

Biroun being returned to his quarters about *Amiens*, attempted another surprise by scalado against *Dorlan*; but failed therein also. So as quite forgoing these secret machinations, he applyed himself wholly to the siege which he had begun. No less vigilancy was in the interim used on the Spaniards behalf. The Cavalier *Pacciotto*, an highly esteemed Italian Ingenier, and brother to the other Ingenier *Pacciotto*, who was slain at the assault of *Calis*, was by stealth gotten into *Amiens*, and had brought Captain *Lechinga* with him, a Spaniard who very well understood the management of Artillery. These two applyed themselves diligently, the one to better the Fortifications where it was most needfull; the other to dispose of the Artillery where they might be of greatest annoyance to the enemy. And *Biroun* not having as yet fully finished his Trenches, the Cardinal Archduke had given strict command, that some endeavour should be made to put some new recruit of souldiers into *Amiens*, from the Frontiers of *Artois*. Count *Bucquoy* was to this effect in *Dorlan* with 4000 Walloon foot; and *John de Gusman* with 300 horse. And because it was afterwards feared that such a body of men could not march so concealedly, as upon such an occasion was requisit, it was resolved that *Gusman* only should attempt getting into the City with his horse.

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He marcht away by night; but being discovered when he was got near the Ditch, and the French-men moving furiously against him, he would have had much ado to have got into the City, had not the Defendants who sallied out in great numbers, and did valiantly withstand the Enemy, received him. In this action those of the Town lost Captain *Fernando Dezza*, a Spaniard, and Captain *Tomas*, an Irish-man, two valiant Souldiers, with divers others of ordinary rank. The number of the *French* that were slain was greater, but of meaner quality. *Portacarrero*, that he might have the Field more free, and might the readilyer go out to skirmishes, resolved to pluck down the Suburbs, and all the houses which were near about *Amiens*: which he did chiefly by fire. It was a miserable spectacle to see such and so many delightfull contentments, the blessings of Peace, consumed in an instant by the fury of War. There was above 3000 choise Souldiers in *Amiens*; and therefore *Portacarrero* thought good not to suffer the Oppugnors to breath, but to endeavour by frequent and fierce Sallies to hinder their Fortifications which every day increased, so as the Cardinal might have time to come and relieve the Town with a full succour. Nor was the Cardinal wanting in making all possible preparations to that purpose. A Levy of 4000 Foot was expected from *Italy*, which *Alphonso Avalos* was raising. Other Levies were made to the same purpose in *Germany*, and the same diligence was used in those parts of *Flanders* which were under the Kings obedience. But the monies requisite for such an affair fell far short, by reason of the Kings so many former excessive expenses, and by reason of the charge he was forced to be at in consideration of the vastness of his Empire. And just at this time there had hapned a great disorder in this point: For the King desirous to curb the insatiable covetousness of Merchants had who traffickt Mony with him, he had in those dayes published an Edict whereby he moderated the excessive gain which they formerly made. The Merchants therefore retired themselves; and *Antwerp* which was wont to furnish such monies as were requisite to maintain the Kings Army, was so pincht, as the Cardinal could no longer find necessary supplies there: And this (as shall be seen hereafter) was the chief cause why he could not lead up the Army time enough to *Amiens*, and preserve the purchase he had made of so important a City.

Now to return to the Siege. The Fortifications without increased exceedingly every day, *Biroun* being continually very sollicitous therein. He munited the two aforesaid Bridges with good Forts on the one and the other bank, but especially on that side which looked most towards *Flanders*. He raised likewise such Forts as were requisite to defend the innermost Line of the Trenches, and did the like in the outward Line which looked towards the Fields. And because succour was chiefly to be kept out on that side, therefore the more Forts, and the more nobler were raised there, and greater care was had of all those Works. *Birouns* souldiery increased also daily, so as he would no longer delay opening Trenches against the City. He intended to lead them on just upon a great Ravelin, which sheltred the Gate *Montrecurt*; and upon the adjoyning Ditch, which was dry, and where he thought he might easilieſt fall in. But *Portacarrero* was as vigilant as might be all this while in making defences. His chief design (as we have said) was to annoy the Enemy as much as he could by Sallies, and hinder their Works. The Marquis *Montenegro* sallied therefore out one day with 400 Horse, he having the command of all the Horse in *Amiens*: And placing a Company of Carabins in the first Front, commanded by Captain *Francisco Fuentes* a Spaniard, he gave in so fiercely and so unexpectedly upon the Enemy, as he slue above 200. some Souldiers, some Pioners, without losing almost any one of his men. This Sally was pursued almost every day with some other the like; which being so very many, to shun prolixity in relating every least passage, and to maintain the Decorum due to History, we will acquaint you only with the chiefest.

Affairs were in this condition both within and without, when the King of *France* came himself in person to the Camp, attended by many Princes and great Lords who were then at Court; particularly by the Duke *Du Mayn*, from whose valour aud councel as much good was expected upon this occasion, as the Kingdom had experimented prejudice in the late troubles thereof. *Biroun* was

not very well pleaſed that the King ſhould come ſo ſoon unto the Army; for he would willingly have brought the Siege firſt to better perfection. But the King very much approving all the Works, and for a ſign of honour confirming him in the ſame ſuperiority of Command, did ſo far ſatisfie him, as he continued more fervent then ever in his former endeavours. The King being arrived, it was reſolved by the Councel of War, that the buſineſs ſhould be orderly carried on, and that winning ground by the ſpade and mathook leaſurely, great care ſhould be had in preſerving the Souldiery, and that the raſhneſs of too immature aſſaults ſhould be ſhunned. The number of Pioners was therefore mightily increaſed: by whoſe handy-work the further the Trenches were advanced, the broader and the deeper were they made; and to boot with the uſual windings thereof, many and greater Redouts then ordinary were raiſed in them for their better defence. The King lay in the aforeſaid Hermitage; and the Conſtable, the Duke *Du Mayn*, the Duke of *Eſpernon*, the Prince *Jeanvile* Brother to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and other great Perſonages were lodged in the ſeveral Forts; whereof the Marſhal *Biroun* kept that for himſelf which was neareſt the Works, that he might from thence haſten their progreſs the more. The Kings Army did not as then exceed 16000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, but it increaſed every day; for it is not to be ſaid with how much impatiencie he deſired the recovery of *Amiens*, nor how much he was ſeconded therein by the inclination of the Kingdom, and particularly by the deſire of the Nobility. His Forces conſiſted of 3000 *Swiſſers*, 4000 *Engliſh* ſent by the Queen in relation to the aforementioned Confederacie which was concluded but a little before; and the reſt were all *French* Foot and Horſe. Monſieur *de Montigny* commanded the Horſe; and Monſieur *de S. Luke* the Artillery, which were brought unto the Camp in great abundance: Both of them Commanders cry'd up, and of a cleer reputation. And the King willing that they ſhould no longer forbear annoying thoſe within with the Artillery, they began to play furiouſly upon the City; and Batteries were diſpoſed of in divers places, which were afterwards to indamage the Beſieged nearer hand. Amidſt theſe publick works appertaining to the Siege, the King forbore not liſtening to a ſecret intelligence by which the City might be fraudulently delivered up unto him. There was a Covent of Auguſtine Friars in *Amiens*, which did almoſt joyn upon one of the Gates of the City. Many Citizens came uſually to this Covent, where they plotted a ſecret practiſe to put the City into the Kings hands, by privately taking in ſome Souldiers from without by night, who ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of certain Bridges under which the River ran as it went out of the City. But *Portacarrero* diſcovering the buſineſs, he made thoſe whom he ſuſpected ſure, and putting ſome of the Ringleaders to death, he ordered that all the Votaries ſhould go out of *Amiens*, and afterwards by degrees drove out moſt of the Citizens. *Portacarrero* being freed from thoſe dangers which threatned him within, minded with greater ſecurity the advancing of the outward works, which conſiſted chiefly in defending the Ditch the moſt that might be: And therefore he fortified the *Chemine Couverte* in ſundry ſorts; other new Defences were added even within the Ditch it ſelf; and Mines were wrought under the *Chemine Couverte* which might be made to play when the Enemy ſhould approach. Moreover, for its better defence, it was invironed with great and ſharp ſtakes, hanging outwards with ſome little diſtance between them, which might keep the Enemy from ſuddenly aſſailing it, and the Defendants might have the advantage of being thereby ſheltred. All ſuch Fortifications as it was capable of were added in particular to the great Ravelin of *Montrecurt*. And all this while the Defendants cooled not in making their frequent Sallies; but making them every time more forceable then other, there ſeldom paſt a night that they did not iſſue out to diſturb the Works; in which the Countrymen thereabouts ſupplying the place of Pioners, it is not to be believed what a ſlaughter was made of thoſe miſerable people during the ſiege. The field-ſide towards *France* was leſs fortified, and conſequently worſe guarded as being the moſt ſecure. The beſieged iſſued forth on that ſide to provide neceſſary Forrage for their Horſes, but with good Convoyes of Horſe and Foot; they were many times fortunate herein; but falling at laſt into a great Ambuſh of 600 horſe of the Enemy, they were routed, and in their retreat loſt many of their

their Foot and Horſe, and particularly a great number of the meaner ſort of people who were imployed in getting together the Forrage. This misfortune did not abate, but rather increaſe the beſiegeds courage in continuing their ſallies. *Portacarrero* would therefore make out one which ſhould be ſo ſtrong and ſo well ordered, as it might make large amends for the loſs lately ſuffered. Which he diſpoſed thus. He ſent out two Spaniſh Captains, *Diego Durango*, and *Franciſco del l'Arco*, with their two Foot-Companies; and to them added two Troops of Horſe, commanded by *Jovanni Guſman*, and *Martin Aguilas*, both of them Spaniards; after theſe came the Marquis *di Montenegro* with 300 Horſe more: And the order which was given them was, that they ſhould at one and the ſame time aſſault the Trenches which were a working on the two neareſt ſides, and afterwards to make into the quarters from whence the Works proceeded. It was about the end of *July*, when the weather is hotteſt, and men apteſt to ſleep about Noon-day. At this time it was reſolved the Sally ſhould be made: Nor were the beſieged deceived: For finding a great many of thoſe that labour'd in the Trenches wearied with their working by night, and taking their reſt, as alſo the others that guarded them, they meeting with little reſiſtance made great ſlaughter amongſt them; then aſſaulting the neareſt quarter of the *Engliſh*, they ſlue many of them before they could well put themſelves in a defenſive poſture; and aſſaulting another quarter with the like violence where the *Swiſſers* were lodged, they likewiſe ſlue and wounded many of them. But the Camp flying to their Arms, & new ſuccour coming in from all parts, the fray did ſo increaſe, as it could neither be more obſtinate nor more bloody. The Marſhal *Biroun* did firſt appear, who thruſting in where the buſineſs was hotteſt, gave miraculous proof of his courage. Nor did the King himſelf do leſs; who tranſported by his too warlike genius, and too much deſpiſing danger, would likewiſe be himſelf where the greateſt peril was. Till ſuch time as the beſieged being forced to give back, the fray ended. In which the beſieged loſt above 200 of their men, amongſt which *John Guſman*, who was in the flower of his age, of a very noble family, and of very great expectation. There were ſome 600 of the contrary party ſlain, as it was ſaid; amongſt which divers Captains and other inferior Officers.

Thoſe without were ſtill very much indamaged by the Artillery which were placed within upon the walls, and ſtill ſo much the more by how much the trenches drew nearer the ditch. Wherefore Monſieur *S. Luke* planted two Batteries; the one of ten Peeces of Cannon againſt the Ravelin of *Montecourt*, and the other of twelve Peeces againſt the neighbouring defences: He raiſed alſo againſt the ſame parts a great Platform furniſht with other Peeces, and munited it with a ſtrong Redout, to keep it from the ſo impetuous ſallies made by thoſe within. Neither did theſe Batteries fail in their expected ſervice; for they ſoon greatly indammaged one Ravelin, they threw down the Parapets of the contiguous wall, and batterd down the higheſt Defences, ſo as none but the loweſt defended the Ditch. This mean while the Trenches did daily approach nearer the Counterſcarf, the Works never ceaſing, over which Marſhal *Biroun* had a particular care. But though he, the King being preſent, had the principal care of the Siege, yet the King forbore not to have it moſt in his thoughts; who continually viewed all the Works, being indefatigable in his labour both by day and night; abounding at once both in a Princely and Warlike ſpirit: but notwithſtanding of ſo affable a nature, and ſo long accuſtomed to be amongſt Souldiers, as laying down for the moſt part his Regal Majeſty, it ſeemed as if he deſired rather to be a Fellow-ſouldier then a King amongſt them. All degrees of Souldiery ſtrove therefore who ſhould moſt willingly follow and ſerve him; and the King did infinitely deſire out of Military glory to bring this Siege to his wiſht for end, that it might be known he knew equally how to be a gallant Commander as well in the moſt difficult beſieging of Towns, as in the greateſt Field-conflicts. Theſe extraordinary diligences which were uſed about the aforeſaid Works, made that thoſe within had every day leſs field-room to make out ſallies: wherefore they reſolved to make one ſally more, which being perhaps to be the laſt, might prove for as much as in them lay the moſt prejudicial to the Enemy. *Portacarrero* aſſembling therefore together little leſs then 1000 ſelect Foot, with their Commanders,

gave

gave order that about noon-day, they ſhould with all poſſible ſecrecy be in the dry ditch of the great Ravelin of *Montecourt*, that they might the more privatly go from thence, and aſſault the enemy upon greater advantage. And becauſe the horſe now did not much ſervice abroad, he added only 30 Curaſſiers to the foot, who might behave themſelves according as occaſion ſhould require.

The appointed hour being come, the ſign of iſſuing out was given by a Canon ſhot. The firſt aſſault was ſtrangely reſolute and fierce. But the Trenches being much better provided, and defended, then the former time, and eſpecially by a good part of a *Picardy* Regiment, which were almoſt all old ſouldiers, great reſiſtance was made; mingling themſelves couragiouſly one with another in fight, and many falling interchangeably on both ſides. Yet the beſieged receiving new recruits of men, they entred the Trenches, committing ſtill more ſlaughter, and advancing ſo far, as they came to a chief Redout, and endeavoured to nail up ſome pieces of Artillery. But being manfully oppoſed by a great Court of Guard of *Swiſſers* which were there, and a great number of other ſouldiers flocking thither from ſeveral other parts of the Camp, they were forced to think of retreating, wherein the Curaſſiers proved not uſeleſs; for they likewiſe ſallying out, and giving upon many of the enemy who had disbanded themſelves in the firſt fights, they ſlew many of them; and were moreover of great aſſiſtance in helping their companions to retreat. This combat laſted for above three hours, and from without *Biron* ſhewed his wonted undauntedneſs; and amongſt other Cavalliers of the Kings Camp, Prince *Janville* did in particular win great praiſe. 500 of the Kings men were ſlain, and about 200 of the beſieged, together with very many wounded on both ſides. After this, the King cauſed the works ſo ſpeedily to be advanced, as they came within a few days almoſt to the Ditch. And they might be ſtill better inforced on his part; for his loſs of ſouldiers and Pioners, was ſoon remedied by the ſupply of others; and the King had now an Army of 24000 foot, and 6000 horſe; together with aboundance of all other things neceſſary for the continuation of the ſiege. But howſoever he was very deſirous to ſee it ſoon at an end. For news came every day of great ſuccour which were coming from the Cardinal; and it was every day diſcovered that the beſieged would hold out till the laſt gaſp. It was not long therefore ere the French came to the *Chemine Couvert*, and blowing part of it into the air with ſecret mines, and winning the reſt by fierce aſſaults, they lodged in the counterſcarp. From whence indamaging the Ditch by their Artillery, and at laſt falling thereinto, they ſtrove to make themſelves maſters thereof. Which was very ſtifly diſputed; for though thoſe within had loſt their uppermoſt defences, yet thoſe below were induſtriouſly repaired, from whence they did in ſundry manners miraculouſly reſiſt the aſſailants. The chiefeſt part of the ſiege being then reduced hither, it is not to be ſaid with how much obſtenacy and fierceneſs they fought on both ſides: thoſe within relying upon the expected ſuccour; and thoſe without willing to prevent it. The one deſirous to recover what was loſt, the others to keep what they had got. The aſſailants fighting whilſt the King looked on; and the adverſaries as if the Cardinal had been preſent. And both ſides ſo ſet on fire by wonted emulation, and by innate hatred one to another, as were it only in that reſpect their very ſouls could not be more incenſed. They fought no longer therefore with harquebuſes and muskets, nor yet with ſwords; but with ſhorter weapons, as daggers and piſtols. Stones hailed down from the walls, and fires of divers ſorts. And on the contrary the enemies batteries playing inceſſantly, had ſo skarrified the Platform, as there was but very little ſpace left for the defendants to keep upon. *Portacarrero* began therefore to make inward retreats, by half moons, and other good defences. And he had thought alſo to have thrown up a great Trench more inward upon the inſide of the River, which paſt with one of its branches through the City, neer enough to the wall that was plaid upon. That after the loſs thereof, and of the new retreats which he was making, he might yet make what oppoſition might be. And becauſe many of the defendants were already ſlain, and many lay languiſhing of their wounds; many being likewiſe dead of ſickneſs, *Portacarrero* had oft-times renewed his intreaties to the Archduke, that he ſhould no longer delay ſending relief. Nor did the Cardinal

dinal omit any diligence that was requiſite to that purpoſe. *Avilo*'s Italians were already upon their march for *Flanders*; as alſo the new raiſed Germans; nor had the Cardinal omitted any poſſible means for raiſing ſuch monies as were neceſſary upon ſuch an occaſion.

The King of *France* was fully informed of all this. Wherefore quickning himſelf, he did ſo inforce the works in the ditch, as his men made themſelves fully maſters of it. They then fell to mining, that they might blow up the wall, and the better order their aſſaults which they were ſhortly to make. The beſieged were already reduced to theſe ſtraits, when *Portacarrero* undertook another buſineſs to damnifie the aſſailants. The River entred on that ſide with two branches into the City. He therefore reſolved to block up the Arches of the Bridg with great beams of wood faſtened together, ſo as the water might regorge back again into the fields, and might particularly fall into the ditch which was oppugned, as might eaſily be expected by the ſituation of the place. Nor failed he in his deſign. For the River being thus withſtood, threw her waters abroad into the neighbouring parts, incommodiating the Kings men who lodged there; and falling with ſuch violence into the aforementioned ditch, as made the French haſten out of it, and ſpoyled almoſt all their Works. The Kings Camp was much confuſed at this unexpected accident. But the King, calling his Councel of War, reſolved to turn two great batteries againſt two Towers, the one on the one ſide, the other on the other ſide of the Gate *Monstrecourt*, hoping that the ruins thereof, when they ſhould be beaten down, ſhould fill up the ditch which they ſtood over, and where the River chiefly entred into the oppugned Ditch, and kept there. The batteries proved very furious. Nor was it long ere the Towers falling, and that paſſage being filled up, the water began to forbear running there. Moreover the Beams and Summers of wood not being able any longer to withſtand the violence thereof, the River returned to its former natural courſe; and the Ditch being thus ſoon dry, the French returned thither with more ardency then ever, to their former oppugnation. The falling of the Towers had almoſt beaten down the great Ravelin; in ſo much as thoſe defended it could no longer be ſuccoured, unleſs it were by a narrow Bridge which had Clothes hung up on both ſides, the more to blind the paſſage. But that ſerved but for a mark for the continual musket-ſhot to play upon. By which ſome of the defendants being continually ſlain, it unfortunately fell out that *Portacarrero* paſſing by there upon a certain occaſion, he received a ſhot in the flank, which immediately threw him dead to the ground. The greateſt loſs certainly which could befall thoſe within, and which was generally much lamented. But almoſt at the ſame time another misfortune befell thoſe without, which greatly diſpleaſed the whole Army, and eſpecially the King himſelf: which was the death of Monſieur *de* Saint *Luke*, who approaching too near the Batteries, was likewiſe ſlain by a musket-ſhot.

The Marquis *Montenegro* was by full Military conſent, choſen in the place of *Portacarrero*, as he who even in the others life time, had always ſuſtained the ſecond place, both in commanding the horſe, and in all the other moſt conſiderable actions of the ſiege. He failed not together with the Office to make good the valour of the former commander in chief who was ſlain. Labouring indefaticably and excellently performing all things that belonged unto him. But the French were this mean while ſo farr advanced, as they already lodged upon the Platform of the Wall; and with new impetuous Batteries, had brought the great Ravelin to that paſs, as no longer defence could now almoſt be made. And yet though often aſſaulted, the Kings men met ſtill with ſtiff and ſtout reſiſtance.

This was the condition of the ſiege, when newes was brought to the Kings Camp, that the Cardinal Archduke was already upon his march with a powerfull Army to come to the relief of the beſieged. It was now *September*, and the Cardinal could not aſſemble together ſuch Forces ſooner, as were requiſite to carry on the propounded buſineſs, for want of monies. Declaring the rendezvouz to be at *Ayene del Conte*, a place within a league of *Dorlan*, the Cardinal came thither in the beginning of the aforeſaid Month with all his men. His Army conſiſted of 20000 foot, and 4000 horſe. The foot were compoſed of 4000 Spaniards,

niards, 3000 *Italians*, 6000 *Germans*, and 7000 *Wallons*, *Burgonians*, and *Irish*; and the Horſe of 1500 Flemiſh men of Arms, and of 2500 other Horſe, Lances, Curaſiers, and Harquebuſiers, of the oft aforenamed Nations. Upon this occurrencie Count *Peter Erneſtus Mansfield* took upon him the office of Campmaſter Generall, which was formerly exerciſed by Monſieur *de Rony*; though *Mansfield* was full fourſcore years old, and much fitter for reſt then labour. The Count *de Sora* commanded over the Flemiſh Men at Arms, being one of the chief Lords of that Country; and the reſt of the Horſe were commanded by the Admiral of *Arragon*, who being come with the Cardinal into *Flanders* when he firſt came thither, and being ſuddenly ſent in the King of *Spains* name by way of compliment to the Emperor and King of *Poland*, was juſt then returned.

The firſt thing conſulted on in the Spaniſh Camp, was, on what ſide they were to bring in the ſuccour. The River *Some* paſſeth through the midſt of *Amiens*, as hath been ſaid; and doubtleſly the ſide beſt fortified by the French, and hardeſt to be overcome, was that which lay towards the Frontiers of *Artois*, as hath likewiſe been ſaid. And therefore the Enemies Trenches being weaker on the other ſide the River, toward *France*, they might eaſelieſt be forced on that ſide. But they muſt firſt paſs over the River, the banks whereof the French had fortified: And when the Spaniards ſhould have paſt over the River, either above, or beneath, where-ever it was worſe guarded, how to get back over it again was too uncertain, by reaſon of the oppoſition which the French would make: So as the Army being ſhut up by the River, and in an Enemies Country, and without continual recruits of victuals, in ſuch a caſe it would be in very great ſtraits, and in evident danger to undergo ſome ſtrange misfortune. Theſe things being well weighed, it was reſolved that they ſhould endeavour the relief on the neareſt ſide towards *Artois*; and that if need ſhould be, they ſhould give battel. For though the Enemy did far exceed them in Horſe, yet it was thought that the Spaniſh Foot was ſo much better both in diſcipline and valour, as all their Forces being duly conſidered, they might very well hope for victory. The Cardinal ſtaid four days at the Rendezvouz; in which time he ordered that *John Contrera*, Commiſſary Generall of the Horſe, and *Gaſton Spinola*, formerly the Italian Camp-maſter, ſhould go with 500 Horſe to diſcover the Enemies quarters nearer hand. The King had notice hereof; and getting on horſeback himſelf, he ſent divers Troops into other parts, that they might the eaſilier light upon and defeat the Enemy: And it ſo fell out, as thoſe Horſe wherein he himſelf was met firſt with them. The King was far fewer in number then the Enemy; yet with his wonted undauntedneſs deſpiſing all danger, and all his men fighting valiantly by his example, the Enemies Horſe were routed and put to flight; who knowing the Kings perſon could not believe but that he was followed by a greater body of men. The Cardinal came afterwards to a full knowledge how the Fortifications of the Kings Camp ſtood, by another means: wherefore he marched with his Army towards *Amiens* on the 13 day of *September*, in this order. The Admiral of *Arragon* and Count *Sora* marched foremoſt with all the Horſe, divided into divers ſquadrons. The flying ſquadron marched before the Foot, which was compoſed of 2000 very choiſe Foot, pickt out of thoſe of every Nation; and theſe were led on by *Diego Pimantel*, formerly one of the moſt eſteemed Spaniſh Campmaſters in the whole Army. Then followed three great Battalions one after another, with 6000 Foot, and 4 Peeces of Field-Cannon in the front of each of them. In the firſt marched *Luigi di Velaſco*, a Spaniſh Camp-maſter, with his Brigado of the ſame Nation, and the Counts of *Suls* and *Belio*, with two Regiments of *Germans*; and to theſe were added three Walloon Brigadoes. In the ſecond were the Campmaſters *Luis di Viglier*, with his Spaniſh Brigado; *Alphonſo d' Avalos*, with his new-come *Italians*; Count *Bucquoi*, with a Brigado of *Walloons*; and Colonel *Eſtegre*, with a Regiment of *Germans*. And in the laſt were *Carlo Colonna* with a Spaniſh Brigado, of which he was choſen Campmaſter but a little before; *Il Signor di Barbenſon*, with a Regiment of *Germans*; Colonel *Eſtenly*, with a Regiment of *Iriſh*; Count *Varras*, with a Brigado of *Burgonians*; and the Campmaſter *Barlotta*, with his Brigado of *Walloons*. The Cardinal Archduke took his place in the Front of the firſt great Battalion;

and with him, to boot with his particular Guards, were the Flower of all the Court. After the Souldiery there were a convenient number of Boats carried upon Carts, whereof to make a Bridg and Pass over the *Some*, when they should think fit so to do. In this manner did the Army draw near the River below *Picchingny*, a good Town, seated upon the same River, and not above three leagues from *Amiens*. The Army was sheltred on the right hand by the Channel of the River; and on the left by the Carriages and Baggage, which joyned together in a long Train by three and three, did shelter and secure that Flank. Thus was the Spanish Camp ordered. It was argued at the same time in the Kings Camp by his Councel of War, what they were to do in this behalf. Some were for going out of their Trenches with all their Forces, and giving battel in the field: And Marshal *Biroun* was stiff of this opinion, saying,

That the Kings Horse was far superior to theirs both in number and goodness; that they ought likewise to hope very well of their Foot: so as what better occasion could there be wisht for to fight the Enemy, and get a glorious victory? That the whole Genius of France *was naturally addicted to such fights as these, and particularly the King himself, who excelling each other man in all military qualities, had only overcome himself in this, in knowing how to win so many and so dangerous battels. That the present Victory being got, not only* Amiens, *but whole* Picardy *would be the Kings; and with what advantage might they afterwards assault the Enemies frontiers of* Flanders, *and carry those mischiefs thither wherewith* France *had been so long afflicted.*

Marshal *Biroun*, as we have often said, was naturally very fierce; and fell often upon businesses which partook much more of precipitation then boldness. And amongst other things it was observable how much he differed from the opinion of the Marshal his late Father; who no less couragious, but much more circumspect then his son, had in the siege laid by the King to *Roan* some years before (as we then told you) perswaded the King to keep the Duke of *Parma* from relieving the Town, by defending his own Works. But divers others of the Councel were of another opinion, chiefly the Duke *Du Mayn*, who was a compleat Commander, and was thought to be the best that was then in *France*. He in a grave and considerate manner said thus.

That the Kings end in this siege was to recover Amiens, *and not to call all* France *thither to see him vainly defie the Enemy in a Battel. And what military wisdom was it that taught to provoke Fortune unnecessitated; which was always deceitful in all Feats of Arms, and chiefly in the success of a Field-battel? Then let the King enjoy those advantages which his Trenches gave him, and suffer the* Spaniard *to come and assault them at their pleasure: For finding them well defended, they would either not assault them, or if they should, it would be in vain. Nor was it to be feared that those within would move at the same time; both by reason of the same opposition of the Kings Trenches, and for that they were already reduced to so small a number, as they were hardly able to man the remainders of their own Defences. Thus the Enemy soon despairing of ever effecting the succour, the King without any further danger would happily compass his desired end of the siege.*

This opinion carried it. But howsoever the King desirous himself to see at a near distance in what posture the Spanish Camp marched, went out with the greatest part of his horse: which meeting with the Enemy, afforded occasion of skirmishes which lasted for a while, no advantage appearing on any side; and the King wheeling about, came in good order back to his Trenches. The Spanish Camp still advanced, till from the top of a little Rise within two Cannon-shot of the Enemy, it made them a gallant and stately spectacle; and passing forward from thence, came almost within musket-shot of the Enemies Trenches. The *French* thought for certain that the *Spaniards* would assault them; insomuch as many of the meaner sort of them began to waver; many of the Victuallers and those who had care of the Baggage, transported by blind fear, went to convey their goods to the other side of the River, for their more safety sake. This disorder began also amongst some of the more ordinary souldiers, which manifestly appeared in the ambiguous form of defence which they put themselves in. Which the Admiral of *Arragon* and Count *Sora* perceiving, who led the Van of the

Spaniards horſe, they failed not ſuddenly to advertiſe the Cardinal thereof, and did earneſtly perſwade him not to loſe ſo advantagious an occaſion of aſſaulting the Enemy. But Count *Mansfield*, who had the firſt place under the Cardinal, and ſome other of the Commanders were abſolutely of a contrary opinion. He ſaid,

That it would be manifeſt raſhneſs to give ſo upon the Enemies Works. That the tumults which were ſeen there might be cauſed by ſome occaſional confuſion, which the French Commanders would ſoon remedy. That if they ſhould reſolve to preſent Battel, and conſequently come out of their Works, it ſhould be accepted, and a good end hoped for: But that to aſſault the Enemy within their own Fortifications, with ſo much advantage to them, would be to adventure that Army to too evident a blow, and all Flanders *to too manifeſt danger.*

The Cardinal thought this the ſafeſt councel, which he reſolved to follow; though the whole Army was generally of opinion, That if the Enemy had been aſſaulted then with due reſolution, they ſhould have met with but ſmall reſiſtance; and that together with the ſudden relieving of *Amiens*, the Cardinal might peradventure have obtained one of the greateſt victories that the *Spaniards* had of a long time gotten over the *French*. The French Commanders had this mean while provided for the aboveſaid diſorders; and the King coming himſelf in perſon to where it behoved moſt to ſecure the Trenches, he furniſht them with ſuch men as were moſt valiant. Nor herewithall content, he went forth with all his Horſe; and dividing them into many Squadrons, he extended them a great ſpace, and ſheltred thoſe parts of his Trenches which were moſt threatned by his Enemies, to defend them ſo much the better. Then letting his Artillery flie furiouſly againſt the Enemy, he did ſo prejudice them, as they reſolved to remove from that ſo near place, and went to another where they were ſufficiently ſheltred. The night came on this mean while, and the Cardinal ſtaid there with all his Army, reſolving to accoſt the Enemy again the next day, and to provoke them to battel. The night paſt over more quietly then was expected, the ſo very nearneſs of two ſo powerfull Armies being conſidered. Nor did the Cardinal fail to draw near with his, as formerly, to that of the Enemy. But the King being ſtedfaſt to his former reſolution, and preparing in like manner as before to defend his Trenches, he would not loſe his advantage.

The Cardinal having ſtaid with his Army drawn out into Battel-array, as long as he thought fitting, reſolved at laſt totally to retreat; conſidering that he could come by victuals but too hardly in thoſe parts, and that the other incommodities which his Army ſuffered in thoſe quarters were too great. Turning therefore his Van into the Rearguard, he made his Army march leaſurely and in good order off. The *French* endeavoured more then once to indammage the Rear; but the Flying-Squadron facing about, and with miraculous diſcipline now handling their Pikes, now their Muskets, and being ſheltred by the Horſe likewiſe on both ſides, all the Enemies aſſaults proved vain. Thus they marched for above two houres; after which the Cardinals Camp being free from all moleſtation, took up its quarters with all ſecurity, and was by degrees divided in the neighbouring Frontiers of *Artois*. At the Armies retreat, the Cardinal ſignified to the beſieged in *Amiens*, that it being impoſſible to relieve them, they ſhould immediately ſurrender the City, and not loſe any more men to no purpoſe. He infinitely praiſed their pains, and promiſed them reward; leaving them to make ſuch conditions as they could at the ſurrender. Which when they came to be treated of, were granted them by the King, in as ample manner, and upon as honourable terms as could be by them deſired. He highly commended the worth they had ſhewed in defending themſelves; which had made the like of his Army appear in oppugning them. The Marquis *Montenegro* marcht out of the Town with 800 ſound Souldiers, and above as many more that were wounded; and was very graciouſly received by the King at his coming forth, as alſo the other Commanders that came out with him. When the King came into *Amiens*, he preſently cauſed a ſtrong Citadel to be deſigned there, which was ſoon after built, that it might ſerve for a greater curb to the people, and be a greater ſafety to the City. Then leaving *Picardy*, he went to *Paris*, where he was received with great applauſe by that multitude of people,

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for his new atchieved glory in having ſo happily conducted ſo difficult a Siege, for having hindred ſo powerfull a Succour, and recovering a City of ſo great conſequence to the intereſts of that Kingdom.

The Cardinal Archduke being retreated to *Artois*, he preſently ſent ſome of his Forces to take *Montalin*, the onely Town which remained in the French hands within the precincts appertaining to *Calis*, and from whence *Calis* was much incommodiated. The care of the enterpriſe was given to the Admiral of *Aragon*; who finding the place not very ſtrong, nor yet well guarded, took it within a few dayes. The King of *France* was already gone from *Picardy*; nor was it known that he had as then any further end upon that Frontier. Wherefore the Cardinal reſolved to leave *Artois* likewiſe, and to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Province of *Flanders*, which did very much deſire that *Oſtend* might be beſieged. The Cardinal would therefore go thitherward himſelf; and cauſing the Town to be well ſurveyed, he thought it was impoſſible to keep it from being ſuccour'd. Wherefore, as alſo becauſe *Autumn* was already well advanced, the Cardinal determined to leave the enterpriſe till a better conjuncture. Nor having any other in which it was fitting to imploy his Army at that time, wherein there was hapned a new Mutiny again, he reſolved to ſend it to its winter-quarters, and came himſelf with his Court about the end of *November* to *Bruſſels*.

But the United Provinces loſt not the opportunity this mean whiles which offered it ſelf ſo favourably to them. The Cardinal by reaſon of the ſiege of *Amiens* being gone with ſo many Forces towards the Frontiers of *France*, and having left the peculiar affairs of *Flanders* in a forlorn condition; Count *Maurice* took preſently to the Field. And having ſpeedily raiſed about the beginning of *Auguſt* an Army of 1000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe, together with a great Train of Artillery, and whatſoever elſe was requiſite for his deſigned ends, he went to beſiege *Reinberg*, a Town ſituated upon the left ſide of the *Rhine*. It had but few ſouldiers in Garriſon, and was but weakly provided of all things elſe. Wherefore *Maurice* coming without any difficulty to the Walls, and playing upon them with his Cannon, he forced the beſieged in a few dayes to ſurrender the Town. From thence he went to before *Mures*, a Town not far from thence, but ſomwhat remote from the *Rhine*: And meeting with the like weak defence, he with the like eaſineſs won it. He this mean while had thrown a bridg of Boats over the *Rhine*, and paſſing with all his Army to the other ſide, he ſate down before *Groll*, a ſtrong Town both by nature and art: He found ſome greater reſiſtance there; yet many proviſions being wanting which are moſt neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege, having dryed the Ditch on one ſide, and threatening a furious Aſſault, he forced the Defendants to deliver up the Town. From thence he turned to *Oldenſel*, a weak Town, which he therefore ſoon took. And no Town remaining now at the Kings devotion in thoſe parts but *Linghen*, a place well flanked and fortified by a good Caſtle, *Maurice* incamped before it, and beſieged it ſtraitly on all ſides. Count *Frederick de Berg* defended it, which he did very valiantly for many days: But that place being but ill provided, as were the reſt, he was forced to ſurrender it upon very honourable conditions. So to boot with *Reinberg* and *Mures*, all the whole Country on the other ſide the *Rhine* fell in a ſhort time under the Dominion of the United Provinces; which in acknowledgment of ſo advantagious ſucceſſes, did forthwith give the ſame Town of *Linghen*, with the Territories thereunto belonging, which make up a very noble Lordſhip, to Count *Maurice* and to his heirs for ever. About the end of Autumn, *Maurice* returned with his men to their quarters; and paſſing himſelf afterwards to the *Hague*, he was received there with demonſtrations of great joy. Which afforded new occaſions to ſuch Provinces as were yet obedient to the King, to complain and grieve; conſidering that for the intereſts of *France*, which were very uncertain, the ſelf-affairs of *Flanders* were ſo much neglected: And they were more ſcandalized, that to defend the Catholick cauſe in that Kingdom for the advantage of ſtrangers, the ſame cauſe was abandoned in the Kings own Country; ſuffering ſo great a part thereof to fall into the hands of Rebels and Hereticks, who by all the moſt deſperate means would implacably maintain their double perfidiouſneſs againſt the Church and King.

Anno 1598.

Thus ended this year, and the year 1598 insued, memorable for two of the greatest events which could then have hapned. The one, Peace concluded between the two Kings, after so bitter war; aud the other the Marriage between the Cardinal Archduke, and the Infanta *Isabella*, the King of *Spains* eldest daughter, to whom the King her Father gave the whole Low-Countries for her Dowry. As concerning the Peace, Pope *Clement* the eight had mediated it a while before; moved thereunto by the same zeal whereby he had already so happily reconciled the King of *France* to the Apostolick See, and afterwards indeavoured to reconcile the two Kings, by making such a peace as might conduce to the establishing of universal quiet in Christendom. To this purpose having first wisely and maturely ordered all things, he sent a Legat into *France*, which was *Alexander de Medici*, Cardinal of *Florence*; who was judged the fittest for such a Negotiation, for his candor of life, grave behaviour, and dexterity in handling of business. And these vertues, together with some other, raised him (though but for a very short while) to succeed the said *Clement* in the Apostolick See. He then parting from *Paris* in the beginning of the year, and going to *Vervin*, an opportune place, upon the Confines of *Henault* and *Picardy*: and the Deputies of both Kings joyning there with him, he laboured by all possible means to overcome those difficulties which interposed themselves to the effecting of the Peace. The King of *Spain* did very much incline thereunto: though he were thereby to restore so many Places which his Forces had taken in *Picardy*. But the agreement could not be made without full restitution. For what remained, he knew he was near death, by reason of his great age, oppresst by continual indispositions of health. That he had only one son, and he very young. That it would be very advantagious for that his son not to inherit so bitter a War, and with so powerfull an adversary. That he would find his Kingdoms exhausted by such excessive expences; and finally that it would redound much to the advantage of the new Princes to whom he intended to give *Flanders*, if they should find *France* and him first at peace. These were the chief reasons which made the King of *Spain* incline so much to peace. But the King of *France* had altogether as many motives to make him willingly imbrace it. He considered that the greatest impediments which kept him from succeeding to that Crown, proceeded from the Spaniards. That his Kingdom was rent in pieces by so many discords, and wasted by so many vast expences. That it was now time to enjoy it in secure obedience; and if it were possible, under one and the same Religion. That this could not be effected but by his reconciliation to the Apostolick See; and by making a good peace with the King of *Spain*. That the one having already had happy success, he should desire the like in the other. So as *France* after having suffered so many calamities, horrible Factions and troubles, might once enjoy those accommadations, which by a happy change might turn her troubles into quiet.

Out of these efficacious reasons, the King of *France* was well inclined to desire peace. Wherefore after a long Treaty, the knots which gave most disturbance to the happy ending of the business, being untyed by the Legats abilities and authority, about the beginning of *May* the peace was fully agreed upon and concluded between the two Kings. To the so much glory in particular of Pope *Clement*, as he was mightily applauded for it every where; it not being easie to be judged by which of those two actions he merited most: either by his late reuniting so powerfull a King as the King of *France* to the See of *Rome*, or in making universal peace throughout Christendom by according these two Crowns. This may suffice to be said here touching this affair, as a succes which doth not properly belong to the thred of this our History. Wherefore passing now to the Treaty of Marriage, we will with all brevity first relate the consultations which were had thereupon; and the Kings resolution.

The Negotiation of separating the Provinces of *Flanders* in perpetuity from the Crown of *Spain*, was doubtlesly one of the weightiest affairs that hath of a long time been resolved on by that Court. The King was then past threescore and ten years old. But though as well by reason of his years, as of his so long and weighty affairs, he was a Prince of infinite wisdom, and who could of himself put on any resolution how difficult soever; yet was he very doubtfull what to do

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in this point. He was assailed on one side by his love to the Infanta; and on the other by his duty to his Crown. The King desired nothing more then to Marry the Infanta to any whatsoever highest degree: as well for that she was his eldest daughter, and one, upon whom, if his only son should chance to die, the succession of so great a Monarchy was likely to fall: as out of the tender affection which he always bore her, and had still bred her up with great contentation, in his own company. And truly it was commonly famed and thought, that there had not been any Princess of a long time in *Europe*, in whom so many rare indowments both of body and mind had met, as now in her. Great was the affection likewise which the King bore to the Cardinal Archduke; for passing into *Spain* whilst he was a young man (as we have already touched upon) and having purchased great praise in those Kingdoms, sometimes in the Court at *Madrid*, and sometimes in the Government of *Portugal*, he had so particularly conformed himself to the Kings ways and humour, as he made him his example, after a proportionable measure, in all his actions. For which the King so loved and favoured him, that he treated him not as a German, but as a Spaniard; nor with demonstrations only belonging to an Unkle, but with a true Fatherly affection. These considerations made the King very much incline to the aforesaid Marriage, and to give the Provinces of *Flanders* in dowry to the Infanta. But on the other side, to devide so noble a member from the body of that Empire which he had inherited from his fore-fathers, pleaded hard for the contrary. The truth is, he was of opinion that the best course he could take to keep the yet obedient Provinces in their allegiance, and to reduce those that had rebell'd, would be to give them a Prince of their own, who might become a Fleming, and from whom a Flemish discent might be expected. And he feared that if this were not done, the whole Country might one day be lost. Yet he thought he was not to give way so soon to this danger, nor so easily lose the advantage, which for other considerations the Crown of *Spain* received, by possessing even the yet remainder of those Provinces. The King was therefore much agitated amidst the several difficulties which arose in this affair. Nor was his Councel less uncertain. Where by his appointment the business was with all attention discust. Count *Fuentes*, being returned with great reputation from *Flanders*, was at this time in the Court of *Spain*. After the Duke of *Parma*'s death, he had supplyed the chiefest place (as we then told you) under Count *Mansfield*, and likewise under the Archduke *Ernestus*, both which were Governours of *Flanders*. And in the time of his own Government had won great renown, in the battel of *Dorlan*, in the recovery of *Cambray*, and by his other prosperous successes, gotten by the Arms of *Spain*, in the Frontier of *Picardy* against the French. The King had already designed him to be Governor of *Milan*, and of all the Spanish Forces in *Italy*. And doubtlesly there was not any one of the Spanish Nation, who was as then highlyer esteemed in the Military profession. This *Fuentes* opposed himself with all his might to the propounded marriage, with the cession of the Low-Countries. But on the other side, *Christoval di Moura*, Count of *Castel Roderigo*, who was in great authority with the King, did stiffly maintain the contrary opinion. *Moura* was come out of *Portugal* many years before the devolution of that Kingdom, and came to *Madrid* with the Dowager Princess, *Donna Jovanna*, the Kings sister, being in a very good place about her; and after her death he was suddenly taken into the Kings Court, where he was entertained in many noble imployments. When the devolution did afterwards happen, the King imployed none more then *Moura* in the occurrences of that so important Negotiation; in so much as the differences which were therein met withall were soon overcom by the Duke of *Alba* with Forces on the other part, and by *Moura* his negotiating, on the other part: wherby *Moura* stil increasing in favor, merit, and authority with the King, none shared more thereof then he in these latter times. The King being willing therefore to put on his full resolution touching this business, sent for his Councel one day into his own bed-chamber, where for the most part he lay in bed, by reason of his great years, and the gout which he was troubled withall; and where Count *Fuentes* spake thus. *The advantage is so great (most powerfull Prince) which those so many members whereof your Majesties Empire is composed, do receive from* Flanders, *as to bereave*

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it of so noble a member now, cannot in my opinion but be of great prejudice to the rest Wheresoever the Sun goes, it looks upon some one of your Kingdoms. But though the world reverence you in so many parts, and bow unto you, it is notwithstanding seen that your Enviers and Enemies respect your Greatness and fear it more from that of Flanders then from all the rest. What, and how great the opportunities of those Provinces are, none knows better then your self. There were you put into the Inheritance of that so glorious Emperor your Father, before you were yet his Heir, by that his so memorable Renunciation: There you began to take the conduct of so eminent and so painfull a Government: And tarrying there afterwards about a year, you your self had still better occasion to know how much the possessing of those States did import your greatness, together with the rest of your Empire. By the Arms of Flanders you did then make an advantagious Peace with the King of France; with those Arms you have ofttimes succoured the Catholick Cause in that Kingdom, and maintained your own with much honour in these last times against the now present King. And how oft have you from thence assisted the Catholicks of Germany? and in what a terror, from that side more especially, did you put England not many years ago?

The World turns round with perpetual vicissitude, and is continually producing new things. And therefore it is to be believed, that by the occasion of past times, other the like will arise in times to come; insomuch as the Arms of Flanders are likely to be no less necessary hereafter thereabouts, either for the good of the Church, or of this Crown, or of them both; their Welfare being seldom severed. I know notwithstanding how much those Provinces are lessened; and confess that dangers may daily grow greater there by the obstinate home-Rebellion, and by the malignant correspondencie which hath always been had there from neighbours. Yet when you shall well weigh the remainder of the yet obedient Provinces of Flanders, and shall add thereunto the other Forces which your so powerfull Monarchy will be able to subminister thereunto; wherefore may it not be hoped that your Majesties so just cause may be thereby bettered, or at least be secured from growing worse? If the wars in those parts should cease by reason of this new propounded Principality, and that the expences should likewise cease there, this Crown would doubtlesly be thereby much eased; and in such a case it might the better be without those Provinces. But it being to be believed that War will grow hotter there then ever, through the love the Rebels have taken to Liberty and Heresie, and through the hatred which they consequently bear unto the Austrian blood, and especially to this Kingdom from whence the new Principality is to proceed; will not the burthen of the Forces and Expences lie still upon this Crown? If otherwise, To what purpose should a new Principality be erected, if it were not to be maintained by the Forces of Spain? So the prejudice which would redound to your Monarchy by the one side, would not be recompenced by any benefit from the other: And so wanting that advantage which it hath always received from the Flanders Forces, it might receive thereby such prejudice as might every day peradventure prove worse. Let Spain then keep Flanders; and let that your Empires Magazine of Arms be preserved. Great Empires cannot be without Arms; nor can Wars be made without Souldiers; nor Souldiers be bred but amongst Arms. And what more flourishing Seminary of Souldiers can Spain desire, then that of Flanders which she hath for so many years enjoyed, and doth still enjoy? My opinion therefore is, that your Majesty shall not doe well to mutilate those so important Provinces from your other Dominions. Your Majesties greatness and infinite wisdom will not want other means whereby to accommodate the Illustrious Infanta according to her own high worth, and her exalted degree.

But the Count of *Castel Rodorigo* was of another opinion, and spoke thus.

I should never be of opinion (most glorious Prince!) that your Majesty should diminish any the least part of your Kingdoms and Dominions, if I should not think that that diminishing should tend rather to the advancement then prejudice of your greatness. The marriage of the most illustrious Infanta is now the business in hand; every one knows what, and how sublime prerogatives both of blood and of merit meet in her Highness. Now if out of the immense body of so many States which your Majesty by Gods goodness are Master of, her Highness may be endowed with some of them, by the parting wherewith the rest may rather be bettered then impaired, wherefore should not your Majesty willingly give way thereunto? And this being granted,

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it is not to be doubted but that your infallible wisdom will presently point out unto you your Provinces of Flanders: *They are most remote from all the rest of your Empire, the most differing both in tongue, custom, laws, and all things else: It is they, who more then all the rest abhor to fall under the Government of Forcigners, as they term them; and consequently do most desire to have a particular Prince of their own. Out of all these reasons, hardly was your Majesty gone from thence, when Heresie began to creep in amongst them. From thence they proceeded to Tumults; from Tumults to Rebellion: and from Rebellion to a cruel War: The unquenchable fire whereof hath now burnt above these forty years; and how oft to bring it to an end, to boot, by the way of force, have you used treaties of concord? But still in vain, so unappeaseable hath the double rebellion of the Flemish proved against the Church, and against your Crown; and so very much have they continually been fomented by their neighbours on all sides: insomuch as* Holland *and* Zealand, *and many other of those Provinces which are up in Arms, grow every day more obstenate in resolving never to return under the obedience of* Spain. *Then if you, who have lived whole years in those Provinces, with such experience of their own particular affairs, and of the affairs of the whole world, with so many Forces, and so many valiant Commanders; when* France *was most grieved with inward wounds, and* England *apprehended the like sufferings under a woman; have not been able to shun such great losses in* Flanders: *why should we not fear that your successors may yet suffer every day greater? So as at last (which God forbid) this Crown may be wholly deprived of those Provinces. How much better souldiers do those Rebels daily grow? And how much better may* France *and* England *foment them now then they could have done formerly?* France *being at peace within itself; and* England *which daily expects the King of Scots for their King? The evils which* Spain *suffers from* Flanders *reacheth even to the* Indies: *& it is to be feared they may indammage you more in the West-*Indies, *then they have hitherto done in the East. As a Canker in any one member of a mans body works upon, and consumes the vigor of all the other members: So the ulcerate part of* Flanders, *makes the body of your whole Empire daily languish. The gold of the* Indies, *the people supplyed from* Spain, *from* Italy, *and those which for the like end are continually raised in* Germany, *are not sufficient, (as by experience is found) to maintain that war. The hunger of that ravenous Beast is still increased by food; and how much do mutinies devour? Which are now grown so Domestick, that as one ends another begins, and often too much to our loss, divers happen at one and the same time.*

This is the condition of Flanders, *and this is the state of the losses which the Crown of* Spain *hath thereby suffered till now, and of what they may suffer hereafter. My opinion therefore is, that your Majesty shall do well to give the Low-Countries in Dowry to the most Illustrious Infanta; whereof framing a principality in your daughter, and honouring the Cardinal Infanta your Nephew with her, by making him her husband, the Flemish will by this means have at last a Prince of their own, which is that which they at all times have so thirsted after. If the marriage of these new Princes prove fruitful, (as it is to be hoped it will) the yet obedient Provinces will continue their obedience to the Church, and Austrian blood at least, if not to the Crown of* Spain. *Nor is it to be doubted but that the same good and profitable correspondency will pass between that branch and this, as hath past betwixt this and that other established in* Germany. *And to say truth, of what use may such an example be? In which it is seen that the Emperor your father, in great wisdom would there agrandise that Austrian branch, because he thought it impossible that the greatness of that and this joyned together, should continue here in your* Spain, *though the chief branch, but too far remote from* Germany. *Their neighbours will then rejoyce at this new Flemish Principality, and will assist it as much hereafter, for seeing it dismembred from this Crown, as they have been formerly averse thereunto; for that it was joyned to your Majesties Kingdom. Iealousies will be succeeded by assurances; instead of having the wars fomented from those parts, friendly offices will be done for the introducing of Peace. And the Flemish race being by this marriage established; why should we not hope that at last even the rebellious Provinces should by degrees reunite themselves, according to the ancient form with those which are obedient? In fine; either this is the remedy which remains to heal the wounds of those Countries; or We shall never finde any sufficient to effect it.*

When

When *Moura* had ſpoken, the other Councellors gave their opinions. *Jovanni d'Ideaques*, a Councellor likewiſe of great authority with the King, joyn'd with *Moura*. *Idiaques* (as we have told you upon another occaſion) had been Ambaſſador in *Genua* and *Venice*; and after other imployments being returned to *Spain*, did now exerciſe a place of the greateſt importance belonging to that Crown. But there were divers others of the Councel who adhered to *Fuentes* his opinion. Wherefore the King was for a while in doubt what to doe: yet at laſt thoſe reaſons prevailed with him which firſt inclined him to give the *Low-Countries* in Dowry to the *Infanta* his eldeſt Daughter. He conſidered, and foreſaw how *France* would grow daily greater in power; That the Queen of *England* being now very old, was to be ſucceeded by the King of *Scotland*, who would unite that Kingdom to *England*, and of them both make but one of all *Great-Britain*; That from thoſe parts the Rebellion of *Flanders* would ſtill be more and more fomented, and ſtill he ſhould be in greater danger of loſing all thoſe Provinces. He likewiſe foreſaw the dangers wherewith the *Indies* might be continually threatned; and thought that if *Flanders* were reunited under an Auſtrian Prince, the Maritime Provinces returning again to enjoy as formerly the Commerce of the *Indies*, in that of *Spain*, they would no longer think of their new ſo long and ſo expenſive Navigations. But the King ſeemed to be chiefly affected with the loſſes which the Church had already ſuffered in *Flanders*, and which they might again ſuffer at the ſame time together with him. And laſtly it was believed, that to boot with the reaſons formerly touched upon, this conſideration ſwayed much with him, That in caſe his onely Son ſhould dye, and the *Infanta* being in ſuch a caſe to ſucceed him, he ſhould doe wiſely to give her a Husband who was already ſo well known, already becom a Spaniard, and who would cauſe no alteration in the affairs of *Spain*. The King being thus fully reſolved, he cauſed the Articles of Marriage to be drawn up, the chief whereof were theſe.

That he gave the Provinces of Flanders, *together With the County of* Burgony, *in Dowry with his Daughter, Which ſhe was to enjoy joyntly together with her Huſband. That either Males or Females which ſhould proceed from that marriage, ſhould ſucceed; the men being notwithſtanding to be preferred before the women, and ſtill the firſt-born ſons or daughters. That if the inheritance ſhould reſt in a Woman, ſhe ſhould be bound to marry either a King, or Prince of* Spain. *That be the Heire either man or woman, they ſhould not marry without the knowledg and conſent of the King for the time being. That if the iſſue of the Princes of* Flanders *ſhould fail, thoſe Countries ſhould revert to the Crown of* Spain. *That thoſe Princes ſhould be bound to make their Subjects deſiſt from their Navigation into the* Indies. *That when they ſhould come to their ſucceſſion, they ſhould ſwear to profeſs the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman religion. And that if they ſhould fail in any of all theſe Conditions, thoſe Countries ſhould again revert to the Crown of* Spain.

Theſe were the chief Articles. Neither in this Grant did the King reſerve any thing to himſelf nor to any of his ſucceſſors, ſave only that they might intitle themſelves Dukes of *Burgony*, and retain the Order of the Golden-Fleece. The Marriage being agreed upon, the King immediately ſent the Articles away to the Archduke, to the end that he calling together the States-Generall of the obedient Provinces as ſoon as he could, ſhould procure their neceſſary conſent. The Aſſembly was held in *Bruſſels*; and after ſome difficulties, the Articles were approved of, with unexpreſſible ſigns of joy & Jubile by thoſe people, to think that *Flanders* might hope to return again under its own ancient Principality. But it is not to be ſaid how much contrary at the ſame time the other Provinces which had withdrawn themſelves from the obedience of the Church and King of *Spain*, appeared to the ſenſe of theſe Catholick Provinces: They ſpightfully gave out, that this would prove but a naked and vain Principality; That the *Infanta* being already well advanced in years, the *Spaniards* would with ſpecious allurements give a barren Marriage unto *Flanders*; That therefore the new Princes would rather appear as Governors then as Princes; That being ſtill to be maintained by Spaniſh Forces, the *Spaniards* would domineer over them more then ever; That in the Articles of Marriage, *Flanders* was ſpoke of as a Feudatory to *Spain*, and not as a Country depending upon its own Soveraignty; to witneſs which, thoſe

Articles

Articles were full of conditions whereby the States of the new Princes might soon fall again to the Crown of *Spain*. But that let what will happen, the United Provinces would never change their former Resolves, nor ever acknowledge any other Empire then their own.

The Archduke prepared this mean while to go for *Spain*, whether the King was very earnest with him to come. But it behoved him first to provide for many necessities appertaining to the affairs of *Flanders*. In particular the mutiners disorders were grown to that excess, as the plague thereof infected even the best qualified Garisons. It began first to creep into all those Towns of *Picardy*, which the Spaniards were to quit in relation to the peace. So as to restore them with satisfaction to the Garisons had cost a vast sum of mony. Afterwards in *Flanders*, the Garisons accustomed to be in the Citadels of *Cambray*, *Antwerp* and *Gaunt*, which were the three most suspicious Bulwarks of the obedient Provinces, did likewise mutiny. And this Infection in fine, was dispersed into so many other parts, as one Garison seemed to contend with another, in shewing no further inclination, but rather a repugnancy to the service of the King of *Spain*. Their want of pay might in some sort excuse them; but the corruption was much greater then it needed to have been. But at last, new monies coming from *Spain*, and the Country having furnished some, the Archduke was able to satisfie the souldiery, and to betake himself to his intended voyage for *Spain*. In his absence the Admiral of *Aragon* was to have the chief command of the Militia; and in the intire administration, Cardinal *Andrea d' Austria*, Bishop of *Constance*, who to this end was already parted from his house in *Germany*, to come for *Flanders*. The King desired very much to see his daughter married before he should die; wherefore he renewed his desires to the Archduke, that laying aside his Cardinals habit, and taking upon him the habit of a secular Prince, he should come unto him with all speed. Yet could not the Archduke hasten his journey, for to boot with the aforesaid reasons, the marriage being at the same time concluded between the Prince of *Spain*, and the Archdutchess *Margaret* of *Austria*, who was then at *Grats*, the chief Town of *Carinthia*, the Archduke was to take her from thence, together with the Archdutchess her mother, and to carry them both to *Spain*. This mean while Cardinal *Andrea* came into *Flanders* to govern those States, as you have heard, till such time as the new Princes should come. The Cardinal arrived some few days before the Archduke went thence: And having received full information concern ng the affairs of those Countries; about the midst of *September* the Archduke took his journey towards *Germany*, first to visit his brother the Emperour, and then to go for *Grats*, as aforesaid. But he was not well thereinto entred, when he heard news that the King, still more oppress with years, and sickness, died about the midst of that very month. Who was then little above 70 years old; the last of which had been very painfull to him by reason of the extraordinary torment which he had suffered by the gout.

Thus after having reigned three and forty years, dyed *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, and Lord of so many other Kingdoms and Countrys. He was little of stature; but well proportioned; of a Noble aspect; in all the lineaments and colours thereof Austriacal. No age peradventure ever saw a graver, nor a more composed Prince. He had a capacity in Governing answerable to so large an Empire. He was notwithstanding still more inclined to peace then war. Wherefore passing into *Spain* after his last voyage and abode in *Flanders*, he kept continually there; issuing out his Commissions from that Center, in his Chamber and like an Oracle: and governing Wars at all times where it was needfull by his Commanders. He had four wives, and by three of them he had many sonns and daughters. By the first he had *Charls*, whose Tragical end shews with what reason Princes thereunto constrained by just necessity, prefer the obligation due unto their States, before the love of their bloud. And by the last he had *Philip* the third, who hath given another *Philip* to the Government of the Spanish Monarchy. By nature, and much more by choice, the second was very jealous of his Authority, in so much as he inclined to severity; nor was he almost ever seen to lay aside that Majestical gravity which he at all times, and in all his actions observed, both in his speech and countenance. He was very easie to give audi-

ence; nor was he leſs gratious in tollerating them, then in giving them. It not being known that he ever interrupted any one, how much ſo ever the ſpeaker might abuſe his benignity and patience. He ſpent almoſt all the reſt of his time in buſineſs; knowiug that ſo vaſt an Empire required frequency in buſineſs. In the firſt place he was ſeverely carefull of Piety and Juſtice. And did always imploy his worthieſt Subjects in the adminiſtration of them both, chuſing them of himſelf unexpectedly, according as their merits did ſuggeſt unto him. His ſo great age and ſo long Government, made him try the more various turns of Fortune; and made it the more appear how equal, how conſtant, and how much ſuperior to himſelf he was in all ſucceſſes. And indeed it may be doubted whether proſperous or adverſe Fortune ſwayed moſt with him. For what greater felicity could he deſire then to enjoy *Spain* with ſo much quiet? then to command it wholly every where, with the addition of *Portugal?* then to enjoy ſo peaceably his Territories in *Italy*? and ſee himſelf ſo much reſpected in thoſe that appertained to others? then to have the memmorable victory of *Lepanto* in favour of the Chriſtians in ſo great a part attributed unto him? then to have ſo highly maintained the reputation of his name? and made the Majeſty of his Empire be ſtill ſo reverenced and feared? But he accounted it his greated fortune and glory to be held ſo great a defender of the Church; and that upon ſo many occaſions, and in ſo many parts, recourſe was had to his zeal for the favouring and protecting thereof. Theſe and many others were his proſperities ſundry times, both in peace and in war. On the contrary, what greater adverſity could befall him, then to ſee *Flanders* amidſt ſo long and ſo horrible troubles? then to loſe ſo much of that his moſt antient patrimony? then to have his moſt remoteſt Countrys of the Indies wounded by that wound? Then to have ſo unfortunately loſt that great Armado, which was to have aſſaulted *England*? Nor had his deſigns in the revolutions of *France*, any ways anſwered his hopes. The domeſtical events of his own houſe may likewiſe be ſaid to have been not very fortunate. Having hardly one ſon by ſo many marriages. The fatal death of the firſt; with the ſuſpitions alſo of *Don Johns* death. So much more ſeeming then true, are the felicities which the vulgar do ſo much adore in Princes. And ſo much greater proof thereof do they give who are in higheſt places with them. But in affairs of Fortune, as moſt of theſe were, humane wiſdom is not to be blamed. For what remains, ſo eminent were *Philip* the ſecond's vertues, and which made him ſo memorable a Prince, as doubtleſly few like him have been found either in former or in latter times.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK V.

The Contents.

The Archduke goes to carry the new Queen of Spain *from* Germany. *They arrive happily at the King her husbands Court. The King hath this mean while powerfull Forces in* Flanders. *But great mutinies insue; and great sums of money are spent in appeasing them. So as for want of pay the Army is wintered in the neighbouring Countrys of* Cleves, *and* Westfalia, *and in other places under the jurisdiction of the* Empire. *The Princes that are interessed are sensible of this Novelty. They indeavour to receive satisfaction by way of Treaty; which not obtaining, they at last resolve to have it by force. Yet they move but slowly. The Kings Army is this mean while drawn out into the field under the Government of the Admiral of* Arragon *General of the Horse, They advise what to fall upon; and by Cardinal* Andrea's *intervention, they resolve to enter the Island of* Bomel, *and to besiege the* Town *of* Bomel *which denominates that Island. But Count* Maurice *oppoſeth them with such Forces; as the Admiral is forced to forgoe that design. The Cardinal resolves afterwards to plant a great Fort upon a narrow passage of the Island; to the end that so he might command the chiefest passes over the* Maule *and* Wahal; *and cals it the Fort of St.* Andrea. *Great haste is made in the erecting of it, and notwithstanding all the enemy could do, it is brought to perfection. The German Camp begins at last to move. It first besiegeth* Reinberg, *but soon*

retreats with no great honour. From thence it goes to recover the Town *of* Res, *and riſes from thence likewiſe in great diſorder and confuſion. Great diſcords happen between the Commanders thereof: So as it ſoon diſbands, and is afterwards diſſolved. The new Princes of* Flanders *part from* Spain. *They come to* Italy, *and paſs the* Alpes *at* Turin. *They come to their own Country. An Interview between them and Cardinal* Andrea, *who returns into* Germany, *and the new Princes are received with all ſolemnity in* Bruſſels.

Anno 1598.

PHILIP the ſecond, King of *Spain* being dead, the Archduke haſtens his journey, that he might the ſooner bring a wife to the ſucceeding *Philip* the third, to which purpoſe the Archduke was gone for *Germany*, as you heard before. He came with all ſpeed to *Prague*, where having viſited his brother the Emperor, he went to *Grats*; and from thence to *Italy* by the way of *Tirol*, with the new Queen, and her mother the Archdutcheſs. Pope *Clement* the eight was then in the City of *Ferrara*, which together with the Dukedome thereof, was devolved the year before to the Apoſtolick See. The occaſion of this his neighbourhood was very acceptable to the new Queen and the Archduke, that ſo they might have their marriages celebrated by the Pope. Nor was the Pope leſs glad to celebrate them. They therefore paſſed from *Trent* with all their attendance to *Ferrara*; where being received as became ſo great Princes, both their marriages were effected by the Pope in the Cathedral Church with ſuch ſolemnity and magnificence as was moſt requiſite for ſuch an action, by ſuch a hand, between ſuch perſonages. The Kings part was ſupplyed by way of Proxy, by the Archduke, and the Infanta *Iſabella*'s by the Duke of *Laſſe*, the King of *Spains* Ambaſſador in the Popes Court. The Queen departing then from that City, together with her Mother and the Archduke, they followed on their journey towards *Milan*, where having ſtaid awhile, they went to *Genua*; and taking ſhip there, they in a few days ſail arrived happily in *Spain*. Where we will leave them, and continuing to relate the affairs of *Flanders*, we will with all brevity acquaint you with what paſſed there till ſuch time as the new Princes came thither.

The Archduke at his departure had left theſe particular directions with the Admiral of *Aragon*, That he ſhould endeavour to preſerve the Army as much as he could till his return from *Spain*. That therefore he ſhould ſhun all difficult ſieges, ſo not to loſe his men, nor be at greater expences. That by all means he ſhould endeavour to get ſome good paſs over the *Rhine*, that ſo if it were poſſible, he might enter the Enemies Country on the other ſide, and quarter his Army there. Which if he could not do, that then he ſhould ſtrive to quarter it in the neutral Countries of the Duke of *Cleves*, and others of the like nature thereabouts. The Archduke left this laſt condition in particular; to the end that ſuch quarters might ſerve for pay to the Army; the needs whereof he could not ſatisfie otherwiſe, by reaſon of the vaſt ſums of mony which the mutinies in ſo many parts had exhauſted. To boot that the Archduke was neceſſitated to be at great expences by reaſon of ſo long and coſtly a journey, in which he had carried a flouriſhing Court along with him, both for his own honour, and that he might attend the new Queen with all the greater magnificency.

The Admiral having received theſe directions, and the Archduke being gone, the Admiral went immediately to the Army. Not many months before 4000 Spaniards were come to *Flanders*, to ſupply the foot which were wanting in the old brigadoes. One of which being formerly commanded by the Campmaſter *Velaſco*, who was now made General of the Artillery, was given to *Gaſpero Zapena*. The Army was then compoſed of 7000 Spaniſh foot, 3000 Italians, 2000 Burgonians, 1000 Iriſh, and 7000 Germans and Walloons; and to theſe were added 2500 horſe, all very gallant men. The Army paſt over the *Manſe* near *Ruremond*, and continuing its march drew near *Orſoy*, which is ſituated three hours journey above *Reinburg*, upon the left ſide of the *Rhine*. The Admirals deſigne was to poſſeſs himſelf of that paſs, and to fortifie it; and raiſing a Fort upon the other ſide, to ſecure the paſſage over the *Rhine* in that place. The Town

of

of *Orſoy* belonged to the State of *Cleves*; and therefore, it being a neutral Country he would not willingly have uſed any violence in entring into it: but it could not be effected otherwiſe, by reaſon of ſome oppoſition which was made; which ſoon ceaſed, and the Admiral entred, cauſing all fair uſage to be obſerved. When he was Maſter of the Town of *Orſoy*, Count *Frederick di Berg*, who then ſupplyed the place of Camp-maſter General, paſt over to the other ſide of the River, to raiſe the aforeſaid Fort as ſoon as might be on that ſhore. He had ſuch men given him as were requiſite to ſecure the work: nor was he wanting in uſing all diligence to perfect it; yet he was forced to imploy above a moneths time about it; during which the Admiral kept ſtill in *Orſoy*, and quartered his Army thereabouts. When this paſs was ſecured, it was judged by the Councel of war that that of *Reinberg* would have been much better, both in reſpect of the place it ſelf, & for its nearneſs to *Skincks Sconce*. This Town was in the Enemies hands, and well guarded, as it was known; and by the Arch-Duke's direction the Admiral was to ſhun ſieges; yet the Councel though that this of *Reinberg* might ſoon be ended; for that the united Provinces had no Army in the Field, nor could they muſter Forces any waies able to oppoſe the Kings: wherefore about the beginning of *October*, the Admiral incamped before *Reinberg*.

This Town, as hath been ſaid, ſtands on the left ſhore of the River; it is but of a ſmall circuit, it hath a Caſtle which guards the River, and an Iſland made by the River in that very place. For the greater ſecurity of the Town, there ſtood a Fort in the Iſland, which Fort was likewiſe defended by the Town: on the left ſide of the River did the Admiral quarter, with the greateſt ſtrength of the Army; and on the right ſide Count *Frederick di Berg*, with thoſe that were already with him. And becauſe it was thought fit firſt to get the Fort within the Iſland, they began to play upon it cruelly from the ſide where Count *Frederick* was, till ſuch time as the Camp-maſters *Lewis di Villiar* with his Spaniſh Brigado, and *Barlotta* with his Walloons entred the Iſland on that ſide; and *Carlo Colonna* and *Eſtinley* entred it likewiſe on this ſide with their Spaniſh and Iriſh Brigadoes. Then, the Fort was played upon nearer hand with regular batteries; and the Kings men prepared already to fall on; when they found that thoſe within, not willing to abide the aſſault, had abandoned the Fort: which being taken, they hoped ſoon to take the Town; for the Army had already ſtraitly beſieged it on all ſides, and having advanced their Trenches, prepared their Batteries, that accordingly they might come to the aſſault. But by a ſtrange accident, they came by the Town ſooner then they could have hoped. All the Gun-powder, whereof there was good ſtore, was kept in a Chamber of one of the Towers of the Caſtle. It ſo fell out that a Cannon Bullet, one of many which were continually ſhot from without, both againſt the Town and the Caſtle, entred by a window into the Chamber where the powder was kept, and gave ſuddenly fire thereunto; which cauſed ſo terrible an earth-quake, not onely in the Caſtle and circuit of the Town, but in all parts thereabouts, as the very river was much agitated, and many ſhips which were upon that ſhore were likely to be drowned: the houſes in the fields were ſhaken thereby: great ſtones and great ſtore of Aſhes cauſed by the fire fell down: but the force thereof was particularly ſuch againſt the Caſtle, as it blew it almoſt wholly up into the air. The Governor of the Town with his wife and children were thereby ſlain, and great was the number of others that periſh'd in the Caſtle and in the houſes neer unto it. This made the Defendants quite looſe their courage; wherefore they treated that very night of ſurrendring, and afterwards marched out of the Town upon honorable conditions.

The Kings Forces being entred into *Reinberg*, all the adjacent Countries were put into great terror. A little below *Reinberg*, on the ſame ſide ſtood *Burich*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *Cleves*: This Town immediately accepted four Foot-colours, which were ſent thither by the Admiral. Over againſt *Burich*, on the other ſide lyes *Weſel*, one of the beſt inhabited, moſt merchandiſing, and beſt ſeated Towns of as many as ſtand upon the *Rheine*; which River runs by the beſt part thereof, and on another ſide the *Lippa*, a noble River falls into it. *Weſel* was likewiſe in former times under the Dukedom of *Cleves*: but being infected

fected with Hereſie, and by that means having brought it ſelf into liberty, it hath ever ſince maintained it ſelf therein, particularly by imbracing the Sect of Calviniſm, as that which is moſt oppoſite to Monarchy. The Townſmen being ſore afraid when they ſaw ſo great an Army approach it, that if they ſhould receive in a Spaniſh Garriſon, the City might fall into the Kings hands, or elſe that he might reſtore it to the houſe of *Cleves*, they treated preſently of compounding by money for their not receiving in of Souldiers: And thinking that to promiſe free liberty for the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion hereafter in *Weſel*, would be of great help to them in their Treaty, they added this ſecond offer to the former. The Admiral accepted of them both, willingly; ſo to get, in ſo great a ſtrait ſuch a ſum of money, which was agreed to be 50000 Crowns, as alſo that ſo great an advantage might be got in ſuch a City for the Catholick Religion: the monies being paid, and divers Prieſts and Votaries being admitted into the City who might excerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Rites, thoſe Citizens were freed from being burthened with a Garriſon. It was hoped that the Catholick Religion, and the exerciſe thereof would daily increaſe in *Weſel*, wherefore the Apoſtolick Nuntio for that coaſt of the *Rheine*, who uſually recides in *Colen*, went thither, and was there received with great reſpect and honour: though the event ſhewed afterwards, that all this was done fraudulently, only to give way to the preſent neceſſity, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

The Admiral paſſed with his Army from *Burich*, to the other ſide of the River; but very ſlowly; for they had not as yet made a Bridg of Boats, as they intended to doe. The Admiral would not therefore longer delay providing of winter-quarters for the Souldiery. The Town of *Res* lies ſix leagues from *Weſel*, upon the ſame ſide on the lower part of the River. It is one of the beſt Towns in thoſe parts; and the Inhabitants for the moſt part are Catholicks. The Admiral endeavoured by fair means to get ſome Souldiers into it: but the Townſmen refuſing to receive any, he was forced to uſe threats, and brought his Artillery before the Town; at the ſight whereof they granted the deſired Quarter. The City of *Emrich* did after the ſame manner receive likewiſe a Garriſon. This is the greateſt, and moſt Catholical Town in all the Dukedom of *Cleves*; and not above three leagues from *Res*. *Emrich* ſtands very near the River *Yſel*, upon which the United Provinces had many important places. The firſt which preſented it ſelf was *Deſburg*, the taking whereof would have afforded the Kings Camp conveniencie of entring into the *Velo*, an Enemies country, which was very fruitfull, and where they very fain would have been; and which was alſo one of the ſtraiteſt Orders that the Archduke had left at his departure. But the Enemy fearing this, had cauſed Count *Maurice* to come to thoſe parts with good Forces. Conſidering therefore what oppoſition they were to meet withall, and the difficulties of the Siege it ſelf, and eſpecially the Year being ſo far advanced, the Councel of War did in no ſort think it fit to make that attempt. The Admiral turned therefore againſt *Dotechem*, a little weak Town not far from thence, but commodious for the better ſecuring the quarters in *Weſtphalia*. The Town was plaid upon for ſome few hours, and the Kings men prepared already for the aſſault; but the Defendants without any further oppoſition yielded of themſelves. The Caſtle near *Sculemburg* fell alſo into *Velaſco's* hands, the Generall of the Artillery; and therefore very fitting to preſerve the acquiſition of *Dotechem*. And becauſe ſo great rains had fallen, as the Army could keep no longer in the field, the Admiral reſolved to quarter his men in the beſt Towns of *Weſtphalia*, as he had done in the Dukedom of *Cleves*. And he ſoon had his deſire: For fair means not prevailing, ſuch force as was thought neceſſary without much difficulty was likewiſe uſed in that Country. Yet it coſt the Kings men ſome blood to get into ſome places: And particularly, as *Velaſco* would have ſtorm'd the Town of *Dorſt*, he himſelf was wounded by a muſket ſhot in the arm. The Admiral choſe *Res* for his own winter quarters. He placed the Count *Bucquoi* for Governour of *Emrick*: which being ſo neer *Schinks* Sconce, and other places belonging to the Enemy, had ſo much the more need of a valiant Commander, as the Count was; though not long after being too forward upon a certain occaſion of fight, he fell into the Enemies hands and was taken priſoner.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe affairs were in hand, the year 1599 began. And in the interim it was noiſed every where, that the Kings Army was by force quartered in the County of *Cleves*, and in *Weſtphalia*, both which belong to *Germany*. In former times thoſe parts, as alſo the Countries of *Juliers*, *Liege*, *Colen*, and *Trevers*, and the other adjacent parts, were ſuffered to ſtand Newters both by the Spaniards and the United Provinces, both of them receiving friendly Quarter only by the way of paſſage. Wherefore ſeeing the Neutral right violated ſo openly, and in ſo many places; it is not to be ſaid how much all parties intereſſed were offended. A good part of *Weſtphalia* is ſubject to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Principalities, eſpecially to thoſe of *Munſter* and of *Paterborn*, which were at that time enjoyed by Duke *Erneſtus* of *Bavaria*, Archbiſhop and Elector of *Colen*, and alſo Biſhop of *Liege*. The Dukedom of *Cleves* was alſo under its own peculiar ſecular Prince; who being at the preſent ſomwhat ſhallow-witted, ſuffered himſelf to be wholly governed by his Officers. Theſe two Princes were moſt ſcandalized at the Kings Army, as being thereby moſt injured. But the Elector of *Colen*, by reaſon of the good correſpondencie which he had always held with the King of *Spain* in the affairs of *Flanders*, inclined not to reſcent himſelf by Arms, nor to joyn his Forces with thoſe of the other intereſſed Princes; wherefore he could have deſired that remedy might have been had fairly by the way of Treaty. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Cleves* Officers, were it either of themſelves, or that they were won to do ſo by the other Princes, were of opinion that they muſt joyn their Forces and openly fight with them: and that making up a good body of an Army, they muſt at leaſt drive the Kings men out of thoſe places of theirs which they had poſſeſt themſelves of; and by this preſent remedy ſecure themſelves from all future invaſions. This advice was chiefly given by the Elector Palatine of *Rheine*, whoſe Territories lying very neer thoſe parts where the Kings men were lodged; and knowing how much his family had ever favoured the inſurrection and hereſie of the Low-Countries, was therefore more affrighted then uſually at this ſucceſs. The Landtgrave of *Heſſe* ſeemed to be agitated equally out of the ſame conſiderations of neighbour-hood and hereſie, nor were ſome Hans Towns upon the *Rheine* leſs moved out of the ſame reaſons. It being then made a common cauſe, chiefly between the Duke of *Cleves*, the Elector Palatine, the Landtgrave of *Heſſe* and many other Counts and Lords of quality, who were comprehended under the circle of *Weſtphalia*, they all endeavoured to draw the other circles of the Empire into the ſame cauſe, or at leaſt the neareſt circles, which were conſequently moſt concern'd. Great was the commotion every where; but it being thought fitteſt firſt to uſe Treaty before Arms, recourſe was had unto the Emperor, who was eaſily perſwaded to uſe his Authority, in ſuch manner, as upon this occaſion he thought beſt. He therefore publiſhed a ſtrict Edict, wherein he commanded the Admiral and all the other heads of the Kings Army, that they ſhould forthwith reſtore thoſe Towns which they had taken, and march with all their men out of all ſuch places as did any waies belong unto the Empire. He mediated the ſame likewiſe very much with Cardinal *Andrea*; but the neceſſities of the Army not being otherwiſe to be provided for at that time, the Cardinal and Admiral alledged many excuſes by way of juſtification; and ſtill endeavored to enjoy that conveniency which they received by being ſo quartered. The aforeſaid Princes and Hans Towns had often before, according to the uſe of *Germany*, had meetings to treat of this common cauſe: but being deſirous to reſolve at laſt on ſomewhat, their laſt meeting was appointed at *Confluenza*, a Town belonging to the Arch-biſhop of *Treves*, and ſeated where the *Moſel* falls into the *Rheine*. Here the Deputies wo met, ſtriving who ſhould moſt complain againſt the Spaniſh Forces, they in diſpiteful terms exagerated how worthily the German Empire was then delt withal.

Anno 1599.

That in former times the very name thereof was reverenced in all parts. And when was it ever known that the neutrality profeſt in her Countries neighbouring upon Flanders, *touching the Forces of* Spain *and their Aduerſaries, was openly violated? That now the Spaniſh Forces, breaking all Laws, both of particular neutrality and common juſtice, had not onely poſſeſt themſelves of one or two of their Towns, but had hoſtily invaded Whole States. Say money was wanting to maintain them;*

Muſt

muſt Germany therfore ſupply them? and by the eſtates of her miſerable people ſatisfie the vaſt immeaſurate deſires of others? That they had firſt recourſe to Ceſar; *but reaped little good thereby. That this occaſion ſhewed, as it was ſeen in ſo many others, of what advantage it was to the houſe of* Auſtria *in* Spain, *to enjoy the ſucceſſion of the Empire as hereditary from that other branch of the ſame houſe in* Germany: *and that therefore fair means having done no good in ſo weighty an occurrency, they muſt now reſolutely betake themſelves to arms. That if ſo ſmall a part of the Lower* Germany *had thrown off the Spaniſh yoke, how much more eaſily might it be denyed to be received by ſo great, ſo powerfull, and ſo majeſtical a body as was the Upper* Germanies.

With theſe and the like bitter complaints, the Deputies raged againſt the above-ſaid Novelty of the Spaniſh arms. Nor did they any longer contain themſelves. Monies and men being promiſed according to the abilities of every one that was concerned, whereby to raiſe an Army, they reſolved to put it ſpeedily in execution: and even then they choſe the Count *di Lippa* to be the head thereof. He was one of the chief Lords of *Weſtphalia*; and was already Lieutenant General of all the Forces of that Circle. This was the reſolution taken at this meeting. But when they were parted, their actions bore no correſpondency with their words: So as the Army was very ſlow in being brought into the field, as ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

The Cardinal *Andrea* had this mean while with all fervency taken upon him the adminiſtration of the Government. According to the uſe of other Governors, he had taken up his uſual reſidence at *Bruſſels*; whether in the beginning of the year ſome of the Elector of *Cullen*, and Duke of *Cleves* Deputies were come unto him from their Maſters. Who added their own interceſſions to thoſe of the Emperor, to the end that the Cardinal might take the ſpeedier courſe to remedy the novelties committed in their Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal States. They were honourably received by the Cardinal, and ſent back with good hopes. And really he ſeemed to be very ſenſible of ſuch a diſorder: yet not being able to overcome the neceſſity which the Army was in, he muſt himſelf yield to the ſame Force. The Elector of *Cullen* for the aforeſaid reaſons was ſtill for the way of Treaty; but the Duke of *Cleves*, or to ſay better, his Officers by whom he was governed, quickly falling from their deſired hopes, had already reſolved together with the reſt that were concerned to take up arms. The Spaniſh Gariſons which were in mutiny in the Caſtles of *Antwerp* and *Gaunt*, could not yet receive ſatisfaction. Therefore the Cardinal went in the beginning of *February* to *Antwerp*, that he himſelf might ſee thoſe payments made, and to ſee whether he could borrow ſo much money as might in ſome ſort ſatisfie the Armies neceſſity, and make them the ſooner go out of thoſe States which appertained to the Empire. Both thoſe Gariſons were paid. And becauſe in that of *Gaunt* they were ſo modeſt as not to receive any ſouldier from without, the ſame Gariſon was therefore permitted to guard the Caſtle. On the contrary, that of *Antwerp* had uſed great inſolencies, both by ſhamefully driving out the Governour *Auguſtine Meſſia*; and in receiving in many other Spaniards, to thoſe of the uſual gard, and in being extream in their demands of pay. Wherefore it not being thought fit to leave ſuch an exceſs unpuniſhed, the Cardinal changing the Gariſon, cauſed Proclamation to be made, That upon pain of life all thoſe that had been of the former Gariſon, ſhould within fifteen days be gon out of all the Provinces which were obedient to the King of *Spain*. Nor did their puniſhment ceaſe here: for, for the odious name of Mutiners, and of the Kings Army, againſt which all the neighbours were then ſo incenſed, and for that it was ſaid they went away full of mony, the moſt of them were ſeaſed upon by the way, pillaged, and ſlain.

When the Cardinal had put a new Gariſon into the Citadel of *Antwerp*, and had the luck to raiſe ſome conſiderable ſums of money, he went from thence to *Maſtrick*; where he was met by the Admiral, and the other chief Officers of the Army. And long diſcourſe was had touching what was to be done, when the Army ſhould go into the field. But there was no reſolution then put on, becauſe it was too early in the year. About the end of *March* the Cardinal parted from thence, with all the reſt towards the Town of *Res*, where the Admiral had made a bridg of boats over the *Rhine*. And having tarryed ſome days there, he went

to

to *Emrich*, and threw the bridg over thereabouts. The ſouldiers by reaſon of their ſo good quarters were but little leſſened in their number; ſo as they might ſtill make a body of 18000 Foot, and 2300 Horſe.

The time of drawing into the field being then come, they firſt conſulted to what ſort of enterpriſe they ſhould apply themſelves. *Schinks* Sconce is ſome two leagues beneath *Emrick*, the ſituation whereof we have deſcribed in another place, when *Martin Schink* from whom it had its name propounded it to Count *Maurice*, and had afterwards the charge of ſeeing it built, and of keeping it. But we will here touch upon ſomwhat of new, and will likewiſe give you a particular notice of the Iſland called *Bomel*, which is not far from thence; becauſe the Kings Army was then imployed in thoſe parts. The *Upper-Germany* is for a long tract of ground watered firſt by the *Rhine*. Here as it comes nearer the *Low-Countries*, not being able to keep longer within its former Channel, by reaſon of ſo many other Rivers which fall every where into it, it divides it ſelf into two branches, each of them almoſt of equal greatneſs with it ſelf. Theſe two branches frame the ancient Iland of the Battavians, and at this hour it continues the corrupted name of *Bettow*. That of the right hand doth for a good ſpace keep the name of *Rheine*, till aſſuming the name of *Lech*, it goes with other waters, and with other names thorow *Holland*, till it looſeth it ſelf in the Sea. The left branch as ſoon as it parts from the *Rheine*, takes upon it the name of *Wahal*, continuing which name for a long ſpace, it at laſt joyns it ſelf with the *Mauſe*. But theſe two Rivers are not well joyned, when they part again, and do not rejoyn till they have made an Iland of ſome good circuit, which is called *Bomel*; taking its name from the chief Town therein. Having formed this Iſland, theſe two enter not long after joyntly into *Holland*; where together with other Rivers diſperſing themſelves into divers Gulfs, and carrying as it were new Seas into the Sea, they at laſt by many ſpacious mouths diſgorge themſelves and falls into the Ocean. Upon the very point of this great Iſland of *Bettow* ſtands *Schinks* Sconce, and is raiſed there with ſo much advantage, both of Nature and Art, as greater is not peradventure ſeen any where elſe. Four leagues lower upon the Banks of *Wahal* is the City of *Nimingben* ſeated, with her great Fort on the right hand bank. Deſcending much lower from thence, where the *Mauſe* and *Wahal* meet firſt together, you finde the Fort *Worden*, and preſently the other point of the Iſland called *Bomel*, formed by the *Mauſe* and *Wahal*, in manner aforeſaid. The Town of *Bomel* ſtands upon the banks of *Wahal*, about the midſt of the Iſland; on that ſide the River it ſelf ſecures it ſufficiently. And it is provided with neceſſary defences on the other ſide: And this may ſuffice for the aboveſaid diſcription.

Cardinal *Andrea* not willing to keep longer out of the field, muſtered the whole Army, about the end of *April*, in the parts of *Rheine* towards *Emrich*: and to ſatisfie them in ſome degree, gave them one pay. And upon diſcourſe what was to be undertaken, the Councel of war were of ſeveral opinions. They all agreed that in the firſt place *Wahal* was to be paſt over, and that they were to advance as far as they could into the Enemies Country. But divers were the opinions concerning what they ſhould fall upon. The Admiral of *Aragon* was very earneſt for the ſtraitning of *Schinks* Sconce.

And what greater acquiſition (ſaid he) *can we make? It is the moſt important ſeat of the* Rhine. *By this Key the paſſage of greateſt conſequence thereabouts is opened and ſhut; So as when we ſhall have fixt our foot there, we may endeavour other acquiſitions in thoſe parts, and hope to atchieve them with much ſafety. When we ſhall be entred firſt into the Iſland, we muſt draw a great Trench from one branch of the River to the other, ſo as the Fort ſhall not be able to be ſuccoured by land. If the Enemy will ſend any relief by way of the Rivers, they muſt ſend it againſt the ſtreame; ſo the effect thereof may eaſily be hindered by armed barks on both ſides. Such a ſiege conſidered with all its circumſtances, will doubtleſsly prove difficult; but when it ſhall be effected, as it is to be hoped it will be; the more difficulties we meet with, the greater will our honour be.*

So many weighty objections were made againſt this the Admirals opinion, both for bringing the Army into the Iſland, by reaſon of oppoſition which might

be made by the Enemy; and for their not being able to keep out succour by water, wherein the enemy did so far exceed them in power, as many of the Councel thought it would prove a desperate siege. They instanced in the Duke of *Parma* for example, who when the sconce was hardly tenable, would never endeavour to take it. Others advised to go at the same time against *Nimínghen*, and against its Fort on the contrary shore. Thinking that so great an Army might undertake both these sieges at once. But in this, the opposition which they should find in passing the *Wahal*, to besiege the Fort was considered. As also that the Duke of *Parma* was sate down before it, and forced to raise his siege. And that the difficulties in besieging *Nimínghen* would afterwards prove much greater. A City of a large circuit, and which as it was well munited, would be well defended. Others finally propounded, that passing lower over the *Mause*, as they might easily do, the Army should march into the Island of *Bomel*, and should try to take the Town, situated, as hath been said, upon the Banks of *Wahal*. Thinking that by the taking thereof they might command the whole Island, as also the Pass of that River.

The City of *Balduke* which was then in the Kings hands, is very near the Island of *Bomel*. Wherefore it was considered that the making of this purchase would be very advantagious for that City and that it might be the better kept when it should be united to that Frontier. The Cardinal inclined to this resolution: and keeping it very secret, it was resolved that to cosin and divert the enemy, they would seem to besiege *Schincks* Sconce. Count *Frederick di Berg* parted thus from *Emnick* with 7000 fot, and 1000 horse, and came almost within Canon shot of the Sconce on that side: and the Cardinal passing over to the other side of the River, with the rest of the Army, made the Admiral advance in like manner towards the Fort. They then began to play upon it furiously from both sides with many pieces of Artillery: not being able notwithstanding to do any thing but batter and indamage it. Upon this motion of the Kings Camp, Count *Maurice* made his move also, and came to within sight of the Fort. He doubted that the Kings men would effectually pass over *Wahal*, and get into the Island to begirt the Fort by land. Wherefor he immediately sent away a great number of Pyoniers, that they might raise a Trench towards the suspected shore, whereby the passage of the Kings men might be the more impeded. He afterwards manned it sufficiently for defence, and sent 80 English into the Fort. And passing himself afterwards with a great part of his Army into the Island, he totally secured it. The Kings men continued notwithstanding to play incessantly upon it; nor were those of the Fort less slow in letting fly at them. And because the seat thereof is low, Count *Maurice* caused a great Platform to be raised without, and placed some great Canon upon it, whereby he so much indamaged the Kings men on that side the Admiral was, as he slew above four hundred of them in a few days.

The Enemies Camp being by the Spaniards cunning thus imployed, the Cardinal had in the interim sent the Campmasters, *Zapena*, *Estenly* and *Barlotta*, with their Spanish, Irish, and Walloon Brigadors, and with some horse commanded by *Henry di Berg*, to try whether they could get into the Island or no, by passing over the *Wahal* on any side a little lower. These made up the number of 4000 foot, and 600 horse. The Cardinals Orders were, That they should endeavour to pass the River two leagues above a certain Town called *Tiel*, where for divers circumstances it was thought more feisable. The good event thereof consisted chiefly in secrecy. But *Maurice* having an eye every where, got notice of it: and sending some armed boats down from *Nimínghen*, he ordered them to make fitting opposition by the River. Wherefore these men, when they found their designe discovered, were very much in suspence, and afterwards varied much amongst themselves touching what they were to take in hand. *Zapena* was of opinion, that howsoever they were to try the passage, and *Estenly* was of the same mind; on the contrary *Barlotta* thought it would be to no purpose, and that to endeavour it, would be the loss of many men. They notwithstanding put some of their boats into the River, and from the shore-side sunk three of the enemies boats, with the Artillery which they brought with them. And endeavoured to get with their

men

men which were imbarked, to the contrary ſhore. But finding great obſtacles both by land and water, they ſaw they could not make the paſſage. From thence the Kings men went down the River, with their boats and the reſt of their ſouldiers and proviſions, on the left ſhore. And the enemy did the like on the other ſide, that they might be the readier to meet with them every where. The Cardinal had given order that if they could not paſs the *Wahal*, they ſhould at unawares aſſail the Fort *Worden*, and indeavour to take it: which if they could not do, that then the Campmaſters were to uſe all diligence to get into the Iſland of *Bomel*, and to ſecure themſelves there of the Paſs, in the beſt manner they could. As for getting the Fort, they had no hopes to effect it, conſidering what the enemy had done. Wherefore leaving *Wahal*, and carting their boats again, they went forthwith towards the Iſland of *Bomel*; and coming to the *Mauſe* about the Village *Emple* they paſt it with ſuch ſecrecy, as they ſcarce met with any impediment. At their entrance into the Iſland, they took the Caſtle *Hell*, which was neareſt the ſhore; and did thereby ſo much the more ſecure themſelves of the Paſs. Then coming again out of the Iſland, according to the directions which the Cardinal had firſt given them, they went againſt the Fort *Crevecoeur*, which was not far from thence. This Fort was very prejudicial to *Balduke*, becauſe it ſhut up the mouth of a River, which runs through that City, and which not above a league from the walls thereof, falls into the *Mauſe*. The Cardinal therefore intending to make himſelf Maſter thereof, willed the aforeſaid Campmaſters, that when they ſhould have ſecured the paſs whereby to enter into the Iſland, they ſhould incamp before that Fort. Which when they had done, and had given the Cardinal notice of it, and of all that they had done beſides; the Kings Camp roſe preſently from before *Schincks* Sconce, and went to before *Crevecoeur*; which was not in a condition of making any conſiderable reſiſtance; wherefore the Army was no ſooner quartered about it, and had threatned it with batteries and aſſaults, but that thoſe within, expecting no longer, and without making almoſt any reſiſtance, quitted the Fort. The Cardinal was this mean while gon to *Balduke*, to make divers proviſions there for the buſineſs of *Bomel*. And therefore the Admiral after the taking of *Crevecoeur*, turned towards the Iſland of *Bomel*, and entred thereinto with all his Army about the beginning of *May*. Great banks are made all along the ſides of thoſe Rivers, to defend the fields, which are ſubject to innundation.

The Army parting thus from the *Mauſe*, marched upon the bank on the right hand, and bending towards the *Wahal*, ſtaid in the Village *Hervin*, which ſtands upon the ſame River; in which were many of the enemies men of war. For Count *Maurice* had diſcovered the Cardinals intention, and therefore had not omitted to prepare ſuch obſtacles as were fitting by water, that the Kings men might find more difficulty in paſſing it. They notwithſtanding indeavoured by their Artillery to drive away thoſe Veſſels, and did ſomewhat prejudice them; but they putting themſelves into ſome creeks that were in the River, the Kings men could never free themſelves from that oppoſition. They paſt from *Hervin*, and drawing nearer *Bomel*, they quartered their Army in ſundry parts: one part thereof was lodged upon the bank, and the reſt more inward, according to the opportunity of the ſituations. *Maurice* was this mean while come with all ſpeed, and with the moſt of his Army, and quartering on the other ſide of the River in the face of *Bomel*, he had ſent 1000 foot thereinto for the better defence thereof. Here with all diligence he placed two bridges over the River; the one above the Town, the other beneath it: the one was of ſmall boats for the foot to paſs over; and the other of greater flat-bottomed boats which ſerved for the horſe, and commodity of Carriages: and this was ſo broad as two Carts might paſs one by another upon it. The Bridges being thrown over, he ſent 3000 foot more, and 400 horſe for the defence of *Bomel*: and the Town not being capable of ſo many men, he quartered them without the Town; and did ſo ſhelter them with Trenches, Flankers, Redouts, Ditches and *ſtrade coperte*, as *Bomel* of a little Town, ſeemed ſuddenly as if it were a large City. The Kings men were very much indamaged by the Enemies Artillery, before they could ſufficiently fence themſelves on the Rivers ſide: For being at the ſame time thundred upon both

by thoſe of *Bomel*, and by thoſe that were placed upon the contrary ſhore and in the ſhips that were in the River, they knew not well what to doe, nor how to defend themſelves. But at laſt, ſuch Rampiers of earth as were requiſite being made, and many Peeces of Artillery being placed upon the bank, they likewiſe began to play furiouſly upon the Town of *Bomel*, and upon all thoſe Works wherein the Enemies Forces were lodged without the Town; nor was the damage little which they did them, till they ſheltred themſelves better.

This mean while the Enemies whole Army was met together; which was ſo increaſed, as it amounted to 18000 Foot, and above 3000 Horſe. And *Maurice* having quartered them in divers Towns and Villages on the ſame ſhore that he was, ſeemed not any thing to value the ſiege which the Royaliſts had undertaken; nay rather, his men, which were in ſuch numbers in *Bomel*, reſolving rather to play the parts of aſſailants then aſſailed, began to iſſue out againſt the Kings men, and to annoy them in ſundry ſorts both day and night. They notwithſtanding forbore not to advance with their Trenches, covering them as well as they could, and ſecuring them better then formerly by oblique Windings and Redouts. But the beſieged, willing to uſe all their force to the contrary, ſallied out on divers ſides, about the midſt of *May*, againſt the Royaliſts; and in ſuch numbers, as it might be thought rather an intended Battel then a Sally. The *Italians* and *Walloons* were quartered upon the Bank above *Bomel*; the *Spaniards* in certain Paſtures; and the *Germans*, *Burgonians*, and *Iriſh* were quartered on another ſide. The Enemy being recruited by new men which Count *Maurice* had ſent unto them from the other ſide the River, ſallied out about Noon at once, againſt all the aforeſaid quarters; and that they might the more indamage that which was quartered upon the Bank, they placed above 30 Barks loaded with Artillery in the River juſt over againſt it. The firſt aſſault was made on that ſide by 3000 Foot, and 400 Horſe; and 4000 Foot, with a proportionable number of Horſe, divided into two parts, gave on upon the other quarters. The Kings Camp was very vigilant; ſo as the Enemy came not ſo ſuddenly out, but they were ready to receive them. The fight was therefore very reſolute on both ſides; the Enemy ſtriving to get into the Kings works, and the others valiantly defending them. Nor was the buſineſs leſs hotly diſputed between the Horſe; nor did the Artillery of both parties forbear to play at the ſame inſtant violently. But the Enemy at laſt not being able to have the better of the Royaliſts, they reſolved after three houres fight to retreat. The number of the ſlain and of the wounded was much alike of both ſides; and the action well conſidered was cauſe of greater noiſe, then loſs of blood.

The Enemy returned the next night to aſſault the Kings men; thinking that they ſhould find them the leſs provided, for that they would not in likelihood expect ſo ſuddenly ſuch an aſſault. The charge was notwithſtanding only upon the *Italians* and *Walloons*: And truly it came ſo unexpected, as at the firſt falling on many of both thoſe Nations were ſlain and wounded; and *Avalos* the Italian Campmaſter was in particular ſorely hurt. The Enemy had the better of the Aſſault for a while: But the Kings men rallying together, and reaſſuming courage, did ſo well defend their Trenches, as the Enemy not being able to injure them, retired. They were notwithſtanding much inheartned by finding their numbers ſtill ſo increaſe, ſo as within three dayes after they returned to make a brisk aſſault upon the Kings men, and reſolved to make it by night, to the end that it might come ſo much the more unlooked for, and be the more dreadfull. Monſieur *de la Nue* was come from *France*, with many Hugonots, to ſerve the United Provinces. He was ſon to the late Monſieur *de la Nue*, a ſo cry'd up Commander, and of whoſe valour you have often heard in divers parts of this Hiſtory. This man in his military comportment proved himſelf worthy to be the ſon of ſuch a father. Count *Maurice* therefore gave him the chief charge of this new ſally; and would have it performed chiefly by the French Foot, together with a ſelect number of Engliſh, which in all might come to about 5000 Foot. The aſſault was chiefly to be made againſt the Works which the Kings men continued to make upon the bank, and in thoſe neighbouring parts. *La Nue* therefore ſallied out couragiouſly, and aſſiſted by a fog; gave ſo fiercely on upon the

Royaliſts.

Royaliſts, as he put them in diſorder. The Walloons had the Van, with the Camp-maſter *Achicurt*, who had then the command thereof: He and his men failed not to make all poſſible reſiſtance; till being himſelf ſorely wounded, and the Enemies force ſtill increaſing, he was forced to retire, and to crave a new recruit of men. But the noiſe of the Aſſault had already cauſed thoſe of the Royaliſts who were neareſt hand to move, and had given the Alarm to thoſe that were further off, ſo as the whole Army was in a readineſs to fight. Some Companies of Spaniſh and Italian Foot were to come firſt in to the aſſiſtance of the Walloons. Theſe ſtopping the fury of the Enemy, did ſtoutly ſuſtain them; and freſh men coming in, they ſecured their Trenches. And the Enemy deſpairing of doing any further damage when the day began to break, retreated in very good order; being purſued by the Kings men to beneath the Fortifications and wals of *Bomel*, and the fight continuing ſtill fervent on both ſides. The ſiege had by this time been laid twenty dayes, and no conſiderable progreſs had been made. And it was plainly ſeen, that the enterpriſe would prove totally vain; ſince they could not keep the beſieged Town from being relieved, and that Count *Maurice* was thereabouts with ſo great Forces. The chief end of the Kings men in endeavouring to get *Bomel*, was that they might have a ſtrong Hold upon the *Wahal*, ſo as they might command the Paſs of that River, and might introduce themſelves into the heart of the Enemies country, and eſpecially into *Holland*.

Deſpairing then of the enterpriſe of *Bomel*, the Cardinal propounded, that a Fort Royal might be raiſed in ſome part of the ſame Iſland, whereby they might reap the ſame end. Where the *Mauſe* and *Wahal* met firſt together, and then imediately part again, they ſhape a certain point of ground, which delating it ſelf a little, doth afterwards grow ſtraiter; from thence doth the Iſland afterwards inlarge, and extend it ſelf, till the two aforeſaid Rivers meet again and incloſe it: it was therefore propounded unto the Cardinal that a great Fort ſhould be raiſed in that narroweſt neck of ground, by which they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of all that Avenue which lay between the one River and the other; which might prove a great curb to the Enemy, and which would keep them more in awe then that of *Schink* would have done, for that it was nearer their very bowels then the other was. The Cardinal was mightily herewithall pleaſed; and cauſing it to be well diſcuſſed in the Councel of War, it was with a general applauſe agreed upon. Nor herewithall contented, he would go with ſome of the chief Commanders to the very place it ſelf, and there put on his laſt reſolve; which was, That by all means the Fort muſt be raiſed, and muſt with all ſpeed be begun. The Cardinal reſolving upon this, preſently raiſed the Camp from before *Bomel*, which was done about the beginning of *June*; and the charge of ſeeing that effected which was reſolved on, was chiefly given to *Velaſco* Generall of the Artillery. The ſiege being abandoned, the Camp removed to the Village of *Hervin*, and came coaſting from thence to the place where the Fort was intended to be built. Count *Maurice*, having diſcovered the deſign, paſt over likewiſe a little higher upon the contrary ſhore, and ſtaid juſt over againſt the Kings Camp; He afterwards placed many Peeces of Artillery upon that ſide, and with them began immediately to annoy the Kings men who were to begin the raiſing of the Fort on the other ſide of the ſame *Wahal*. The like was done by *Velaſco* on the other ſide againſt the Enemy. And becauſe the Artillery plaid furiouſly from both ſides, *Maurice* raiſed a great Trench on his ſide for his better defence; and added thereunto a great Platform ſo large at the top, as 20 Peeces of Cannon might be placed upon it. *Velaſco* put himſelf in the ſame poſture on his ſide, with a like great Trench and Platform. Inſomuch as the like Offences and Defences were made at the ſame time by both Parties. But before theſe were ſufficiently raiſed, the Artillery and Muskets did ſo inceſſantly play from both ſides, as more then 1200 men were ſlain or wounded in both Camps. *Velaſco* having at laſt ſufficiently fenced himſelf, great haſt was made in raiſing the Fort. It was planted (as we have ſaid) in the narroweſt part of that point of Land: Two royal Baſtions were raiſed towards the *Wahal*, two the like towards the *Mauſe*, and a fifth towards the Land. All theſe were well ſuited with Curtains, and the Rivers were to ſerve for Ditches on the ſides, the other parts being to be munited with other large and deep Ditches in the

the best befitting manner. Three thousand souldiers guarded the works; one thousand of which with two thousand Pioniers, wrought incessantly upon them. The Fort *Worden*, which was in the enemies hands, was very near the place where the Kings men raised their Fort. *Maurice* resolved to go thither; wherefore passing with the most of his men over the *Wahal*, he tarried there, intending to annoy the Royalists works at a nearer distance: which that he might the better do, he threw over a bridge, and sent 3000 foot unto the point of the Island of *Bomel*, and possessed himself of a Village called *Herverden*. Here those men did so fortifie themselves, as the Kings men began to be much indamaged by them, Who were not long in using all means to drive them from thence.

To this purpose Count *Frederick de Berg* went with a great body of foot, almost all Spanish, who made a fierce assault; but they were so stoutly withstood by the enemy, partly through their works, and partly through their own valour, as they were forced to retreat, after having lost above 300 of their men, amongst which were divers Captains, and other personages of quality; yet did the working about the Fort never cease: For all the foot being quartered in those parts, diligent gards were kept, and were reinforced according as occasion required. The horse could not be quartered within the Island by reason of the straitness of the place, and for that there was no forrage there to be had: wherefore they were gon beyond the *Mause*, towards *Brabant*; and kept there about *Mega* in diverse Villages which were neareſt the Camp, from whence they might receive necessary succours, by a bridg over the same River. But for their better security, they raised a Fort upon a certain part of the bank, where they might have been easilyest injured by the enemy: yet they being thus parted from the rest of their Company, Count *Maurice* hoped he might assault them upon advantagious terms, and that he might give them a notable blow. To this purpose he threw a bridg over the *Mause* from the Fort *Worden* to the other side, and giving 6000 choice foot to Colonel *Vere*, an English-man, and to Monsieur *de la Nue*, a French man; and 1500 horse to Count *Ernestus* of *Nassaw*, he ordered them to be ready to fall upon the enemies horse, when he should think it fitting. The aforesaid Fort was not as yet made sufficiently defensible, which was called *Durango*, for that *Diego Durango* a Serjeant Major of a Spanish brigado had the charge thereof. The horse were commanded by *Ambrosio Landriano* who was their Lieutenant General; who was not negligent in using all necessary diligence both in placing the gards, and in being himself present where any occurrency called him. To boot with this Fort *Durango*, which was not yet finished, *Landriano* had endeavoured to secure all that tract of the bank about which the horse were quartered, with divers good Redoubts. *Maurice* resolved to effect his aforesaid designe before the Fort *Durango* should be made fully defensible. It was in the Beginning of *June*, when one morning about the break of day, Count *Ernestus*, *Vere* and *La Nue*, passing over the *Mause* with their foot and horse, began to move. They were of necessity to possess themselves first of the Fort *Durango*, that they might not have it as an obstacle both in their assault and retreat. *Vere* and *La Nue* went therefore with the most of their foot to assault the Fort: Count *Ernestus* sheltering the foot with his horse, as well as the place would permit him to do. The assault was exceeding resolute and fierce: *Vere's* English, and *La Nue's* French, were seen to vie with one another in the fight; and not only souldier with souldier, but Captain with Captain. A good many ladders being applyed unto the walls, they all strove to get upon the Fort; nor could they now make any longer use of muskets, or of pikes, but flew to it with their swords and shields. In the Fort were 600 Spanish and Walloon foot; and they striving likewise which of them should best make good the defence, fought with wonderfull undauntedness: and though the works of the Fort were yet but weak, the imperfections thereof being supplyed by the valour of hands, the further the assailants advanced, the greater resistance did they meet withall. The business lasted thus a good while: at the noise of the assault, the Admiral was this mean while advanced, with the greatest part of his foot to come in unto the succour. This caused much terror in the enemy; wherefore first cooling in their fight, they began at last to give back, and in fine, resolved to retreat, above 300

of

of them being ſlain, and about 70 of the Kings men. The foot ſucceeding but ill in their aſſault, Count *Erneſtus* would make no further attempt with his horſe. And *Landriano* was already prepared with his horſe ſo, as the enemy could have done him but little hurt though they ſhould have aſſaulted him.

This was the laſt action which happened between the two Camps; for the Fort *Durango* being ſoon afterwards compleated, and the horſe quarters being ſtill better ſecured, Count *Maurice* betook himſelf to nothing more on that ſide; nor could he do any thing on the other ſide within the Iſland of *Bomel*, where the great Fort was in building; for the work was already ſo far advanced, as it wanted but very little of being perfected. Cardinal *Andrea* deſired very much to ſee it finiſhed before he ſhould quit the Government, and therefore he himſelf went often thither to ſollicite the building thereof. Not long before, his brother, the Marquis of *Burgaut* was come to viſit him; who had formerly ſerved the King under the Duke of *Parma*. The Fort being then almoſt totally finiſhed, the Cardinal came to give it his laſt viſit, and brought his brother with him; each of them very well viewing all the works, and giving ſuch orders as were requiſite in all places. In midſt of the Parado, a Church was intended to be built; the firſt ſtone whereof the Cardinal's ſelf did lay; and in relation to his own name, and for the particular devotion which he bore to that Saint, he called both the Church and the Fort St. *Andrea*. This Ceremony was performed with all military rejoycing, the Canon thundring on all ſides out of the Caſtle, which were ſeconded by the ſouldiers joyfull acclamations, as if that Bulwark ſhould be perpetually kept for the Kings advantage, and that *Holland* ſhould be thereby chiefly curbed. And yet you ſhall quickly ſee, that the Fort was afterwards baſely delivered up to the Enemy, or rather ſold unto them to the great ignominy of the Gariſon that was in it: and certainly in common opinion the Fort was impregnable, if it had been well provided for and defended: and it was thought it would have been a great terror to all the enemies Country over againſt it; and particularly to *Holland*, neareſt the very heart whereof it ſtood. Nor was it long ere it was fully finiſhed. It commanded the *Mauſe* on one ſide, and the *Wahal* on the other. Each of the five Baſtions were of equal proportions, and ſtood very handſomly at equal diſtances from forth the Curtains. And where the ditches were made, the water was above 2 Pikes length deep. Thus by their means was the one River joyned to the other; the *Mauſe* ſometimes contributing water to the *Wahal*, and ſometimes the *Wahal* to the *Mauſe*, according to their ſeveral exuberances. The *Strada Coperta* ran to without about the Ditches; from which likewiſe many Redoubts were alſo thruſt out to defend them the better: and the more to anoy the enemy, twelve great Frigats were placed in the Ditches, that they might be continually the readier to put into thoſe Rivers. This was the condition of the Fort St. *Andrea*.

The United Provinces knew very well how prejudicial it might prove unto them, and therefore Count *Maurice* cauſed another Fort to be built on the contrary ſhore, not a Royal one, but only ſufficient to keep the Kings men from making that paſſage, if at any time they ſhould attempt it, and that they might make the fewer incurſions into thoſe parts.

But it is now time that we ſhould acquaint you with the ſucceſſe of thoſe Forces which the Confederate Germans were to put together, for the aforeſaid occaſions. Perſevering in the reſolution which they had put on at Confluence, they did not let ſlip making neceſſary proviſion for the putting of it in execution: yet money not coming in either ſo plentifully or ſo ſpeedily as the condition of the buſineſs required; and all things elſe being carryed on with the wonted ſlackneſs of the Nation, and with the uſual difficulties of making ſeveral intereſſed parties joyn in the ſame opinion. The Count *di Lippa*, who was choſen Commander in chief, could not ſo ſoon aſſemble all the Forces together which were to come from ſo many ſeveral places. The United Provinces uſed all poſſible means to incite the Confederates, preſſing the opportunity of the preſent conjuncture, whilſt the Kings Army was buſied in the taking of *Bomel*, and afterwards in building the Fort St. *Andrea*. They adviſed particularly that the German Camp might joyn with theirs, alleadging that by this means, and by ſo many

Forces,

Forces, the *Spaniards* might not only be driven out of the Empire, but might be brought to great straits in *Flanders*. To make these their endeavours the more efficacious, the same Provinces had sent their desires by Count *Hollach*; who meeting with Count *Lippa*, did no more part with him. These demonstrations of the United Provinces were very welcom to the Confederate *Germans*, and were willingly imbraced by them, to cause the more fears and jealousies in the *Spaniards*. On the other side, Cardinal *Andrea* had used all diligence so to sweeten affairs, as the Confederates might be kept from breaking forth into Arms. When the Kings Army marched into the field, that part thereof which was quartered in *Westphalia* was taken totally from thence. The Cardinal had caused the City of *Emrich* to be again delivered up to the Duke of *Cleves*, and gave assured hopes that *Res* and the other Towns appertaining to the same Prince should be suddenly likewise surrendred. Nor was the Elector of *Colen* wanting in continuing his former intercessions with both the parties.

These Negotiations had this of operation, That not to irritate too much the Forces of the King of *Spain*, the Confederate *Germans* would not joyn their Army in a body with the United *Flemish*; thinking that it was sufficient for them to reassecure their Neutralities which had been violated. They seemed to be very resolute herein: And therefore not any whit relying upon the aforesaid hopes, but fearing lest the Kings men would not only not go out of the Neutral Towns where they yet were, but that they might think of wintering again in those where they had not yet been, they resolved no longer to delay the assembling of their Army. They appointed their Rendezvouz to be upon the banks of the *Rhine* towards *Reinberg*; where all their Forces met not before the beginning of *August*. Their numbers were much more considerable then their conditions: They consisted of 25000 Foot, as it was said, and of 4000 Horse; but most of them new and weak men, under a Generall of but small experience, and under other Commanders who were but weak also, and of little esteem. The first effect of their marching was, that those of *Wesel* would no longer continue in the Catholick religion. We shewed you before, that they fainedly received it; but now encouraged by the neighbouring German forces, and for that the Kings forces were imployed in other parts, they resolved again to inhibit all Catholick rites in that City, and that Heresie should only reign there and the profession thereof, as before. The Apostolick Nuntio of *Colen* was as yet in *Wesel*; who understanding what resolution they had put on, went out of the City, as did also all the Priests and Votaries; which the common people did not forbear to injure, especially some Votaries, whom they seemed most to detest.

The affairs of *Wesel* being returned to their former condition, the German Camp marched, and quartered about *Reinberg*; it being pretended by the Confederates, that that was likewise a Neutral town, and subject to the Empire; and that sundry times, now the Kings men, now the contrary parties had unjustly possessed it. It was not long before fallen into the Kings mens hands, as you then heard; and there was in it a Garrison of German Foot, and some few Walloons. Mutinies were at this time grown so domestick, as every day some of them were seen to arise in one place or other. One of them had hapned a little before in *Reinberg*, where the Garrison took up Arms, and shamefully drove out the Governour of the Town, putting their Elect in his place, with other subordinate Officers. Before the Confederates incamped about it, the two Counts of *Lippa* and *Hollach* had made great offers to the Garrison, to perswade them to put it into their hands; shewing, that they had a community of blood, which did also render the interests of the Nation common between them. But the Garrison though they had failed in their obedience, yet would they not be failing in their faith; wherefore they rejected all offers, and betook themselves manfully to defend the Town. Nor did they come short in their deeds: For the German Camp having sate down before the Town, and besieged it many dayes, they found the Defendants still more stout and resolute in making resistance; wherefore they were at last forced to rise from before it, little to their honour. Count *Lippa* did notwithstanding raise a Fort on the opposite side of the River, and put many men into it, to incommodiate that Town; and intending to besiege it again, if it should be needfull.

From

From *Reinberg* the Camp paſt to *Res*, which was the only Town almoſt that remained to be reſtored to the Duke of *Cleves*, and the Kings party gave continual hopes that it ſhould be ſpeedily reſtored. But the *Germans*, either not believing them, or elſe deſirous to doe ſomwhat with their Arms, reſolved to beſiege it. The United Provinces did ſtill preſs them very much; and ſhewing that they had a great deſire to be intereſſed in their cauſe, they ſent a certain number of Horſe and Foot to Count *Hollach*, to be imployed in their ſervice. Count *Lippa* incamped then before *Res* about the end of *Auguſt*, and beſieged it on all ſides. *Ramiro di Guſman*, a Spaniard, commanded in chief therein, and had with him little more then 80 Souldiers, ſome Spaniards, ſome Germans, ſome Walloons. Juſt over againſt the Town, on the other ſide of the River, there ſtood a Fort to ſecure that Paſs the better; ſo as ſome Souldiers muſt alſo be imployed there. And becauſe the Garriſon was not ſufficient to defend both the Town and Fort, the Governour ſent to the Admiral, deſiring him that he would with all ſpeed ſend him ſome more men. The ſiege being begun, the *Germans* fell to fortifie their quarters where it was moſt behoveſull. The Count *de Lippa* was quartered on the lower part of the River, and Count *Hollach* above. Theſe were the two chief Quarters; and both of them began to open their Trenches. Count *Hollach*, an old Souldier, and one well verſt in ſieges, would have had them have paſt ſome men over the *Rhine*, and ſo at the ſame time to have ſtraitned the Fort, which was poſſeſt by the Kings men on the other contrary ſhore; fearing leſt by that way (as it not long after hapned) the beſieged might receive ſuccour. But were it either through ignorance, or through the emulation of the other Commanders, his advice was not followed. The Trenches were quickly ſo far advanced, as they were not long in falling joyntly to their Batteries. A great Bank ran along the River, to defend the Town and the circumjacent grounds from being thereby overflown. Upon the higheſt part of this Bank, the two Counts cauſed divers Peeces of Artillery to be planted; by which commanding the Town, they began to play upon it furiouſly afar off. Then placing many great Guns nearer hand, they came to a nearer oppugnation: wherein Count *Hollach* being better verſt, all things were better performed on his ſide. He plaid particularly upon the point of a walled Bulwark; and at the ſame time advancing with his Trenches, he was confident he ſhould ſoon be able to make a happy aſſault there. The Garriſon was not this mean while idle, but had endeavoured by frequent ſallies to incommodate the Enemy in divers ſorts. Yet were not the numbers of their Souldiers any wayes anſwerable to their need of defence. Wherefore *Guſman* continually ſollicited the Admiral to ſend him ſome ſuccour: which was ere long done; for 700 choiſe Foot coming at the ſilenteſt time of night to the banks of *Rhine*, where the aforeſaid Fort ſtood, they paſt over the River, and got without any diſturbance into the Town. This increaſe of Forces did ſo increaſe their courage that were within in the Town, as they reſolved to ſally out ſuddenly with good numbers, and to aſſault the Count *de Lippa's* quarter, where there was leſs oppoſition made. The one half of the Garriſon ſallying out in three equal Squadrons, they aſſailed the Enemy on that ſide with ſuch reſolution and valour, as they not being able to reſiſt them, began quickly to give back, and ſoon after to fall into manifeſt diſorder. The more theſe were diſheartened, the more were the others encouraged. So as the firſt blow being ſeconded by another, and the Garriſon continuing ſtill manfully to fall upon them, they made the Enemy forgo many of their Trenches; and coming to their Batteries, they unhorſt ſome of their Peeces, they nail'd up ſome others; and being of neceſſity afterwards to retreat, they carried a Demy-Canon in triumph with them into the Town. In this action about 200 of the Enemy were ſlain, and but very few of the Garriſon. This bad ſucceſs did much augment the diſcords between the German Commanders; one complained of another, but almoſt all of them blamed Count *Lippa*, and the weakneſs of his government. And the confuſion, diſorder, and fear was ſo generally ſpread throughout the whole Army, as no obediance being given, nor diſcipline obſerved, the Commanders were forced two dayes after to raiſe the ſiege. More ſhamefull councel could not have been given; nor could it have been more ſhamefully followed: For the Camp re-

treating without any manner of order, and the Souldiers ſtriving who ſhould get furtheſt from the walls of *Res*, much Baggage was left in their Quarters, many Carriages left in the fields, and ſome Barks loaded with victuals abandoned upon the River. Nor failed the Garriſon to come out upon ſuch an occaſion; but fell upon thoſe that went away laſt, ſlaying many of them, putting many of them to flight, and rendring the Retreat ſtill more baſe, and more confuſed.

The Army having raiſed this their ſiege, came before the City of *Emrick*; but being here ſtill moleſted by the ſouldiers of *Res*, and the diſcords amongſt the Commanders ſtill increaſing, and the complaints amongſt all the reſt, the people began to disband, and afterwards wholly to diſſolve. The United Provinces ſent Count *William* of *Naſſaw*, Governour of *Frieſland* to the German Camp; a very grave and valiant man, and who was full couſin German to Count *Maurice*, that he might endeavour to compound the differences, and to reduce them to ſome better diſcipline: but he could do but little good. So as *Autumn* being already advanced, and great ſtore of rain being fallen, in ſuch ſort as the Army could no longer keep the field about the end of *November*, it of it ſelf did wholly disband: and to compleat their diſorders, a good part thereof didat laſt mutiny for want of monies, as they retired to their own homes: in ſo much as it was requiſite to have an Imperial Proclamation, and likewiſe to uſe force, to extirp that malady which had ſo eaſily taken root every where. The effecting of the promiſed hope was not after omitted by the Kings Party; for the Town of *Res* was put again into the Duke of *Cleves* hands, and whatſoever elſe of his was holden in thoſe parts: and in the other neutral Countries, all things were returned to their former condition. Thus ended the movings of the German Camp; and the effects thereof proved, as it is uſually ſeen in other Leagues, greater in appearance then in reallities: few joyning in the Government of Chieftains, as the Intereſts of Princes are ſeldom alike; and which uſe to laſt as long, as each that is intereſſed, may compaſs, not the ends of others; but their own intents.

Whilſt the aforeſaid affairs were in hand, the Archduke *Albertus* and the Infanta *Iſabella*, having conſummated their marriage in *Spain*, and tarryed ſome months with the King, had at laſt taken their journey to come and enjoy the new Principality of *Flanders*. They Imbarqued at the beginning of *June* in *Barcelona*, in 24 Gallies, commanded by Prince *Doria*; and within a few days arrived ſafely at *Genua*. Coming from thence to *Milan*, they tarryed in that City almoſt all *July*; where they were honoured with an Ambaſſy from the Pope, who to that purpoſe ſent the Cardinal *Piechriſtain*, a German, to them. From thence paſſing the *Alpes* at *Piemont*, and going through *Burgony* and *Lorain*, they entred into the Province of *Lucemburg*; and about the beginning of *September* they came to *Bruſſels*, having firſt ſtaid two days at the Town of *Hall*, which is three hours journey from that City: where at the ſame time Cardinal *Andrea* was; who having given them an account of the affairs of *Flanders*, took his journey preſently towards *Germany*, as his brother, the Marquis of *Burgaut* had done but a little before.

Preparation was had this mean while in *Bruſſels* for the receiving of the new Princes with all ſolemnity; and upon this occaſion there was already an infinite number of Foreigners in the City. They made their entry on the 6 of *September*, which was full of extraordinary pomp and magnificence; as well on the Cities behalf which erected many Triumphant Arches, all richly adorned; and which added thereunto all other demonſtrations of joy; as on the behalf of the new Princes, who came attended by a moſt flouriſhing Court, and who took pleaſure to make it appear ſo that day. Being come into *Bruſſels*, the Archduke began to take the adminiſtration of Government into his hands; the Infanta having thought it fit he ſhould do ſo, though the chiefeſt Prerogatives of the Principality were in her. The firſt buſineſs was to form the reciprocal Oaths, which were in the firſt place to be taken by the new Princes, and by the States of thoſe Provinces which were under them. Nor were the difficulties ſmall which aroſe therein, by reaſon of the wonted jealouſie of Priviledges wherein the Countrey would

would be maintained : But all impediments being removed, the new Princes went about the end of *November* to *Lovain*, which holds the first place of all the Cities of *Brabant*, as that Dukedom does amongst the Provinces of *Flanders*: and here the ceremony of Swearing was performed in such manner as gave best satisfaction to all sides. The like was afterwards done in the neareſt Cities; and the City of *Antwerp* in particular, did receive the new Princes with more splendid and sumptuous demonstrations, then upon the like occasion had been known. The like was done in many other Provinces, where the Archdukes (for so would the new Princes be stiled) thought it fitteſt to shew themselves. And having given and received all possible satisfaction in all places, after having made a large progreſs, they at last returned to *Brussels*, which was to be the ordinary abode of their Court.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK VI.

The Contents.

The new Princes being come to Flanders, *their affairs proceed but ilfavouredly: many of their Souldiers mutiny, and other diſorders happen in their Army. Count* Maurice *fails not to make uſe hereof: He ſurpriſeth* Vachtendonch, *a place of importance in* Ghelderland; *and then by open ſiege takes the Forts of* Crevecoeur *and* St. Andrea. *Some Ambaſſadors from* Cæſar *come to* Bruſſels; *and paſſing afterwards into* Holland, *a Treaty of Agreement is commenced by them between the Archdukes and the Confederate Provinces, but proves at laſt bootleſs. The like endeavours between the King of* Spain's *and the Archdukes Commiſſioners on the one part, and thoſe of the Queen of* England *on the other, proves vain likewiſe. Count* Maurice *marcheth this mean while into the field with great Forces. He enters into the Province of* Flanders, *and incamps before* Newport. *The Archduke goes himſelf in perſon to obviate him. A Battel inſues between the two Camps, and* Maurice *gets the Victory. He returns to beſiege* Newport, *but cannot get it. Wherefore he returns to his quarters: And the next Spring marcheth into the field, beſiegeth* Reinberg, *and takes it. The Archduke reſolves to incamp before* Oſtend. *The ſituation and deſcription thereof. It is begun to be ſtraitned on ſundry ſides. What progreſs is made therein, and what vigorous oppoſition. In this interim Count* Maurice *goes to before* Balduke. *The Archduke relieves*

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the City, and Maurice *retires. The ſiege of* Oſtend *continues, and the Town is bootleſly aſſaulted. A new Treaty of Peace is reaſſumed between the King of* Spain *and the Archdukes on the one ſide, and the Queen of* England *on the other. The Queen dies, nothing being concluded. She is ſucceeded by* James *King of* Scotland.

GReat were the demonſtrations of joy which were ſhewed by the Catholick Provinces upon the coming of the new Princes to *Flanders*. But the adverſe Provinces continuing more then ever in their formerly taken reſolutions, and more then ever confiding both in their own Forces and in thoſe of their Confederates, they omitted not to prepare diligently for war. The year 1600 was already begun, wherein the Archdukes new Principality had but unfortunate ſucceſſes. They were not well come to thoſe Provinces, when their Souldiery in the retiring from the field began to break forth into divers mutinies. The firſt aroſe amongſt the *Spaniards*; who coming in ſmall numbers at firſt into the Village of *Hamont* upon the State of *Liege*, and fortifying it, did ſoon make up a body of 2000 Foot and 800 Horſe. The Garriſons of *Germans* and *Walloons*, who kept the two Forts of *Crevecoeur* and St. *Andrea*, followed this example; and generally the Army in all parts, for their want of Pay, and by being ſo long uſed to this abuſe, was ſo inclined to doe the like, as had not the Commanders particularly minded the danger, it was to be feared the diſorder might have proceeded to a general Mutiny. It was endeavoured to appeaſe the *Spaniards*; and they had the Town of *Diſte* in *Brabant* aſſigned over to them, with ſuch monies as might ſuffice for the preſent, till they might be wholly ſatisfied in point of Pay. So the exceſs proceeded no further on their behalf. But the *Spaniards* were not well gone from *Hamont*, when many *Italians* entred thereinto; who reſolving likewiſe to mutiny, choſe the ſame place: From whence they were afterwards removed to *Verte*, a Town likewiſe in *Brabant*, upon the ſame terms as was firſt agreed upon with the *Spaniards*. The *Italians* might amount to 1600 Foot and 1000 Horſe; but many others of other Nations were mingled with them, as alſo with the *Spaniards*.

Anno 1600.

The Archdukes Forces being thus weakened, the adverſe Provinces failed not to take advantage thereby. The weather was then exceeding cold in *Flanders*, and ſo very ſharp, as not only all ſtanding waters, but even almoſt all running ſtreams were frozen over every where. By the opportunity of this Froſt Count *Maurice* reſolved to endeavour the ſurpriſal of *Vachtendonch*, one of the ſtrongeſt Towns of *Ghelderland*. This Towns greateſt advantage lies in its ſituation; for it is almoſt every where ſurrounded with mariſh grounds, and therefore there is hardly any coming to the walls thereof. *Maurice* having with all ſecreſie aſſembled together all thoſe of the neareſt Garriſons, gave order that unexpectedly by night the aboveſaid ſurpriſal ſhould be endeavoured. The Souldiers found no difficulty in paſſing over thoſe mariſh grounds, for they were then all frozen; And by the ſame conveniencie paſſing over the Ditch, they ſet their ladders againſt the wall. Thoſe within were all aſleep; inſomuch as the Aſſailants being entred before they were diſcovered, poſſeſt themſelves ſuddenly of the Town, and ſoon after with little reſiſtance took the Caſtle. From thence, the rigor of the ice not being well over, Count *Maurice* marched openly againſt the Fort *Crevecoeur*; and ſtraightly beſieging it, he in a ſhort time brought the Mutiniers, who had the defence thereof, to put it into his hands. From thence he went againſt the other great Fort of St. *Andrea*. The ſpeedieſt ſuccour which could there be expected was to come from *Balduke*. Wherefore *Maurice* not content to beſiege the Fort by his Forces, reſolved to drown all the fields thereabonts with water; and to ſecure the higher places ſo, as it ſhould be kept from being ſuccoured on all ſides. The banks of the *Manſe* being therefore cut in ſundry parts, a great ſpace of ground towards *Balduke* was ſoon overflown; and the waters did increaſe ſo much likewiſe towards the Fort, as the Garriſon could not get out on any ſide. On the higheſt ſituations *Maurice* planted divers little Forts where it was moſt needfull,

needfull, and began briskly to infeſt the Town. The Garriſon had mutinied, as we told you before; and it conſiſted of about 1500 Foot, part *Germans*, part *Walloons*, who were under their Head the *Elect*, and under other Captains which they had tumultuouſly choſen, in their places whom, together with the Governour, they had driven out of the Fort when they began firſt to mutiny. They ſhewed at firſt as if they would make an honorable defence; the rather for that they knew that *Velaſco*, Generall of the Artillery, was preparing to come and relieve them with a great ſtrength of men. But *Velaſco* not being able to advance, for that he found the wayes all ſtopt, the Garriſon began to cool. *Maurice* this mean while advanced further and further every day: And yet thinking that Intereſt would prevail more with ſuch men then Force of Arms, he offered to pay unto them all their Arrears, which came to 50000 Crowns, if they would ſurrender the Fort. Nor was he deceived in his opinion. The Mutiniers were at firſt ſomwhat backward in enttrtaining the offer; but afterwards foregoing all ſhamefaſtneſs, and then growing infamous, they at laſt yielded to deliver up the Fort upon the aforeſaid price, or rather to ſell it; and to make the action the more unworthy, they condeſcended to fight under the Enemies Colours.

The Archdukes were very much moved at theſe loſſes, and particularly for that of St. *Andrea*, which had coſt ſo much the building, which bore with it ſo many advantages; and which may be ſaid was loſt, ere fully finiſhed. It was moreover known, that Count *Maurice* made great preparations to come into the Field with powerfull Forces: And the Archdukes having but ſmall hopes ſo ſoon to ſatisfie the Mutiniers, but rather fearing the increaſe of thoſe diſorders, they ſaw their new Principality reduced into ſtraits before they were well warm in it. By reaſon of their being newly come to *Flanders*, the States-Generall of the Obedient Provinces were then met at *Bruſſels*. Which was done, that ſuch an Aſſembly being together in one place, the mutual needs both of Princes and Country might be the better conſidered, and convenient remedies applied thereunto. The greateſt miſchief, and which required the moſt efficacious remedy, was the Mutinies which had happened, and which might happen. Wherefore the Archdukes did very much preſs the Provinces, that by ſome extraordinary quantity of monies they would ſupply the neceſſity of the Army. The Deputies ſeemed to know very well the urgencie thereof, and to be willing that the Country ſhould by their endeavours contribute as much as they could thereunto. But they made it alſo plainly appear, that the Obedient Provinces would be much better pleaſed to come, if it were poſſible, to ſome good and reaſonable Agreement with thoſe which had thrown off their Obedience, then ſtill to ſuffer under the miſeries and calamities of wars. Which whilſt they were diſcourſing of, a good occaſion preſented it ſelf of commencing a Treaty to that purpoſe. And this it was. There were then likewiſe ſome of *Cæſars* Ambaſſadors at *Bruſſels*, the chief of which was *Salentino* Count of *Yſemberg*: The Emperor had ſent them chiefly upon the occaſion of that Novelty which had hapned the year before in the Neutral Countries, with ſtrict command to endeavour by all means poſſible that things ſhould be there reſtored unto, and maintained in their former condition. It was pretended that *Reinberg* did belong unto the Archbiſhoprick of *Colen*; and that the ground whereon *Schinks* Sconce was a little before built by the United Provinces, did depend upon the State of *Cleves*; and that the ſame Provinces had alſo under various pretences poſſeſt themſelves of the Town of *Emrich*, after the Spaniards were gone out of it. This was all the Ambaſſadors chiefeſt Commiſſion. They were alſo in the Emperors name to congratulate the Archdukes for their new Principality, and to ſee whether they could introduce any Treaty of Agreement between them and the United Provinces.

The Ambaſſadors diſcharged their truſt in all the aforeſaid buſineſſes. As concerning the Neutral Countries, the Archdukes excuſed the late exceſſes as much as they could, and aſſured the Ambaſſadors that it ſhould be amended for the time to come; without binding themſelves to any thing concerning the particular of *Reinberg*. For their congratulating their new Principality, they anſwered them

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in terms full of reſpect and honour. And as for their mentioning a Treaty of Agreement between them and the United Provinces, they ſeemed to deſire nothing more then the peace and tranquility of thoſe Countries; affirming that for their part they would never be wanting in contributing their beſt endeavours thereunto.

Having thus declared their Commiſſions firſt to the Archdukes, the Ambaſſadors went afterwards into *Holland*, and there did the like to the Deputies repreſenting the States Generall of the United Provinces. Touching the novelties happened in the Neutral Countries, the Deputies anſwered with all obſequiouſneſs towards the Emperor and Empire, and complained bitterly of the *Spaniards*. As for *Schinks* Sconce, they endeavoured to juſtifie the ſucceſs thereof with divers reaſons: And the Ambaſſadors giving aſſured hopes, that if the United Provinces would reſtore *Emrich*, they would make the Archdukes reſtore *Reinberg*, the Deputies promiſed that that Town ſhould be reſtored, as it ſoon after was. In the point of the Treaty of Agreement, the Ambaſſadors found great reluctancie in the Deputies, who ſaid, That the United Provinces would never confide in the *Spaniards*; that therefore they would not enter into any Treaty with them; and that the Archdukes, by the form of their new Principality, did wholly depend upon the King of *Spain*. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the Ambaſſadors did ſo work it, as at laſt the United Provinces gave way that their Deputies ſhould meet with thoſe of the obedient Provinces, to make if it were poſſible ſome good agreement between both ſides; and the Convention was agreed upon to be at *Berghen-ap-Zome*, a Town belonging to the United Provinces, and but a ſhort dayes journey from *Antwerp*. Thus was this Conference occaſioned by the means of theſe Ambaſſadors; though no good came thereof, it being broken almoſt as ſoon as begun, as ſhall be related in its proper place. About the ſame time almoſt, another Negotiation was put in hand to bring the affairs to ſome good correſpondencie between the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes on the one ſide, and the Queen of *England* on the other. Cardinal *Andrea* had laid ſome ground-works hereof whilſt he had yet the Government of *Flanders*. Nor did the Queen ſhew herſelf averſe thereunto. When the Archdukes were come to *Bruſſels*, they took occaſion to continue the friendly offices begun by the Cardinal; and the Queen did the like with them. Wherefore theſe demonſtrations proceeding from both ſides, by letters, and particular perſonages, it was believed that the Treaty might hold on, and that they might come to ſome good agreement. Not long after, the Town of *Boloign* in *France*, which lies upon the Engliſh Channel, was choſen for this end. Where about the beginning of *May*, *Baltazar de Ziniga*, who was Ambaſſador for the Spaniſh King in the Court of *Flanders*, and *Fernando Cariglio*, came in behalf of the King of *Spain*; and with them the Preſident *Richardotto*, and the Audienciarie *Verrechin* on the Archdukes part: And on the behalf of the Queen of *England*, Sir *Henry Nevil*, who was her Ambaſſador at that time with the King of *France*, Sir *John Herbert*, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*. But all theſe being met in *Boloign*, ſuch difficulties aroſe in point of precedencie between the Spaniſh and the Engliſh Agents, as it was not poſſible to reconcile them: wherefore they came not to any agreement at all; but departing almoſt as ſoon as they were met, the Negotiation was put off to a better conjuncture of time.

Count *Maurice* was by this time ready to march into the field. It was thought he would go againſt the peculiar Province of *Flanders*; for he imbarqued his men in the maritime Gulfs which were neareſt that Province; and therefore it was judged that his principal deſigns tended thitherward. Nor was it ill imagined: For about the midſt of *June* he landed all his Army about the Fort *Saſſo*, which conſiſted (as it was commonly ſaid) of 15000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe. Divers Rivers run through *Gaunt*, which is the chiefeſt City of the Province of *Flanders*; one of them ſtreams out in a large Channel, which falls into the neareſt maritime Gulf to that City, and which afterwards joyns with the reſt which doe incompaſs the Iſlands of *Zealand*. Here ſtands the Fort called *Saſſo* of *Gaunt*, as not being above five leagues from that City. This Fort was very carefully guarded by a Spaniſh Garriſon, eſpecially for the ſecuring of ſome Sluces by which

which the water of the aforesaid Channel might either be raised or let down, and drown all the fields thereabouts. Neer this Fort upon the brink of the same Gulf, two lesser Forts were placed. *Maurice* assaulted these, and easily taking them, it was thought he would have assaulted the great Fort of *Sasso*; but he fearing he should be entertained there longer then he could be dispenced withal by his other greater designs, he went from thence and marched with all his Army towards *Bruges*, and past almost by the Gates thereof. It was thought, that having many in that City who sided with him, he hoped that upon occasion of his being so near the Town, they might occasion some tumult which might happen for his advantage. But failing of his expectation, he pursued his march, with evident signs that he would lay siege to *Newport*, a Town near the Sea, and not far from *Ostend*. At the same time as he march by land, those many ships waited on him by sea, which served to land his Army in the Province of *Flanders*. When he was entred into *Ostend*, he publickly declared his resolution of besieging *Newport*. The Archdukes had divers Forts to withstand the excursions which were made by the souldiers of *Ostend*; and in particular three, called St. *Albertus*, *Snaeschereh*, and *Bredene*; and there was another between *Ostend* and *Bruges*, upon the pass of a river in a place called *Audemberg*. *Maurice* turn'd first upon these Forts, which were but weakly garrisoned and munited; and meeting but with little resistance, possessed himself speedily of them all. He thought that the Catholick amp would not adventure to relieve *Newport*, unless they had first recovered those Forts, and that if they should not recover them all the sooner, he might the mean while take the Town, which was neither very great, nor very strong, nor sufficiently provided of men, nor of other things requisite to make defence. With this design and these hopes he drew near to *Newport*, and being still followed by his Maritime Train, by means whereof his Army might continually be largely furnished with whatsoever he wanted; he began to straighten the Town both by sea and land. *Newport* doth not stand fully upon the sea-shore, but very neer it: on the one part thereof there runs a little River; which though it be but of a mean Channel, yet where it fals into the sea, makes a considerable haven, and especially at high tydes.

Upon the first news of Count *Maurice* his being moved, and of his Armies being landed in the Province of *Flanders*, the Arch-Dukes went presently from *Brussels* to *Gaunt*, the better by their presence to secure both that City, and the other Towns of that Province. Where mustering as many men, with all diligence, as they could assemble together, they made them all come into the same Province, that they might make use of them against the Enemy, and oppose all their designs. A good part of their men had mutinied, as you have heard, and therefore they could not make so great a Body, nor so vigorous Forces, as so weighty an occasion did require. The Spanish mutineers, who as you have heard, were in *Diste* were contented to come unto the Army with 800 Foot, and 600 Horse, provided they might serve under their own Commanders and Officers. It was impossible to bring the Italian mutineers at *Hamont* to this, because they were not yet wholly agreed, nor gone to *Verte*, as you heard before they were to do. By reason of these mutinies, and for that the Arch-Dukes souldiers did still diminish, they could not assemble on their sides above 12000 Foot, and 1200 Horse. These came marcing apace, and before the Arch-Duke's was come to *Gaunt*, *Velasco* General of the Artillery was already march'd forwards towards *Bruges* with 3000 Foot, and 300 Horse: the rest followed under the two other chief Commanders, The Admiral of *Aragon*, General of the Horse, & Count *Frederick de Berg*, who supplyed the place of Camp-master General, in lieu of Count *Mansfield*, who by reason of his great age could no longer exercise that place in his own person. The Army was made up of Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Walloons, together with some Burgonians, and Irish. The way by which they marched led them close by the walls of *Gaunt*, which the Arch-Dukes were well pleased withal, that they themselves might appear in Person, whereby the more to encourage the souldiery upon this so great Emergency. They therefore went out into the field, and the Infanta getting on horse-back, and followed by all her Court on horse-back likewise, she presented her self before the colours

where

where in particular the Spaniſh mutineers were. She was endowed with a Princely aſpect and maſculine valors, and being ſo long bred up amidſt the chiefeſt negotiations of the world, in the School of ſuch a father, ſhe was very knowing therein, and capable thereof. Suffering her ſelf firſt to be fully ſeen, and the Army being much joyed with her preſence, ſhe by her weighty and ſprightly words, did yet more enharten them againſt the Enemy. Saying,

There were never any ſouldiers who fought in the defence of a more juſt cauſe. That many of them had been in Flanders, *from the very firſt beginning of the war; and therefore knew how oft by all convenient waies the King her father had endeavoured to reduce the Rebels to their due obedience. That now they had peculiar Princes of their own, ſeparated from the Crown of* Spain, *according to their ancient deſire, and were notwithſtanding ſtill more obſtinate then ever in their Rebellion. That they warred likewiſe againſt God more then againſt their Soveraigns, having oppoſed from the beginning and ſtill continuing to oppoſe Hereſie to the Catholick Religion. That therefore neither ſhe nor the Arch-Duke could any waies doubt, but that the ſouldiers of that Army, who were all of them ſo Catholick, ſo valiant, and ſo Loyal, would ſhew themſelves to be the ſame men in the preſent occaſion, as they had alwaies been formerly; That to boot, with the certain reward that their ſervice, which they ſhould do to God, bore with it, they might alſo aſſure themſelves to be rewarded by the Arch-Duke, by her, and by the King her Brother, with whom their cauſe went joyntly hand in hand. That they ſhould not doubt of pay. For monies were expected from* Spain, *and ſome large ſums were hoped for from the obedient Provinces of Flanders. But that if all other waies ſhould be wanting, ſhe would make uſe of her own Jewels to that purpoſe, and of the very Plate ſhe uſed for her own ſervice.*

Theſe words were received by the Army with incredible applauſe; each ſouldier ſtriving who ſhould ſhew himſelf moſt ready to dye for the Infanta with his ſword in his hand, and eſpecially upon this occurrency. Nor was the Arch-Duke wanting in adding what he thought fitting, to continue the ſouldiers the more in their preſent good diſpoſition; declaring at laſt that he would be there himſelf in perſon, andrun the ſame fortune with them.

The Army being marched on, the Arch-Duke went likewiſe from *Gaunt*, and about the end of *June* came to *Bruges*; where the whole Army was muſtered. The firſt counſel they took was to regain the Forts which were faln into the Enemies hands: in conſequence whereunto, that of *Audemburg* was ſuddenly ſet upon with ſuch reſolution, as the defendants either for want of Forces, or want of courage, did immediately ſurrender it: From thence the Catholicks went, and with equal violence aſſaulted the other of *Sneaſcherch*; and being withſtood by thoſe within, the Fort was ſoon ſtormed, and all the Garriſon put to the ſword. By this example the Enemies did of themſelves forgo the Forr of *Bredene*. From hence without any delay the Army marched towards the Fort St. *Alberto*, which was the greateſt and beſt provided; and marched towards the Enemies Camp,. Count *Maurice* did then ſend 2000 Foot, the moſt of which were Scots, with ſome Troops of Horſe commanded by Count *Erneſtus* of *Naſſaw*, to poſſeſs themſelves of a Paſs, wherein he thought to entertain the Catholick Camp longer, thinking that it would not ſo ſoon advance towards his Army. Theſe ſouldiers of the Enemy gave at unawares upon the Catholicks, who finding themſelves ſo much ſuperiour in numbers, and with ſuch advantage of freſh ſucceſs, ſoon routed the Adverſary, and made a bloody ſlaughter amongſt them. This happened on the ſecond of *July* in the morning, and they had yet a conſiderable way to march, before they could come up to the Enemies Camp, to aſſault it Wherefore the Arch-Duke deſired to know what his Councel of war thought fitteſt to be done. *Velaſco*, the General of the Artillery was ſo far behinde with above 3000 Foot, as he could not come up time enough to the reſt of the Army, when the Arch-Duke would notwithſtanding have marched ſpeedily to the Enemy. Who were likewiſe leſſened in their numbers, by reaſon of the late loſs of the Scots, by reaſon of thoſe that were either loſt or left in the Forts, & for that *Maurice* at his coming to *Oſtend* had added to the former Gariſon thereof. When the Archdukes Councel of war came to ſpeak their opinions it was variouſly diſputed. Amongſt the Spaniſh Commanders, Camp-maſter

Gasper Zapena was particularly well esteemed of for his valour, and for his long experience, which notwithstanding made him always rather imbrace cautious then hazardous resolutions. He was clean against falling violently upon the Enemy then. He considered,

That they were to make above an houre and a halfs march before they could come to where they were; that the Catholicks would come thither after their journey, and their that mornings fight. And what military Maxim (said he) is it, that doth teach to fall with blind resolution upon an Enemies Camp, without having first well known what it is? and when so considerable a number being behind, the Catholicks would come short of them in numbers?

Then turning more freely towards the Archduke, he said,

Most mighty Prince! Your Highness in my opinion hath a glorious Victory safe in your hands, if you will be carefull in the carriage thereof. Doth not your Highness apprehend Count Maurice *his rashness? He is come, firmly believing that he should take* Newport *before it could be succour'd; and did confide more then became him to doe in the Forts which he had taken, and which were afterwards so easily lost again. Now when he shall see himself faced by our Army, he must of necessity think of retreating; which must be done either by land, or by sea. He hath no place whither to have refuge by land, but* Ostend; *and if he retreat by sea, he must of necessity reimbarque his men, together with all his Artillery, munition and baggage which were formerly landed. Let our Army then halt between the Towns of* Newport *and* Ostend; *so as* Maurice *shall not be able to get by land to the latter. He will then be inforced to retreat by sea: which if he doe, how great will his disorder in imbarking be? and how great opportunity shall we then have to assault the Enemy with all advantage? to rout, and to disperse them?*

This opinion was grounded upon very sound reasons. But *Claudio Barlotta*, the antient Walloon Campmaster, a lover of hazardous enterprises, and who ofttimes degenerated from audacity to rashness, did with such vehemencie oppose it, as he drew most of the other Commanders to side with him. He said,

That it was too great an error to let slip so fair an occasion of assaulting the Enemy; that it was to be believed they had already received a great blow, both by the loss of the Forts which they before had got, and much by their loss of so many men that very morning. That they did not expect so furious a tempest: wherefore it was to be believed, that possest with fear and confusion, they would in all haste imbarque themselves, and rather think of flying away, then of fighting. That he did therefore earnestly press, that the Army might be speedily led on to pursue their begun victories: That of all others, the Mutiniers were impatient of delay; and of what advantage was it upon such an occasion to make use of the Souldiers forwardness? That some of the Catholicks were behind; but that it was very well known the Enemy was likewise very much lessened in their numbers; nor was it numbers, but valour that gave the victory: That this victory might be built upon for certain, if they would march immediately towards the Enemy, and fall upon them. And what doubt was there to be made of it? since the Souldiers were to fight under the command, and in the eye-sight of their own Prince, who would likewise be their Captain-Generall? and to detain the Army in so fair a course, would it not be totally to discourage the Souldiery? would it not be to bereave them of certain hopes, and to feed them with more uncertain? For if time were allowed unto the Enemy, they would peradventure provide so for their retreat, as the success of victory might prove as doubtfull, as it might now be thought certain.

The Souldiers ardencie to fight was really very great, and chiefly the fervor of the Mutiniers; who stormed, saying, that they had not left their Companions to stand idly now before the Enemies; and they did very much press to fall immediately upon them. The Archduke notwithstanding did stand somewhat in suspence between these two Opinions; when a Chance made him resolve to march immediately against the Enemies Camp. Fortune hath always a great stroke in all humane affairs here below: But in the concernments of war she does almost what she pleaseth; and ofttimes by unexpected accidents causeth losses to insue, where victory was expected. The Army marched upon the Sea-shore; and it so fell out, that just as the Archduke was to put on his resolution, a great many of the

the Enemies ſhips were deſcried, which upon ſeveral occurrences came from *Newport* towards *Oſtend*. The Catholick Camp did then verily believe that the enemy was reſolved to retreat, and that this was already the beginning of it. Wherefore being now more incouraged then before, they purſued their march, each ſouldier with all fervor ſolliciting one another. There remained yet four hours of day when the Catholicks came within ſight of the enemies Camp; 6. o horſe marched foremoſt in the van, and then the foot followed, devided into two great Battalions; each of which was confuſedly mixed of all Nations; the reſt of the horſe took their place in each of them where it was fitteſt. And the Spaniſh mutiners, both horſe and foot, that they might ſignalize themſelves the more upon this occaſion, had obtained to march in the head of the Army.

Count *Maurice* was not this mean while idle. At the firſt news that the Enemy came to aſſault him he called a Councel of war, where it was reſolved that they would manfully joyn battel. They thought that to retreat by imbarking themſeves, would not onely appear baſe and unworthy, but that it might likewiſe prove dangerous. That the Catholicks would come weary, whereas their men were in good plight and vigor. That the Catholicks were fewer in number then they, and that their men were not to yeild in goodneſs to the Catholicks. That the mean while they might make choiſe of the moſt advantagious place to fight in; and out of ſo many reaſons have aſſured hopes of victory. This being reſolved upon, *Maurice* roſe with all his men from before *Newport*, and drew as far from thence as was needful, to keep unmoleſted by that Garriſon, whilſt he ſhould fight the Catholicks; and that he might the more incourage his men, by leading them to encounter with thoſe of the Arckduke's. Then ſtaying in an oppertune place, he was very diligent in fitting his Army for the battel. And that he might neceſſitate them the more to fight, he gave order that all the ſhips ſhould ſtand off at ſea, that there might be no hope of ſafety that way. His camp conſiſted likewiſe of divers Nations, furniſhed with gallant Commanders, and long accuſtomed to the wars of *Flanders*, to boot, with the Flemiſh, which conſiſted chiefly of Frieſlanders, and men of *Ghelderland*; there were in the Army of the united Provinces a great number of French, Engliſh, and Scots, and there were then alſo ſome Foot of Switzers amongſt them. Colonel Sir *Francis Vere*, an old Souldier of known valour, and of whoſe Military actions you may have often heard in this our Story, Commanded all the Engliſh foot. But Count *Maurice*, willing to encourage his Army to battel, before he compoſed his ſquadrons, advanced before them, and ſaid thus,

I ingeniouſly confeſs, my fellow ſouldiers, that I am deceived in the hopes I had when I firſt undertook this ſiege; I hoped that the Paſſes and Forts which we had taken, would have ſo long entertained the Enemy, till the Town being, as we know, but ill provided, might have faln into our hands. The Fortune of War alters the condition of affairs in a moment, and ſo ſhe hath dealt with us upon this occaſion. But we ought to thank her for it, becauſe that ſuddenly altring the face of affairs, ſhe hath proved more favourable to us, when it was to be feared ſhe might have proved more averſe. And truly, if the Arch-Duke, weighing affairs better on his behalf, had made his Army ſtay betwixt Newport *and* Oſtend, *in what ſtraits ſhould we now be? All hereabouts, unleſs it be* Oſtend, *is the Enemies Country; we ſhould not have been able to have got thither. And then being enforced to have retreated by Sea, with how much advantage might the Enemy have aſſaulted us? Clean contrary, the advantages will now lie wholly on our ſide. They come wearied with marching, ſhort in numbers, blinde with rage, and with the very fury of mutineers. Did they peradventure, after this mornings tumultuous action, think that we either buried in ſleep, or born away by fear, would either not have taken up Arms at all, or elſe have thrown them away without any waies diſputing the buſineſs? Will this be the firſt time that our Forces ſhall have beaten theirs? Nay I hope this ſhall prove the moſt noble victory that we ever got of them. Our men are as good as theirs: we exceed them in numbers; and we will take the moſt advantagious place to fight upon. But ſtill our greateſt advantage muſt lye in our Arms and courage. I for my part will be in all places and from this time forward I declare my ſelf unworthy the prerogatives of a Commander, if upon this occaſion I be not equally forward in all danger with*

every common Souldier. And that there may be no escaping out of the Battel, I have given order that all the ships stand off at Sea far from the shore. That I might make the Victory certain, I have chosen to adde despaire to hope. In fine, my Souldiers, we must this time either overcome, or die with our swords in our hands.

This discourse was received by the Army with joyfull acclamations, and all readiness to fight was shewn. Then *Maurice* gave out his Orders. He assigned the Van to Colonel Sir *Francis Vere*, the Battel to Count *Solme*, and the Rear to Monsieur *de Temple*; mixing together the Souldiers of all the several Nations. He disposed of the Horse, (of which Count *Lodovick de Nassaw* was Generall) some on the Front, and some on the Flanks; and kept no particular place for himself, resolving to be at his liberty of transferring himself wheresoever the greatest need should require. He had with him his brother *Henry*, a Youth of 16 years of age, and the Duke of *Alsatia*, the Prince of *Henault*, and Count *Coligni*, Grandchild to the late Admiral of *France*; together with divers other young Gentlemen of great quality, who were come a little before from the Heretick ountries into *Flanders* to be trained up under him in the exercise of Arms, would keep near his person.

The Armies met upon the Sea-shore. From thence more towards the Land appears great Hills of Sand; which seem to be on purpose placed by Nature, to keep the Land from being swallowed up in those low situations by the Seas when they are most tempestuous. Those little Mountains of Sand lie all along the Coast of *Flanders*, and are called Downs. The Sand is there moveable, and is easily raised by the wind, which makes them the more troublesom to be dealt with. The Tide began to flow when the Armies marched: wherefore they were forced still to draw towards the Downs; and in fine the Main Battel must be given there. To boot with the Catholicks being wearied and fewer in number, the Sun was then going towards the West, on which side the Enemies Camp was; and therefore his beams gave upon the Catholicks faces, which were on the East side. It was in *July*, and the hotteſt hours had very much inflam'd the sands; and there was then likewise a little wind stirring, which raising the sand, did much more incommodiate the Catholicks Camp, then it did their Enemies. Count *Maurice* placed some Peeces of Artillery between the Downs and the Sea-shore, where the high Tide had left way, for his better advantage on that part. He possest himself of the highest parts of the Downs, where on one of the most advantagious sides he likewise placed some Peeces of Artillery. And having all these advantages, expected that the Enemy should come and assault him. Nor were the Catholicks long in coming. The Archduke in few words endeavoured still to encourage them to the conflict.

He put them in mind of their former victories; of the service they did to God, to the Infanta, to himself, and to the King of Spain. *And that as he himself would be an eye-witness of their this dayes behaviour, they might with more security expect to be largely recompenced.*

The Mutiniers Horse gave the first assault; who led by the Admiral through that passage which remained then betwixt the Downs and the Sea, met with a fierce encounter, and were quickly very much indammaged by the Enemies Artillery placed with the aforesaid advantage. At the same time almost did the Foot fall on on both sides, upon the Downs; betwixt whom happened one of the fiercest fights that hath any time been known. The Spanish Mutiniers were on foot in the Front of the first Catholick Battalion; who together with the rest gave miraculous testimony of their valour: And the Enemies Van began already manifestly to give ground; for Sir *Francis Vere* who commanded them being wounded, and many of their first Ranks slain, the rest observed orders no longer. But new Souldiers of the Battel coming in to reinforce the Van, the latter was sustained by the former, and the fight continued more hot then before. Their Muskets and other Fire-weapons being discharged, they came to closer fight; to the push of Pike, and managing of their swords. Various, but equally fierce were the instigations on each side. They fought out of Honour, and out of Hatred; as if what for hope, what for despair, they had been mad. Each side

hoped

hoped to overcome; and as if they had despaired at the same time, they would rather die then be vanquished. You might therefore see the Squadrons of each side to billow up and down like waves, sometimes advancing, sometimes giving back; the place whereon they fought being full of dead and wounded men, and the fighters full of sweat, blood, and fierceness. And by this time all the Forces of both sides were joyned in Battel. But the disadvantage on the Catholicks behalf was too great: Tired men fought against those that were fresh; and the excessive heat of the sand made them more sensible of their weariness; they suffered likewise more by the dust, and by the sun. Yet did they valiantly make good their party: when the Catholick Horse being oft-times disordered, and oft times rallied again, were at last wholly routed; and as they turned back, fell foul upon their own Foot, and disordered them also; which gave so great advantage to the Enemy, as it totally secured the victory to them. Amongst the Enemies Horse, there were some Troops of French Curasiers who gave particular proof of their valour that day: And questionless the Enemies Horse were so much the more in number, as the Foot being sundry times thereby invigored, which was likewise more numerous then that of the Catholicks, they also had the better of the battel. The Arrchduke by being present every where, was not wanting in playing the part which upon such an occasion became a generous Prince and Commander; thrusting himself sundry times into where the fight was hottest, he exposed himself to apparent danger of death: Nor did he this without the loss of blood; for wearing no helmet, to the end that he might be the better known, he was struck with a Halbert on the head towards the right ear; but the blow was given so at random, as it did him but little harm. The Archduke being by reason of his wound retired, it was noised abroad amongst his men, that he was not only wounded, but taken. The Enemy had already taken the Admiral prisoner; slain, taken or wounded almost all the Campmasters, Captains, and other most considerable Souldiers of the Catholicks Army. Insomuch as the rest, discouraged through so many great losses, threw away their Arms confusedly here and there, and seeking to save themselves by flight, yielded the final victory to the Enemy.

The number of the slain in Battels is always uncertain; but at this time it was most uncertain: For many thought it was equal on both sides; and many, that the Catholicks lost many more men. It was certain, that the best and valianteſt amongst them were found missing. Besides the Admiral, two of the Spanish Campmasters, *Gasper Zappena*, and *Luis de Vigliar*, were taken prisoners; the first whereof was so sorely wounded, as he soon dyed. The Campmaster *Bastock*, an Irish-man, was slain in the battel. *Roderigo Sasso*, Captain of the Archdukes Horse-guard, was wounded to death; so likewise was the Italian Campmaster *Avolas*. Count *Bucquoi* and *Barlotte*, both of them Walloon Campmasters, were more slightly wounded. And in fine, all the Catholick Officers, as well greater or lesser, were either slain wounded, or taken. They lost above a hundred Colours, together with all their Artillery, Baggage and Ammunition; and the common report was, that above 3000 of each Army were slain in the battel. Amongst divers Italian Nobles, *Alexander* and *Cornelius Bentivoglio* dyed in the first ranks, and when the battel was at the hottest; the one of them was our Brother, the other our Nephew; both of them being young men about 20 years of age, who were come a little before into *Flanders*. There were slain of the Enemy, to boot with the ordinary Souldiers, above 30 Captains, and a good number of Under-Officers. They fought certainly upon great advantage; and Count *Maurice* knew very judiciously how to make use of it; and in all things else proved himself to be a good Souldier, and a gallant Commander; and by that dayes action he either caused, or continued the opinion, that if he were good at Sieges, he was no less good at Battels. This Battel lasted the space of three hours; and the Catholicks being fled, many councelled Count *Maurice* to pursue them: but because night came on, and much blood was spent, and for that his side likewise had laboured hard, he thought it sufficient to have prevailed thus far, without attempting other advantages, which might have proved uncertain. The Archduke retiring that very night to *Bruges*, went soon after to *Gaunt*, where the

Infanta

Infanta was; who welcomed him with a manlike ſpirit, as ſhe had likewiſe done the various reports that he was either ſlain, wounded, or taken. He came accompanied by the Duke *d'Anmale*, who was likewiſe ſlightly wounded, and but by few other people of quality; for all the chief Lords of the Country were then at *Bruſſels*, by reaſon of the States-Generall which as yet continued, being deſired ſo to doe by the Archdukes themſelves, that by their preſence and authority they might facilitate ſuch reſolutions as were to be taken.

This is the ſo famous Battel of *Newport*, or of the *Downs*, for it is equally called by thoſe two names: wherein according to the uſual ſports of Fortune, that Army was overcome, which thought it ſelf ſure of the victory. From *Gaunt* the Archduke returned ſuddenly again to *Bruges*; where having rallied the Souldiers that were diſperſed here and there after the Battel, he gave order that they ſhould joyn with thoſe that were under *Velaſco* Generall of the Artillery, who had not been at the Conflict, and that they ſhould all of them draw down near *Newport*. To this purpoſe *Velaſco* marched to *Dixmuda*, a good Town within three hours march of *Newport*: This was done with ſuch diligence, as *Velaſco* was able to reinforce *Newport* with men, and to furniſh it likewiſe ſo with all things elſe, as there might be no fear of loſing it. This mean while Count *Maurice*, after he had got the Victory, had reſolved to reaſſume the Siege, and began already to open the Trenches on one ſide; but underſtanding that *Velaſco* was thereabouts, and that the Town was well provided, he would not ingage himſelf any further therein; conſidering how much his Army was diminiſhed by the Fight, and the new difficulties which he might meet withall, in caſe he ſhould be inforced to retreat. He therefore raiſed his Camp from before *Newport*, and with all his Naval preparation paſt to *Oſtend*. We told you before, that to keep the Enemies of that Town from making excurſions, the Archdukes had divers Forts about it, to boot with thoſe which were a little before loſt, and again recovered; and amongſt the reſt, one which was called *Sancta Catherina*, and which was well garriſon'd and munited. *Maurice*, before he left *Oſtend*, would try whether or no he could make himſelf maſter of that Fort, and began to begirt it: But Campmaſter *Barlotte* being ſent by the Archduke to relieve it, and Count *Frederick de Berg* coming in afterwards to the ſame intent, the Fort was ſo ſecured, as *Maurice* was forced to quit the enterpriſe. Yet there happened a loſs which the Archduke was much diſpleaſed at; which was, that as *Barlotte* was advancing from a certain place againſt the Enemy, he was ſhot into the head by a Musket, and preſently knockt down dead. In him certainly the Catholick Army loſt a Souldier exceeding forward in execution; though it may be ſaid, that throwing himſelf too oft into dangers, he had delayed his death therein too long. Count *Maurice*, loſing all hopes of making any further acquiſition in the Province of *Flanders*, went quite away from thence, and returned with all his men from *Oſtend* by Sea, into *Holland* and the adjacent parts; not reaping almoſt any advantage by ſo noble a Victory, ſave only the cry'd up glory of having ſo happily atchieved it.

In this interim, about the end of *July*, the Deputies of the Obedient Provinces were met with thoſe of the United, to come to ſome Treaty of Agreement, as it was touched upon before. But as we then told you, the Aſſembly was hardly well met, when it was diſſolved: For the Propoſals of the ſeveral ſides were ſo far differing, as it was thought impoſſible to find any way of adjuſting them. The Deputies of the United Provinces perſiſted in their former opinions in matters of Religion, Liberty, and deteſtation of the Archdukes their new Principality; and were the more reſolute therein, by reaſon of the advantages which the laſt Victory, and their other preceding ſucceſſes had brought to their affairs. Whereupon the Catholick Deputies departed very ill ſatisfied from the Aſſembly; and the Obedient Provinces ſhewed themſelves preſently ready to aſſiſt their Princes with large Contributions; that ſince the others would not come to any Treaty of Peace, the War might be the more vigorouſly maintained on the Catholicks behalf. Nor did any thing elſe of conſiderable happen on either ſide, that Year.

The Year 1601. being begun, the Archduke, who together with the Infanta was returned to *Bruſſels*, gave order for the raiſing of new men in *Germany*, and in the *Walloons* Country; and in *Spain* they reſolved to ſend a Brigado of Spaniſh Foot, and three others of Italians. Neither did the United Provinces uſe leſs diligence in their providing to come ſtrong into the field that new year; and they were ſpeedier in their proceedings. For as ſoon as the ſeaſon of drawing into the field came, Count *Maurice* failed not to muſter his Army. He made the Rendezvouz near to *Schincks* Sconce; and ſeeming to threaten *Balduke*, he turned upon *Reinberg*, and about the beginning of *June* incamped before it. He began from the oppoſite ſide of the *Rhine* to batter a little Fort, ſeated in the Iſland, whereof you have formerly heard, and eaſily took it: Then begirting the Town round about, and having firſt well fortified himſelf on the outward ſide, to keep off ſuccours, he began his Trenches. The Archduke was not yet in a condition of coming into the field; wherefore he was troubled at this news, and at the difficulties he ſhould meet withall in relieving the Town. He notwithſtanding commanded Count *Herman di Berge*, who was Governour of that part of *Ghelderland* which was yet under the Archdukes, that he ſhould endeavour to convey ſome men into the Town, and to doe what elſe was requiſite. But diverſion was judged the beſt remedy for ſecuring of *Reinberg*; and that of *Oſtend* was thought the moſt important. The Province of *Flanders* did greatly deſire (as it hath been often ſaid) that that place might be taken from the Enemy, by reaſon of the great prejudice it was to all the parts thereabouts; for they muſt either be ſubject to excurſions, or elſe muſt pay great contributions to be free of them. The ſame Province, by contributing monies much more largely to the Archdukes then all the other obedient ones, had renewed with all eagerneſs their former deſires of getting *Oſtend*, offering what further aſſiſtance they could therein. The Archduke applyed himſelf therefore to this diverſion: And parting from *Bruſſels*, came to *Bruges*; and about the end of *July* he himſelf began to ſtraiten *Oſtend*. This mean while the people which were expected from *Spain* and *Italy* were come to *Flanders*. The Campmaſter *John de Bracamonte* commanded the Spaniſh Brigado: And the Italian Brigadoes, were one of them *Lombards*, under Count *Theodore Trivulſio*; and the other two *Neapolitans*, under the Marquis *di Bella*, and *John Tomaſo Spina*. The Archduke commanded *Bracamonte*, that he ſhould come with his Brigado, & joyn with the Army which was incamped before *Oſtend*; and that the reſt of the new come *Italians* ſhould joyn as ſoon as they could with Count *Hermans* men, that if it were poſſible, they might ſpeedily relieve *Reinberg*. But neither did this new ſuccour doe any good; nor did the diverſion againſt *Oſtend* keep *Reinberg* from being taken. For upon Count *Hermans* march, Count *Maurice* had ſo fortified himſelf without, as there was no hope left for the Town. *Luigi Bernardo d'Avila*, a Spaniard, was Governour thereof: He had in it a Garriſon of 1200 Foot, and 100 Horſe; and from the beginning endeavoured as much as in him lay, by many ſtout ſallies to keep the Enemy from the Ditch. Which when they had got, thoſe within did for a while valiantly defend the breach which was made. But the terror of Mines, whereof ſome one was every day made to play by thoſe without, ſucceeding the Batteries, and eſpecially there being no hope of ſuccour; upon the laſt of *July*, the Town was ſurrendred up to Count *Maurice* upon honorable terms. *Anno* 1601.

We will now come to the Siege of *Oſtend*: which being one of the moſt memorable of this our Age, doth certainly challenge, that as much brevity and diligence as may be being joyned together, it be duly conſidered and repreſented with all clearneſs. It was above three years before it was brought to an end; and it was almoſt as uncertain at the laſt day as at the firſt, to which ſide the victory did incline. The beſieged never wanted freſh ſuccours by ſea, nor did the beſiegers at any time ceaſe advancing by land. Infinite were the Batteries, the Aſſaults infinite; ſo many were the Mines, and ſo obſtinate the Countermines, as it may be almoſt affirmed as much work was done under ground, as above ground. New names were to be found for new Engines. There was a perpetual diſpute between the Sea and Land: The works on the latter could not operate ſo much, as the ruines made by the former did deſtroy. Great ſtore of blood ran every

every where, and men were readier to loſe it, then to preſerve it; till ſuch time as the beſieged wanting ground, and rather what to defend, then defence, they were at laſt forced to forgo that little ſpot of ground which was left them, and to yeild. In as many other memorable ſieges as are contained in this Hiſtory, we have endeavoured alwaies to give the continued deſcription thereof; that laying the daily ſucceſs thereof before your eyes, they might be the more fully and clearly conceived: But it is impoſſible to do ſo in this ſiege of *Oſtend*; for continuing ſo long as it did, we ſhall be forced often to divert the Narrative thereof to other important ſucceſſes which cannot waite the end of this.

Oſtend ſtands upon the ſea ſhore, and in the midſt of a mariſh ground, and of divers Channels, which comes from the continent: but it is chiefly environed almoſt on all ſides by two of the greateſt of them, by which the ſea enters into the land, and grows ſo high when it is full ſea, as you would rather think the Town were buried, then ſituated in the ſea. In former times it was an open place, and ſerved rather for a habitation for ſhepheards, then for ſouldiers. But the importancy of the ſeat being afterwards conſidered, the houſes were incloſed with a Platform, inſtead of a wall, and from time to time the Line was ſo Flank round about it, as it proved to be one of the ſtrongeſt Towns of all the Province of *Flanders*. It is divided into two parts, which are called the old-Town and the new. The former which is the leſſer, ſtands towards the ſea; the latter and greater lyes towards the land. The old-Town is fenced from the fury of the ſea by great piles of wood driven into the ground, and joyned together for the defence of that part, and there the waves ſufficiently ſupply the part of a ditch. The Channel may be ſaid to do the like on the ſides, and eſpecially at full ſea, of Channels they become Havens, being then capable of any kinde of veſſel, and by them at all times the middle ſiſe of Barks enter into the ditches, and from the ditches in divers parts into the Town it ſelf; to boot, with the chief well flanked Line on the outſide of the ditch, towards the land ſide is a *Strada Coperta* raiſed, which is ſo well furniſhed with new flanks, and with a new ditch, as this outward fortification doth hardly give way to any of the inward ones. The Town is but of a ſmall compaſs, and is innobled rather by its ſituation, and fortifications, then by any ſplendor either of Inhabitants or houſes. The united Provinces cauſed it to be very carefully kept at this time, wherefore it was largely provided of Men, Artillery, Ammunition, and of whatſover elſe was neceſſary for the defence thereof. In this condition was the Town, when the Arch-Duke reſolved to ſit down before it. When Count *Maurice* went from thence, he cauſed the Fort St. *Alberto* to be abandoned, Wherefore the Arch-Duke entred thereinto, and on that ſide was the chiefeſt quarter of the ſiege placed. This Fort ſtood on the Weſt-ſide, amidſt the Downs, neer the Sea; and on the Eaſt-ſide, about the Downs likewiſe ſtood the Fort *Bredene*; into which the Arch-duke put Count *Frederick de Berg*, and made another quarter there. And from both theſe places they began preſently to advance with their Trenches, and to ſtraiten the Town. After the Fort St. *Alberto* divers other little Forts were raiſed more towards land, called by the name of St. *Iſabella*, St. *Clara*, and St. *Michael*; which were all erected before the Arch-duke beſieged the Town, to hinder, as hath been ſaid, the continual excurſions of the Garriſon. In St. *Alberto*'s quarter lay moſt of the Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, and the Camp-maſters *Jerolimo di Monroy*, a Spaniard, and *Nicholas di Catris*, a Walloon were already got to a little ſandy Hill, neer enough the Town; where placing ſome peeces of Artillery, they did from thence much indammage the Enemy. The better to fortifie themſelves there, they drew a great Trench towards the field ſide, and there raiſed a Redoute. And Count *Frederick* being likewiſe advanced from the Fort *Bredene*, he had alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of a high ſeat of one of the Downs, and from thence did much prejudce the Town. In this firſt beginning of the ſiege, *Charles Vandernot* was Governor of the Town, nor did he omit any diligency which might make for the defence thereof. He thought the weakeſt part of the Town was that which lay towards St. *Clara*; and therefore going further into the land, he began to entrench himſelf there. On the contrary, the two Camp-maſters, *Monroy*, and *Catris*, did likewiſe purſue their begun works: and having already

already finish'd their first redoubt, they would add another, when *Monroy* was kild with a musket shot. The Archd. gave his Brigado to *Simon Antunes*, a Portugueſe, a valiant, and an ancient ſouldier, who together with *Catris*, continuing the ſame deſign, made the ſecond Redout, and joyned it to the other by a great Treneh. The ſiege being thus begun, the united Provinces put Colonel Sir *Francis Vere* into *Oſtend*, to the end that a Commander of known valour and authority might be there, he brought with him 3000 Foot, and new proviſions of all things neceſſary for defence: nor was he long in making uſe of ſuch a recrute, by ſallying out almoſt immediately, and aſſaulting the Enemy; but being repulſed with ſome loſs, he thought to fortifie himſelf better to landward, towards St. *Clara*, and there he raiſed three new redouts, which were by a popular word of ſouldiery called Pouldrons; in which placing ſuch men and Artillery as were requiſit, he was very diligent in making the fortifications which were already there, yet more ſecure on all parts of the chief Line, and on the *Strada Coperta* thereabouts; judging like a ſouldier of great experience, that the Arch-duke would turn the chief weight of the ſiege upon that ſide: nor did his reaſon deceive him; for the Arch-duke being minded to ſtraiten the Town more on that ſide then on any other, would have Count *Frederick* to forgo his quarters of *Bredene*, & to take them up in the Fort St. *Clara*, and hinder the Enemy from advancing further into the field with other new redouts. To this purpoſe Count *Frederick* raiſed preſently two Forts in oppoſition of the aforeſaid *Pouldrons*, and called the one of them St. *Mary*, the other St. *Martin*. Yet the Enemy endeavoured to advance with another fortification; but Count *Frederick* aſſaulted them, killed divers of them, forced them to forgo the work, and poſſeſſing himſelf of that ſeat, planted a Fort there which he called St. *Anne*, becauſe the place was won on St. *Annes* day. Theſe were as yet the works of the Catholick Camp more within land towards the Fort St. *Clara*; and at the ſame time they were no leſs buſie about their works begun in St. *Alberto*'s quarter, to boot, with thoſe that were ſtill continued towards the fields, they were reſolved to draw a bank ſo far forward between the Downs and the Sea-ſhore towards the old Town of *Oſtend*, that it might hinder Barks to enter into the Town by the Channel which runs on that ſide. They ſupplyed the ground which was there all ſandy, with other materials; they made bavins of twenty foot long, and they incorporated bricks, which they joyned well together, and placed one on the top of another, in ſo great abundance, as the bank was raiſed and drawn out in length by peece-meal, according as occaſion required. They were called Saucidges, but they were almoſt ſtill conteſted with by the Sea, which eſpecially when it flowed gave againſt them with ſuch violence, as it ofttimes threw them down, and did often ſo diſperſe them, as they could no longer be of any ſervice. The workmen were likewiſe greatly indammaged by the continual Hail of Musket-ſhot which poured down upon them from the Town: Yet the Bank was brought to perfection, and a Fort was raiſed at the end thereof, on which many peeces of Artillery were placed, which did afterwards totally hinder the uſe of the aforeſaid Channel. They within had alſo a Bank without, which beginning from the Downs towards the Fort St. *Alberto*, came to joyn with the great Bulwark of the old *Oſtend*, called the Sea Bulwark. This Bank ſerved to obviate the prejudice which the high-tyde, which their outward fortifications might ſuffer thereby on that ſide: but becauſe they ſaw that the Catholicks made uſe thereof, the better to advance with their works in that place; they reſolved firſt well to ſecure their aforeſaid Fortifications with other materials, and afterwards cut gaps in the Bank in divers places, and thereby made the Catholiks diſpair of advancing any further there. This mean while the works on *Bredene*'s ſide were not ſlacked: when Count *Frederick* was gone to the quarter of St. *Clara*, the Arch-duke had put Count *Buckquoy* into that of *Bredene*; he forthwith advanced a little redout, to which he added another greater, and called it St. *Charles*; whereupon placing ſome peeces of Artillery, he began to prejudice the Enemies Barks, which entred on that ſide into *Oſtend*. The Channel there divided it ſelf into two parts; the one whereof entred into the chief ditch of the Town, and the other into the narrower ditch, which ſhut up the *Strada Coperta* on the outſide. The Enemies Barks were therefore ſo plaid

upon by the Artillery from the new Redout, as they were forced to get into the Town by the chief Channel. But this was no conſiderable damage, by reaſon of the more commodious ingreſs which the Barks had; and becauſe the Artillery of the Redout ſhot from ſo far off, as they did but little harm. Wherefore the Archduke reſolved that a great Bank ſhould be led towards the maſter Channel from the Redout, which was afterwards called a Fort; which ſhould be brought ſo near the ſhore ſide, as that a Fort being there raiſed, and well furniſhed with Artillery, the Enemies might be as well hindred from making uſe of their Barks on that ſide of *Bredene*, as they were on the other of S. *Alberto*.

Theſe were the works about *Oſtend*. But at the ſame time Count *Maurice* ſuffered not his Army to be idle. Having taken *Reinberg*, he went to before *Balduke*; hoping either to get a place of that concernment, or to make the Archduke remove from before *Oſtend*. Incamping therefore before that Town, he began to begirt it; but with ſome leiſure, by reaſon of the great compaſs thereof. Monſieur *de Grolendunk*, a valiant Souldier, and one the beſt eſteemed of all *Flanders*, was Governour thereof. That City would always defend it ſelf by its own Citizens, who had always proved themſelves very faithfull to the Church and King; yet were not they of themſelves able to defend themſelves againſt ſo great and manifeſt a danger: wherefore the Governour advertiſed the Archduke of what condition he was in, and preſt very much to be relieved. The Archduke found himſelf in a great ſtrait; fearing leſt his Forces were not ſufficient at the ſame time to maintain the Siege before *Oſtend*, and to relieve *Balduke*. Yet taking heart, and leaving only ſo many men as might keep the Siege from riſing, he ſent Count *Frederick de Berg* towards *Balduke* with 7000 Foot and 1500 Horſe, giving him order, by all means to relieve the Town. He likewiſe got the Italian Mutiniers at *Verte* to joyn many of their Souldiers to thoſe of the Count. And therefore having got together a reaſonable good body of an Army, he ſeemed as if he would fortifie a certain Town called *Helmont*, within four leagues of *Balduke*: But diſpatching away privately by night Count *Jovanni Giacomo Belgioioſo*, Commiſſary-Generall of the Horſe, by a certain way not well obſerved by the Enemy, with 1000 Horſe and 800 Foot, he gave him order to convey thoſe Foot into *Balduke*, and to back them, if need ſhould be, with the ſaid Horſe. No order could be better given, nor better purſued: For the 800 Foot having with much reſolution forced a Paſs, wherein they met with ſome oppoſition, entred all into *Balduke*; and did ſo ſecure that City, as *November* being now near at an end, and the ſeaſon being colder then uſual, *Maurice* reſolved to give over the Siege and to retreat.

Balduke being thus luckily relieved, the Archduke turned to begirt *Oſtend* with all his Forces. And it ſo fell out, as at this time it was thought that the Town would for certain have been ſurrendred. For about the end of *December* a terrible ſtorm at Sea did ſo ſhatter the Town in divers parts, and eſpecially the old Town, as the Inhabitants deſpairing to reſiſt an aſſault which upon this occaſion they did expect, began to parley, and Hoſtages were delivered on both ſides for obſervancie of what ſhould be agreed upon. But ſoon after this unfortunate chance, there fell out another ſo favourable, by the acceſs of new men to the beſieged, together with all manner of proviſions, as they would treat no longer of ſurrendring, ſaying they could no longer doe it with their honour. The Archduke being thus deluded of his ſo firm hopes of having the Town, gave order that a great Battery ſhould be raiſed againſt the Old Town, which had been moſt prejudiced by the Tempeſt. That part was therefore furiouſly plaid upon; and there was ſuch a breach made, eſpecially in the Sea-bulwark, as they hoped to make a happy aſſault: Which was thus ordered. The Campmaſter *Durango* was to go againſt the Sea-Bulwork, with the Spaniſh Foot; and the Campmaſter *Gambaloitta*, a Milaneſe, and Knight of the Order of St. *John*, againſt another neighbouring Flank on the left hand, with the Italian Foot. Theſe two Campmaſters were accompanied by divers of the beſt Captains of the Army; and the Foot of divers other Nations were mingled with the Spaniſh and Italian Foot. The Aſſault was to begin about the coming on of night, when the Tide was at the loweſt. And Count *Bucquoy* was likewiſe ordered to paſs over the Channel on

the

the ſide of *Bredene*, and to ſall with his men upon the wall that was there beaten down. To divert the Enemy on more ſides, it was commanded that Alarms ſhould be given every where againſt the Town: And the Archduke choſe *Auguſtine Meſſia*, Governour of *Antwerp* Citadel, who had for many years before been a Campmaſter amongſt the *Spaniards*, and ever held in good eſteem, to ſee theſe Orders well obſerved. When they came to the Aſſault, the Aſſailants behaved themſelves gallantly, and uſed all means to get upon the wall; and though many of them fell down dead and wounded, and that the horror of night which already came on made their dangers the more terrible, yet did it ſerve rather to ſet the Catholicks on fire, then to make them cool in their fight. But there appeared no leſs reſoluteneſs of reſiſtance in thoſe within: For oppoſing themſelves valiantly on all ſides, and being very well able to doe it, as having ſo many men, and ſuch ſtore of all other proviſions, they ſtoutly did defend themſelves on all ſides. Upon the coming on of night they had ſet up many Lights in divers parts of the Town, whereby they the better maintained the places aſſigned unto them, did with more ſecurity hit thoſe that aſſailed them, and came the better to where their help was required. They alſo ſoon diſcerned that they were all falſe Alarms that were given without; and that the true Aſſault was made only in one place. To this was added, that Count *Bucquoy* not finding the water of the aforeſaid Channel ſo low as he believed, he could by no means paſs over them. Yet the Catholicks did for a long time continue their aſſault; but the Defendants advantages ſtill increaſing, the Aſſailants were at laſt forced to give over with great loſs; for there were above 600 ſlain and wounded, part of them being *Gambaloita's* men, who was ſlain himſelf; and part belonging to *Durango*, who was ſorely wounded. Nor did thoſe within let ſlip the occaſion of prejudicing yet more the Catholicks, as they retreated: For plucking up ſome of their Sluces, by which they both received the Sea-water into their ditches, and let it out again, they turned the water with ſuch violence into the Channel, which the Catholicks had paſſed over before they came to the aſſault, and which they were to paſs over again in their retreat, as many of them were unfortunately drowned. *John Bentivoglio*, Knight of St. *John's* Order, our Brother, who was but a little before come from *Italy*, after having ſerved the Emperor ſome years in *Hungary*, was in this action; and therein gave ſuch trial of himſelf, as the Archdukes not long after honoured him with a Company of Lances.

The year 1602. was already begun; and with ſo bitter cold weather, as many adviſed the Archduke to give over the ſiege of *Oſtend*, as a buſineſs which might be deſpaired of. But he would not be perſwaded thereunto; thinking the Kings honour and his own too much engaged, not to continue that ſiege ſtill, and bring it to a good end. Wherefore he reſolved to raiſe a great Platform in St. *Alberto's* quarter, which might command the Town as much as might be poſſible on that ſide; and gave new orders that *Bucquoy* ſhould from St. *Charls* his Fort advance with all poſſible ſpeed that great Bank which was deſigned to command the Channel of *Bredene*, as we touched upon before. Having given out theſe directions, and leaving the Spaniſh Campmaſter *John di Rivas*, a valiant and well experienced Souldier, to have the chief government of the Siege, the Archduke retired to *Gaunt*, to make ſuch proviſions againſt the Enemy as were requiſite; who on their ſide made very great preparations, that they might be early in the field with great Forces. Anno 1602.

The Treaty of Agreement which had been formerly on foot, and almoſt at the ſame time broken (as we told you then) between the King of *Spain* and the Archduke on the one part, and the Queen of *England* on the other, was this interim continued by many means. Great deſire of coming to ſome good correſpondencie appeared on both ſides: And the Queen being now very full of years, did particularly ſhew her ſelf every day more and more inclined thereunto. When in *March* ſhe fell very ſick, of which ſickneſs ſhe dyed, after ſhe had lived 70 years, and reigned 45.

Thus dyed *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* and *Ireland*; who ſo much afflicted the Church, and who ſo long and by ſo many wayes fomented the War which we deſcribe. She was Daughter to King *Henry* the Eighth, by Queen *Anne* of

Boloign. After the death of her Father, being bred up in Hereſie, ſhe was much made of by her Brother King *Edward* the Sixth, who was likewiſe a Follower of the new Sects, which were formerly introduced by his Father. But Queen *Mary* who ſoon reſtored the antient Religion, ſucceeding him, *Elizabeth* ran hazard of her life, and was either impriſoned or confined all her Sifters Reign: who dying without iſſue, the Crown came to *Elizabeth.* The marriage of her Father with *Anne* of *Boloign* was always deteſted by the Catholick Church; wherefore ſhe openly maintained Hereſie, and perſecuted the Catholicks. And to ſecure her ſelf the better in her Kingdom, ſhe was not content to favour Hereſie in her own Dominions, but ſtill joyned with the Heretical Factions of *Scotland*, *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*; endeavouring thus to keep her neighbouring Countries ſtill in turmoils, that ſhe might be the more quiet at home.

For what remains, it is not to be denyed that (by Common opinion) ſuch gifts both of body and minde concur'd in her, as would have been worthy of the higheſt praiſe, had ſhe ſo much illuſtrated them by the true Religion, as ſhe did eclipſe them by falſe worſhip; a comlineſs of Aſpect, graceful behaviour, weight in her words, or a winning ſpeech, and a pleaſing greatneſs both in her private and publick actions. She was endowed with a rare underſtanding and wit, which made her be a great friend to learning; to the choiceſt, and moſt delightful whereof ſhe applyed her ſelf: ſhe was particularly ſo ready in the Latin tongue as ſhe was often pleaſed publickly to make uſe thereof, and therein to receive the applauſe of the moſt learned in both the Univerſities of *Oxford*, and *Cambridge*: it may be no marriage was ever more coveted then hers: Many Princes in ſeveral parts of *Europe* did for a long time ſtrive to be her husband; hoping that the refuſal of the one, might facilitate the pretences of another; and ſhe very cunningly ſtill nouriſhed hopes in them, and endeavoured divers waies to honeſt her excuſes, thinking her ſelf ſo much more worthy, by how much the more ſhe was pretended unto. Coming at laſt to her declining years, thoſe ſeeming appearances ended; and then it was clearly ſeen, that ſhe being full of haughty thoughts, not caring for iſſue, would never receive a Companion in her Bed, becauſe ſhe could not admit of a Companion in her Throne. She exerciſed her greateſt enmities with the Pope of *Rome*, and King of *Spain*, as may have been ſeen in this our Hiſtory: ſhe kept good correſpondencie with all the other Potentates of *Europe*, and was by the moſt of them continually much honoured. She was a woman of a manlike ſpirit; infinitely intent upon Government, and deſirous of retaining the chief hand in managing thereof, as ſhe had the prime authority. Great were her expences both within, and without her Kingdom. It is not to be credited how much ſhe ſpent at home, eſpecially in keeping *England* well munited with Naval forces; being ofttimes uſed to ſay, That her well arm'd ſhips in that Iſland were her Armies and her Citadels. She enjoyed good health; and that ſo long, as none of her Predeceſſors lived ſo long as ſhe, and but few reigned ſo long. And although ſhe deteſted the Queen of *Scots*, whom at laſt ſhe put to death, yet ſhe was pleaſed that her Son King *James*, who was likewiſe fallen into Hereſie, ſhould ſucceed her, and unite the Iſland of *England* and *Scotland* into one body; which whilſt divided, had formerly for ſo many Ages been cauſe of ſo many diſcords, wars and calamities on both ſides.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK VII.

The Contents.

An Agreement is made between the King of Spain *and the Arch-dukes on the one part; and the new King of great* Britain *on the other. The ſiege of* Oſtend *continues; and with what ſucceſs.* Frederick Spinola *comes into* Flanders *with a Squadron of Gallies. And his brother Marqueſs* Ambroſio Spinola, *comes thither likewiſe with* 8000 *Foot raiſed in* Italy. *Both their intentions to advance themſelves by the military profeſſion. But* Federick *is ſlain not long after in a Sea fight. Count* Maurice *prepares great Forces: beſiegeth* Graves, *and takes it. A new mutiny in the Catholick Camp. The Arch-duke reſolves to turn his Forces againſt the mutineers.* Maurice *comes into their aid, and ſecures them from all danger. With their Forces and his own he beſiegeth* Balduke: *The Arch-duke goes in perſon to relieve it: whereupon* Maurice *retreats from thence. Slow proceedings about* Oſtend: *The ſiege thereof is put into the hands of Marquis* Spinola. *Who with great fervency embraceth the managing thereof.* Maurice *the mean while incamps before* Sluce. Spinola *marcheth to relieve it; but not ſucceeding therein, the Town is loſt.* Spinola *returns to the ſiege of* Oſtend; *and at laſt ends that enterpriſe. He goes afterwards into* Spain, *and returns from thence made Camp-maſter General of the Catholick Army in* Flanders. *He oppoſeth divers of Count* Maurice *his proceedings; then ſuddenly paſſeth the* Rhine, *goes towards* Frieſland, *and there*

there takes Oldenſel and Linghen. *And ſoon after Count* Bucquoy *takes* Vachtendonch. Spinola *goes again into* Spain, *and is ſent back by the King into* Flanders *with addition of Honours. He paſſeth again with his Army towards* Frieſland; *takes* Groll *and* Reinberg; *and forceth* Maurice *afterwards to raiſe his Siege from before the ſame Town of* Groll.

James King of *Scots* ſucceeding Queen *Elizabeth*, came forthwith to *London*, which is the Metropolitan City of *England*: where his arrival was celebrated with great demonſtrations of joy; the *Scots* and *Engliſh* contending by uſual and natural emulation who ſhould glory moſt, the one for having given a new King to the *Engliſh*, or the others for having got him from them. But amidſt theſe mirths, the Catholicks were much afflicted; who ſoon loſt all hopes of being better treated in matter of Religion, as the new King, in the latter time of the Queen, to make them well diſpoſed towards him, had made them believe they ſhould be. For even from his very firſt coming to *London*, they found they ſhould ſuffer no leſs bitter perſecution under him, then for ſo long a time they had done under her.

That he might unite the two Nations together as much as it was poſſible, the new King would be ſtiled King of *Great Britain*, comprehending thus both the Kingdoms under one Title; and endeavouring by all other means, according to the Form of that Heretical Government to eſtabliſh himſelf at home in all ſecurity. He then applied himſelf to Foreign Correſpondencies, knowing how much the well-grounding of theſe, would contribute to his own domeſtical affairs. He renewed the Confederacies which the late Queen had with the King of *France*, and the United Provinces of *Flanders*: And with the like inclination which ſhe had ſhewed a little before her death of coming to ſome agreement with the King of *Spain* and the Archdukes, he heartily gave himſelf to continue the Negotiation: wherein the King of *Spain* and Archdukes did not refuſe to correſpond on their behalfs. So as the buſineſs growing every day nearer an end, it was not long till they came to mutual ſplendid Embaſſies, by which ſuch correſpondencie was at laſt eſtabliſhed, as the ſo contrary Intereſt between them in point of Religion, and matter of State could admit of. Which we have thought fit to touch upon only here, not to digreſs too far from the particular affairs of *Flanders*.

Then, that we may return to the Narration thereof, the chief buſineſs which did then depend in thoſe Provinces, was the Siege of *Oſtend*. The greater the difficulties appeared of bringing it to an end, the more reſolute was the Archduke to endeavour it by all poſſible wayes; being particularly inſtigated thereunto by the Province of *Flanders*, which ſhewed it ſelf very ready to continue all the largeſt Contributions which to that purpoſe could be thereby ſubminiſtred. The Archduke, when he came from that Siege, had left the care thereof as we told you to the Campmaſter *Rivas*, who failed not to uſe all diligence in daily advancing the Works. The moſt important whereof were two: The one, the great Platform in St. *Alberto's* quarter, which was raiſed as faſt as might be, to annoy inceſſantly the Old Town of *Oſtend* from thence, by many Peeces of Artillery: And the other the great Dike already begun in *Bredene* quarter, with intention of leading it on ſo far, as it might command the great Channel, and ſo hinder the continual and large ſuccours which by means thereof were received into the Town from the Sea. To make this Dike, a great quantity of thoſe Sauceges which we ſpake of before, were made uſe of, and were much greater then the former. To the firſt and largeſt foundation, which was well incorporated with wet ſand and other condenſe matter, others of the like ſort were added, till the Dike was grown to the height it ought to be; and the breadth thereof was very extraordinary great. To boot with the ordinary Plain thereof, upon which two great Canons might ſtand abreſt, there was a great Parapet raiſed in it againſt the Town to ſhelter the Souldier; and which being in divers places furniſhed with Artillery, did

did greatly indammage the Enemy likewiſe on that ſide. This work was made in a ſandy and low ſituation, and whither the Sea at full Tide came; ſo as it cannot be ſaid with how much expence, labour, and loſs of blood this work was advanced.

Whilſt ſuch diligent work was had by Land touching the Siege of *Oſtend*, *Frederick Spinola* did continually ſcoure that Sea-coaſt with a Squadron of Gallies, which he had a little before brought from *Spain*. *Frederick* was come to be trained up in Arms in *Flanders*, in the Duke of *Parma's* time: And though he had not then any particular Implovment, yet was there generally great hopes had of him in all thoſe occurrences, wherein his wit, induſtry, and capacity did plainly appear. He had learnt by experienced men, that by maintaining a good Squadron of Spaniſh Gallies upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* might be very much prejudiced in their uſual Navigations in thoſe Seas and Gulfs. It was conſidered, that thoſe Veſſels which frequented thoſe parts, were either Fiſher-men, or Merchants; that the Gallies by their nimbleneſs might continually infeſt that paſſage; that to boot with the great prejudice which the Enemy might receive thereby by Sea, they might peradventure receive more damage by Land; for the Gallies might at all times run into the neareſt Sea-gulfs, land men, pillage their Villages, and upon good ſucceſs attempt ſome important ſurpriſe, whereby they might get footing in *Zealand*. Which if it ſhould ſo fall out, how much would the affairs of the King and Archdukes be thereby advantaged? It not being to be doubted, but that as the Enemy had done moſt miſchief by Sea, ſo moſt miſchief was to be done to them thereby. And for what concerned the place wherein the Gallies were to keep, the Haven or Channel of *Sluce* was thought the fitteſt; it being neareſt *Zealand*, capable of all manner of Veſſels, munited with good Forts in the mouth thereof, and having ſo important a Town on the back thereof as *Sluce*, whither the Gallies might at all times eaſily come, and keep with all ſafety. *Frederick* having then fully informed himſelf of the Maritime affairs of *Flanders*, and eſpecially concerning the aforeſaid Squadron of Gallies, he reſolved to go himſelf to the Court of *Spain*, to propound the buſineſs to the King, and to get the imployment for himſelf. Marquis *Spinola*, *Fredericks* eldeſt Brother, joyned in opinion with him; deſirous to raiſe his Houſe as much as he could in his Country of *Genua*, and to agrandiſe it by the way of War, eſpecially with the Crown of *Spain*. And though the Marquis being thirty years old, had not till then taken upon him the military profeſſion, yet he had always had a great inclination thereunto, and had parts to make himſelf famous therein, when he ſhould be invited thereunto by any honorable imployment.

Frederick being come to *Madrid*, he ſo negotiated the buſineſs, as the Propoſition of the Gallies was fully approved of both by the King and his Councel, and the Command thereof with all fitting authority was aſſigned to him. Six were thought ſufficient for that time, and they were taken from out the Spaniſh Squadron; with intention to increaſe them, if the effects thereof ſhould anſwer their hopes. *Frederick* having brought theſe Gallies to *Flanders*, it is not to be believed how much the Navigation of the Hollanders and Zealanders in thoſe parts was thereby incommodated. For putting forth for the moſt part unexpectedly from the Channel of *Sluce*, particularly in Calms, when Veſſels of ſail uſe not to move; he flew boldly ſometimes upon one, ſometimes upon another; taking ſome, ſinking others, and much indamaging others. It was notwithſtanding found by experience, that the ſix Gallies were not ſufficient to carry men enough to indamage the Enemy by Land alſo, and to endeavour ſome important ſurpriſe. He therefore went again into *Spain*, where being well received, he uſed ſuch prevalent reaſons as prevailed with the King to ſend eight other Gallies to the former ſix; and to give way, that for the ſervice of the whole Squadron, he and the Marquis his brother might raiſe 800 Foot in the State of *Milan*, and might carry them to *Flanders*. *Frederick* went with theſe Orders to *Genua*, and from thence with his Brother to *Milan*, where Count *Fuentes* was Governour; from whom having received requiſite authority for the raiſing of 8000 men, the Marquis took the ſole care thereof; and with the like diligence *Frederick* returned to

effect

effect the aforesaid business in *Spain*. They did both of them act their parts very well: To which their own monies did contribute very much; for thereby they were a great help unto the King in the monies he was to disburse, and they did likewise procure many of their kindred and friends in *Genua* to doe the like. So as what was to be done by each of them, was with all speed effected. When the Marquis had raised his men, which were all very gallant men, he departed in the beginning of *May*, in that year 1602. towards *Flanders*. The Levy was divided, as we told you, into two Brigades. The Marquis himself was Campmaster of the one, and had for his Serjeant-Major *Pompey Justinian*, an old Flemish Souldier. And *Lucio Dentici* was Campmaster of the other, and *Augustine Arconato* was his Serjeant-Major; both of them having served many years formerly in the same war. The Marquis went by the way of *Savoy*; and being well come to the Province of *Luxenburg*, he presently went to *Gaunt*, where the Archduke then was, that he might receive such Orders from him, as he upon such an occasion should think fitting. But *Frederick* had not the like good success in the conducting of his Gallies: For tarrying longer in *Spain* then he needed to have done, as he went from *Porto Sancta Maria*, two of his Gallies were taken from him in sight by some of the Hollanders ships; and three more in the same manner as he past afterwards through the English Channel, so as he could bring but three to *Sluce*; yet most of the men were saved, which were all of them Spaniards, under the Campmaster *John di Menesses* a Portuguese, who came likewise safe to the same place.

But to return to the Marquis. He came with his men, just at the time when the Archduke stood most in need of such a recruit. Count *Maurice* was already marched into the fields, and with such Forces as the United Provinces till then had never had greater. He had made his Rendezvouz at *Nimmighen*, and his Army consisted of 24000 Foot and 6000 Horse, with all other abundance of Artillery, Ammunition, and Victuals. 'Twas thought that his design was to cross through *Brabant*, and so advance forwards to the relief of *Ostend*, and then to to besiege *Newport* again. All which he might easily have done: For had it not been for the Aid which at that time came from *Italy*, the Archdukes could have made no opposition in the field to so many adverse Forces, with theirs of *Flanders* alone. The Orders which the Marquis received from the Archduke was, That he should presently go with all his men to find out the Admiral of *Aragon*, who with other 6000 Foot and 4000 Horse was marching towards the Enemy, to discover all their design, and then to disturb them therein as much as he could. The Marquis being joyned with the Admiral, the Army was brought to *Telemone*, a good Town, almost in the heart of *Brabant*: where making their rendezvouz, it was resolved that the Army should lie without the Town towards that part where it was thought the Enemy would appear. Nor was it long ere *Maurice* came to St. *Truden*, a Town in the Country of *Liege*, and within three leagues of *Tilemone*. From thence Count *Maurice* came to within one league of the Catholick Camp; but finding the opposition greater then he thought he should have done, he resolved to retreat backward: And after several false appearances of sieges, that he might the better conceal the true one, he at last sat down before *Graves*; which as it hath been formerly said, lies upon the left side of the *Mause*. It is a Town which belongs to *Brabant*; strong both by situation and art; and which commands a Pass of great consequence upon that River. On the opposite side there stood a little Redout, which served for the better guarding of that Pass. *Maurice* divided his Quarters on both sides; and endeavoured particularly to secure them on the outward side, which might be easeliest assaulted. *Antonio Gonsales*, a Spaniard, was Governour of *Graves*, and he had with him about 1500 Foot of several Nations; good men, but not so well provided as they ought to have been with necessaries for defence. Yet the Governour and Garrison did with equal courage prepare to defend the Town; hoping that the Town might in good time be relieved from the Catholick Camp. *Maurice* turn'd first of all upon the aforesaid little Redout, and playing furiously upon it took it within a few dayes. He then began with great fervencie to begirt the Town on all sides; and advancing with his Trenches on three sides, he accompanied them

them with three Batteries: nor was it longere he came to the ditch. But thoſe within ſhewed themſelves no leſs valiant, both in making uſe of Counter-batteries, in defending the ditch, and in endamaging the enemy by their ſallies. It was argued this mean while by the Captains of the Catholick Camp, whether it were better directly to relieve the Town or by aſſieging ſome other place, make *Maurice* raiſe his ſiege. It was thought a hard matter immediately to relieve the Town; for the Catholick Camp-ſtood in need of many things to accoſt the enemy; and they could not ſo ſoon make proviſion thereof. But it was yet thought harder to be able to beſiege any of the Enemies Towns, for they muſt then paſs the *Mauſe*, and provide great ſtore of Victuals and Ammunition for their Army, whereof, as alſo of all other things they knew the Enemy had great abundance. They at laſt reſolved to relieve *Graves*; to which purpoſe the Admiral went preſently to *Ruremonde*, which is a City ſtanding upon the *Mauſe*, not far from *Graves*; and which was therefore better able to furniſh ſuch things as they needed; but yet they could not make ſuch haſt thereof, but that many dayes were ſpent therein. From *Ruremonde*, the Admiral went for *Venelo*, a good Town, ſtanding likewiſe upon the *Mauſe*, that he might enjoy the oppertunity of the River, by means whereof victuals might be the more eaſily brought to the Army. From thence he marched ſtrait upon the Enemy; but as he drew neer their fortifications, he found them ſuch, and ſo far advanced as he was clean out of hope of doing good upon any of them: yet he knew that one of their quarters was neither ſo well fortified, nor ſo well guarded as were the reſt; wherefore he reſolved to try whether he could relieve the Town by that way or no. He therefore ordered *John Tomaſo Spina*, formerly a Neapolitan Camp-maſter, that advancing unexpected by night towards that quarter with a thouſand Italian Foot, he ſhould endeavour to force the Enemies Trenches, and to get with that relief into the Town. And that *Spina* might have a ſafe retreat, in caſe he ſhould not ſucceed therein; the Admiral commanded Camp-maſter *Simon Antunes*, to follow *Spina* at a proportionable diſtance with one other thouſand Spaniſh Foot. To divert the Enemy as much as it was poſſible from the defence of that quarter, he likewiſe ordered that *Marqueſs Spinola*, ſhould move with two thouſand Foot at the ſame time againſt the oppoſite quarter, and ſhould give a counterfeit hot Alarm, to the end that the Enemy might the likelyer give over the defence of the other aforeſaid quarter. All theſe orders were fully obſerved, but without any fruit; for *Spina* found the aforeſaid quarter ſo well defended, as he was forced preſently to retreat; nor did the Marquis his fained aſſault on the other ſide any thing avail; for though the Enemy flocked thither in great numbers, yet the other defence againſt which *Spina* had made the true aſſault was not a whit weakned. After this ill ſucceſs the Admiral diſpaired of any more ſuccoring the Town, wherefore he reſolved to retreat. Yet did not the beſieged forbare defending themſelves for many dayes, making the buſineſs much more bloody to the beſiegers. But having no hopes of relief, they at laſt reſolved to yeild, and upon the beſt conditions they could get, delivered the City up to Count *Maurice*. A little before the ſurrender of *Graves*, upon the retreat of the Catholick Camp, there began a mutiny in it amongſt the Italians, which every day increaſing, quickly became one of the greateſt, and moſt dangerous that had yet happened in *Flanders*. The mutineers endeavaured firſt to poſſeſs themſelves of *Diſte*; and not being able to get in there, went haſtily towards *Hoſtrat*, a ſmall Town in *Brabant*, but provided of a Caſtle, and ſo near *Breda*, as they might receive ſuccour from that Town of the Enemy, if the Arch-duke ſhould uſe violence againſt them, which the Arch-duke was reſolved to do, that he might once more try, whether he could by ſevere means remedy that miſchief, which grew ſtill worſe by being fairly proceeded with: and truly they gave too much accaſion of it at this time; for growing every day more perverſe then other, and being in a ſhort time gotten to be two thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, there could be no miſchief done by excurſions, which they did not, nor any other ſort of hoſtility which they did not threaten. Being therefore declared Traitors and Rebels, the Arch-duke reſolved to proceed by force againſt them: which when they diſcovered, they began to fortifie themſelves ſo in the Town and Caſtle of *Hoſtrat*; and did ſtill receive

such advantages from the Enemies parts thereabouts, as all the endeavours to suppress their audacity by force, proved vain, as shall be afterwards shewed; nor did there any thing else of military action succeed that year.

Anno 1603. The next year, being 1603, they resolved in the Court of *Spain* to reinforce the Army in *Flanders*, as much as they could possibly. It was by this time clearly seen that the marriage between the Arch-duke and Infanta would prove sterril. Wherefore it being considered in *Spain*, that the Provinces of *Flanders* would again revert to that Crown; they therefore treated of providing for the necessities of those Provinces with the Kings Name, Authority, and monies, as in case of a Country that were intirely his. Count *Frederick* was returned to *Flanders* with three Gallies only, as we told you. He had in this his second voyage to *Spain*, so negotiated in that Court, as the King being willing vigourously to assist the affairs of *Flanders*, was resolved, that the two brothers *Frederick* and *Ambrosius Spinola*, should levy twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, that these should be attended by a proportionable number of Artillery. And in fine, that there should be an entire Army raised apart, which should be commanded by them alone, and which might be imployed where the most advantagious occasion should require. When *Frederick* was come to *Sluce*, his brother the Marquess came to him: nor was it long ere orders came from *Spain* for them to raise the aforesaid men; and because they were to be composed of Getmans, Italians, and other new Flemish, the Marquess went about the end of *March* into *Germany*, being to go afterwards for *Italy*, and the mean while *Frederick* stayed to infest the Enemy upon the Coast of *Flanders* with his Gallies. But a new unfortunate fight soon bereft him of his life, and overthrew his whole design: whereby he did notwithstanding the more highten those, wherein his brother still continued; and brought him afterwards to the greatest exaltation, that might be atchieved in the millitary profession. *Frederick* putting forth with eight Gallies well maned, met with two of the Enemies Gallies, and three other men of war. The season was then softned into a calm, and therefore the sail vessels stood immoveable. *Frederick* taking this advantage assaulted the Enemies vessels on divers sides; which did not fail to defend themselves: the Gallies and round vessels giving each other such interchangeable assistance, as the one sort of them could give to the other; and for a while the conflict was very fierce. Many fell of each side; yet the Catholicks were still more advantaged by the calm. when on a sudden the winde rose, which made so much for the contrary vessel of sail, as winding about in several sorts, and pouring down Canon shot upon *Frederick's* Gallies, he himself received a shot from one of them in his side, whereof he suddenly dyed. This happened about the end of *May*; at which time the Marquess, having given requisite orders in *Germany* for the raising of two Regiments of Foot, went from thence to *Italy*, to take two other Brigadoes of Foot there also into pay, and to return afterwards with all these men to *Flanders*: But his brothers death did so disorder the first designes, as for divers difficulties the men could not be raised; though the King continued the same commands of his brother upon the Marquess, who quickly returned to *Flanders*, with all demonstration of honour and esteem to his person, Yet the Gallies were then almost of no longer use; for the Marquess was soon after imployed (as you shall hear) in the enterprise of *Ostend*; but before it was taken *Sluce* was lost, which drew after it the the loss of the Gallies. The Marquess in the interim indeavoured to preserve the men which he brought with him the year before from *Italy*; bu tbecause they were much diminished, as was likewise the whole Army; the Arch-duke gave out orders for the raising of new Horse and Foot; resolving to turn the greatest strength thereof that he could against the mutineers. The Duke *d'Aumale* raised one thousand Horse, the greatest part Lorrainers. Three thousand Dutch were raised in *Germany*. The Walloon Brigadoes were fild up: and two other Brigadoes came to *Flanders* from *Italy*, the one of Spaniards, under *Inico di Borgia*, and the other Neopolitans under *Lelio Brancatchio*, Knight of St. *John*, the people that could be sooneſt raised being assembled together, and the season being already fit for the field, the Arch duke sent Count *Frederick di Berg* against the Mutineers with 7000 Foot, and 3000 Horse.

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The Mutiniers were got into *Hoſtrat*, where what by means of their own Fortifications, and what by the aid which they received from the Enemies neighbouring parts, they ſeemed little to value any force that could be brought againſt them. They were above 2000 Foot, and were grown to have 1500 Horſe; all good men, of ſeveral Nations, though the moſt were *Italians* Yet Count *Frederick* began to ſet ſo cloſe to them, as beginning now not to truſt any longer in their own forces alone, they ſought to be openly backt by thoſe which Count *Maurice* had oft-times offered them. It hath been known in other Mutinies many times, how much more prejudicial his own Souldiers have been unto the King, then thoſe of his Enemies: but in this of *Hoſtrat*, the exceſs of diſobedience did degenerate into ſuch a degree of infamy, as the example thereof ought ever to be abhorred. The Mutiniers were not aſhamed, in their Treaty between Count *Maurice* and them, to bargain in this manner with them.

That they ſhould be taken by Count Maurice *into the protection of the United Provinces. That to this purpoſe they ſhould be by him defended againſt the violence of the* Spaniards. *That on the other ſide, they the Mutiniers ſhould fight under him as long as the Army ſhould lie in the field that year. That in caſe they ſhould agree with the Archduke, they ſhould not for four moneths ſpace bear Arms againſt the United Provinces. That if the Town and Caſtle of* Hoſtrat *ſhould not be thought to be ſufficient, ſome good Town ſhould be aſſigned unto them by the United Provinces, and that their ſafety ſhould by all other means be provided for.*

The Agreement being thus made, Count *Maurice* went preſently into *Hoſtrat* with many Forces, to ſecure the Mutiniers. And their affairs grew quickly to ſuch an advantage, as Count *Frederick* being forced firſt to ſtand rather upon his defence then otherwiſe, was at laſt neceſſitated to remove from thereabouts, and to retreat. Nor did *Maurice* loſe this occaſion. *Hoſtrat* is very near *Balduke*; againſt which it was clearly ſeen, that Count *Maurice* had ſundry times plotted his greateſt deſigns. Marching therefore ſpeedily againſt *Balduke*, he incamped about it; and diſpoſing of his quarters in ſundry parts, he gave one of them to the Mutiniers apart. The Archduke was mightily troubled at the news hereof. He feared (as I told you upon another occaſion) that he had not ſufficient Forces both to continue the Siege of *Oſtend*, and ſufficiently to ſuccour *Balduke*: But that which moſt moved him, was; That upon other occaſions, that City not deſirous to admit of any external Garriſon, was reſolute to defend it ſelf with its own peculiar Forces; which were not thought ſufficient for the ſecurity of ſuch a place, of too great a circuit, and which had need of men trained up in Arms, and not in City-affairs. Juſt at this time were come the two Brigadoes of *Borgia* and *Brancatchio*, which were expected from *Italy*. Joyning therefore theſe men to thoſe which were formerly with Count *Frederick*, the Archduke ordered that *Frederick* ſhould with all diligence follow *Maurice* and ſhould by all means endeavour to hinder him in his intended Siege. *Maurice* could not in ſo ſhort a time poſſeſs himſelf of all ſuch places about it, as the Siege did require. So as it was not hard for *Frederick* to make himſelf maſter of one of them, by which he drew as near as was needfull to *Balduke*, and ſecured ſuch intercourſe as was neceſſary with the City. He immediately endeavoured to put in a ſtrong Garriſon into the City: but the Citizens ſeemed unwilling, as before, to admit of them. *Maurice* knew this; and hoped that ſome diſſention would ariſe thereupon; and from diſſention, ſome tumult in the Town; and that this tumult might produce ſome other diſorder which might make for his advantage. He therefore continued to fortifie himſelf, both without towards the fields, and on the inſide towards the City; raiſing good Forts and Redouts every where, and accompanying them on all ſides as was fitting with Trenches, Ditches, and all other moſt advantagious Fortifications. Count *Frederick* did the like on his part; yet thinking the City to be but in a very weak condition, he advertiſed the Archduke thereof. The preſervation or loſs of ſuch a place was indeed of too great a conſequence; nor was there any way to convince the pertinacie of the Inhabitants, then for the Archduke to come himſelf in perſon to *Balduke*. He therefore went preſently from *Bruſſels*; and taking ſome other Forces with him, came to the ſame place where *Frederick* was, and where he had fortified himſelf. From hence the Archduke,

the better to acquaint himself with the Citizens, went ofttimes into the City, and out again. At last feigning an occasion, that upon necessity a great strength of Walloon Foot were only to pass through the Town, to oppose the Enemy in a certain place; after that he and the Souldiers were come in, he sent for the chief Magistrate, and spake thus unto him.

That for as much as that City had upon all occasions ever shewed it self faithfull to the antient Church, and to her natural Princes, so much the more ought it to be endeavoured to be preserved under the obedience of them both. That the Rebels did daily attempt either by private surprisals, or open hostility to make themselves masters of it. And this out of no other end, but to suppress their Liberty and Religion, and in lieu thereof to introduce Tyranny and Heresie, and to punish such a people which had alwayes so much detested their perfidiousness. That it was clearly seen the Forces of the City were not able of themselves alone to obviate so important a danger. That Cities were oppugned and defended by people that were inured to hardness amongst Arms in the field, and not by such as were bred up in ease and idleness at their own homes. That therefore it was necessary that the City should be perswaded to receive such a Garrison as might be able to defend them. That he himself did very heartily beg thus much of them, which he chiefly did for the good of the Town. Yet because the preservation of such a place did so much import both Him, the Infanta, *and the King of* Spain; *he did declare, that as they should share of the service, so would they at all times answerably acknowledge their obligation to the City for it.*

The Magistrate was much moved at these words; and they were also accompanied with Arms; wherefore the City, either not willing, or not able to gainsay the Archdukes desires, seemed willing to condescend fully to his desires. So he left 3000 Foot therein, part *Walloons*, part *Germans*, and secured it by such men as were requisite; and furnishing it likewise with victuals, ammunition, and with whatsoever was fitting upon that occurrencie, he returned again to *Brussels*, leaving *Frederick* to oppose *Maurice*. Divers actions had this mean while past between the one party and the other; in one of which, which proved very bloody, the Neapolitan Campmaster, the Marquis *di Bella*, whilst he fought valiantly, was slain; and upon another occasion, a certain Canon-shot made from the Catholick Camp, killed Monsieur *de Temple* the Enemies Campmaster Generall, and one highly esteemed of amongst them. The Archduke being gone, *Maurice* was not long in retreating; for he knew he could doe no good upon *Balduke*, after it was so well secured. And because it was now about the end of *October*, and the weather began to grow cold, he therefore brought back his Souldiers to their Winter-quarters, giving *Graves* to the Mutiniers instead of *Hostrat*; and the Catholick Army was likewise quartered in several places.

Now to return to the business of *Ostend*. The Town continued to be succour'd more then ever; so as in respect thereof, as for many other advantages which it enjoyed, the Works proceeded on so slowly without, as the hopes of bringing the Siege to a happy end did daily rather decrease then increase. Yet *Rivas* was very diligent in discharging his duty. The besieged had three little Forts, without the Counterscarf towards the Land, by the name of *Pouldrouns*, as you heard before. *Rivas*, watching his occasion, unexpectedly assaulted them; and was so fortunate therein, as they were all taken at the same time that they were assaulted. Then furnishing them all with Artillery, he turned them upon the Fortifications which sheltred the Town on that side. The Pouldrons leaned towards S. *Alberts* quarters, in which the aforesaid Platform was daily raised higher. The Plain thereabouts was all sandy; so as there was no conveniencie of raising Trenches of Earth. *Rivas* therefore made one of Gabiouns lined with Earth, and drew it along from the Pouldrouns to where the Platform was made, thrusting out a Flank towards the Town for the better defence thereof. Nor was it long ere the Platform was fully finished, and many great Canons were placed upon the top of it by *Rivas*, who likewise munited it below against the Town, as made most for the security thereof. Some progress was likewise daily made on *Bredene's* side, in the advancing the great Dike. *Bucquoy* had the chief charge thereof, and it was called by his name. And he used all possible diligence to infest the Town, and the entrance of the Channel on that side: But there appeared no less vigi-

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lancie in the beſieged; their courage abounded, according as the Town did abound with all ſorts of proviſions. There was hardly any one day in which they did not ſally out; nor did the beſiegers doe any thing which coſt not much labour and blood. The Platform was made chiefly of Bavins, and other wood; and the great Dike was compoſed of the like materials. Two furious Batteries were therefore level'd from the Town, with artificial Fire-balls againſt theſe two Works, to ſet them on fire, and indammage them by that means. Nor did they fail in their deſign: For by long Battery they at laſt took fire, and were thereby ſo torn rnd ſpoiled, as it coſt much time and the death of many men to remake them. In theſe and other actions which then inſued, *Durango* and *Zavaglios*, two Spaniſh Campmaſters were ſlain, together with divers Captains and Officers, of that and of other Nations. Nor was the Enemies loſs leſs either in number or quality.

Pompeio Tergone, a famous Enginier, was at this time come from *Italy* to *Flanders*, drawn thither by the fame of this ſiege. He had a very ready wit, which made him apt for Inventions in his Calling: but having never till then paſt from the Theory to the Practical part in Military affairs, it was ſoon ſeen, that many of his Imaginations did not upon trial prove ſuch, as in appearance they promiſed to be. He began to build a Caſtle of wood upon Boats faſtned together. The Caſtle was round, high, and large proportionably: On the top thereof it was capable of ſix great Peeces of Artillery on one ſide; and on the other ſide there was place enough for thoſe Souldiers who were to attend them. *Tergone* intended to bring this Machin into the mouth of the Channel, and to firm it there, where ſuccour was brought into *Oſtend*, hoping hereby to keep the Town from relief. But this could not ſo ſoon be done, but that it was preceded by the other work of drawing the great Dike to the ſame Channel, whereupon to raiſe afterwards a Fort, by which that paſſage might be ſo much the more impeded. To accelerate this work likewiſe, *Targone* bethought himſelf of other Engines, by which that ſo great quantity of materials whereof the Dike was made might the more eaſily be brought to imployment. The ſaid materials being put together in manner as they ought to be, he put a certain number of little Barrels under the hollow of the middle thereof, and on the ſides, by which at full ſea the Engines floated, and were afterwards brought by Cranes to joyn with the Dike in that part where the work was continued on. Theſe Engines were called Flotes. But ſuch was the tempeſt of the Enemies Canon-ſhot which inceſſantly fell upon them when they reſted upon the ſand, and then again they were ſo prejudiced by the Sea-ſtorms, as ofttimes the work of many dayes was deſtroyed in a few houres. And really it was a pittifull caſe to ſee how much blood was there ſhed, and how little the meaner ſort of people who were imployed therein, did out of a deſire of gain value it.

This was the condition of *Oſtend*, when the Archduke bethought himſelf to give the care of that Siege to Marquis *Spinola*. Great certainly was the honour of ſuch an imployment; and *Spinola* in his coming ſo ſoon thereunto, may almoſt be ſaid to be become a Generall before he was a Souldier. Yet the Archduke hoped his fervencie in the ſervice would ſupply his want of experience: And he had already ſhewed great abilities in thoſe few military affairs which had paſſed through his hands. The Archduke likewiſe hoped that *Spinola* by his credit in matter of monies might much help thoſe expences which ſo difficult a Siege required; when it ſhould be managed by himſelf, and from which, if it ſhould have good ſucceſs, ſuch way ſhould be made for him to greater Honours. When the Archduke made him the offer, the Marquis, before he would accept of it, would firſt conſider what the event thereof might prove. He therefore went to the place it ſelf, and was very diligent in making the buſineſs be well weighed by old Souldiers, upon whoſe opinions he thought he might ſafely build. But they differed very much in their opinions: Some thought the buſineſs ſo difficult as there was no hopes of compaſſing it.

That it was one of the moſt generally received Maxims in the military profeſſion, not to venture upon a ſiege, unleſs there were firſt firm belief of keeping out all ſucco And how was it poſſible to be hoped that this might be done to Oſtend? *That the*

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great Channel by which relief was brought was totally open and free. That on the contrary the great Dike which was intended to hinder the ingress thereof, was but slowly proceeded in; and that by reasons of the ruins sometimes made by the Enemy, sometimes by the Sea, it was as fast torn in peeces as built. But say it should be brought to a good end, and that by the raising of a Fort there, as was intended, the mouth of the Channel should be commanded, would the Enemies vessels notwithstanding forbear frequenting that passage? For certainly so many would never be sunk by Canon-shot but that a great many more would succesfully pass by. And as for the Castle which Targone *proposed, what foundation could there be for such a machine? Which being exposed sometimes to be plaid upon from the Town; sometimes to the assaults of the Enemies ships; and sometimes to the fury and tempests of the sea, the expectations of such as were unexperienced would certainly be soon seen to vanish. Then since succour was not to be kept out, the siege was onely to be pursued by maine force. And that this would either never be done, because of the continual retreats which the Enemy would make within their line; or if it should be effected, it would cost so much monies, labour, and blood as the purchase of* Ostend *would be too dearly bought.*

But to this it was answered:

That to keep out succour was not so hard a matter as to be dispaired of. That the Dike went still forward; nor yet so slowly but that it might at last satisfie expectation. That when it should be brought to the Channel, and a great Fort be built there, it was not to be doubted, but that that passage would be thereby much impeded. That truly for the Castle propounded by Targone *the succes thereof was to be thought uncertain; but that if it should succeed, how much more would the Channel be thereby hindred? And say that machin should perish, the Fort would yet remain, by which though succour should not be totally taken away, it would be at least so weakned, as certainly the siege would be thereby much advantaged. That in fine, their greatest hopes were to be therein plated. That the line of* Ostend *was not so large, but that by winning now one fortification, now another, it might be kept from making retreats in perpetuity. That so happy progress was to be expected, from Batteries, Mines, and other continual works of the Spade and Mathook, as the besieged should not at last know whether to retreat. And in this case, how glorious would the victory be? And how great the profit which would be thereby got? Since the Province of Flanders, would be once free of so great a yoak, nor would the expence of monies, time or blood in such a siege be so considerable, but that in all other considerations the atchievement of such a Town, would be of far greater consequence.*

The Marquess strugling between these two contrarieties of opinions, thought at last that there was more hopes then fear in the offer which was made him; and therefore resolved cheerfully to accept it, and thought this a fair field for him to march in, and to advance his fortune still further in, in the wars.

Going then in the beginning of *October* to the siege, he began to take upon him the command thereof, and gave his Brigado to *Pompeo Justiniano*, who was Serjant Major thereof, leaving the other in *Lucio Dentici*, as before. The first thing the Marquess did was to make great store of provision of all such materials as were necessary, as well for the work of the great Dike on *Bredene*'s side, as for the other works which were to be made on the side of St. *Alberto*, on which side the Town was chiefly intended to be straitned and forced; the ground overagainst it was all sandy, and full of several Channels and little revolets, besides those two greater Channels which fell into the sea, as you have often heard. The same sea likewise at the flood did so whirle about every place thereabouts, as ground was not any where to be found to make Trenches, which were therefore to be supplyed with the abovesaid materials. These were chiefly brought by the Flotes invented by *Targone*, and though the great Dike did daily advance, yet it was known that such a work would prove too long, and too uncertain. The hope of keeping out succor growing then every day less and less, *Spinola* bent all his endeavours to take the Town by force. We told you before that all vessels were hindred from coming into the lesser Channel, on St. *Alberto*'s side, which fals there into the sea, by a Fort. Yet the Channel it self was of great advantage to the Enemy on that side, for it served for a great ditch to their Counterscarfe, which

was

was ſtrong of it ſelf, and yet made ſtronger by many Flanks by which it was defended. Before the Catholicks could come to aſſault the Counterſcarf, they muſt firſt paſs over the Channel; which was ſo hard to doe with ſafety, or ſhelter in any place thereof, as it was evidently ſeen that many of them muſt periſh, being ſo expoſed to be injured by the Enemy. The oppugnation was led on, on four ſides from St. *Alberto*'s quarter. The *Germans* wrought nearer the Sea; then followed the *Spaniards*; after them the *Italians*; and on the outmoſt ſide, more towards Land, the *Walloons* and *Burgonians*. Great was the fervencie of all theſe Nations; and ſuch a contention there was amongſt them in ſtriving which of them ſhould moſt advance the works, as the Souldiers emulation ſeemed rather a conteſt between Enemies, then between Rivals. The Channel was narrower, and more ſhallow where the *Burgonians* and *Walloons* wrought. They were therefore the firſt that paſt over it, and afterwards the other Nations did the like. To paſs over it, a great quantity of the aforeſaid materials were thrown into every part thereof where the aforeſaid Nations wrought. Thoſe materials were reduced to Dikes or Banks, upon which the Souldiers advanced towards the Town. But very many of them were ſlain and wounded: For the Defendants, with their hail of Muſket-ſhot, and tempeſt of greater Artillery, charged with little bullets and murdering ſhot in great quantity, and ofttime with artificial fire, made the Catholicks work on all thoſe ſides very bloody. The Souldiers, that they might go the beſt ſheltred that they could, invented many Fences: ſome conſiſted of Gabions fill'd with earth, well joyned and faſtned together; others of long Bavins, which ſtood upright, and ſtood ſo thick as they were muket-proof; and others in ſeveral forms made of the aforeſaid materials. *Targone* invented likewiſe a great Cart, from which a Bridge made of Cloth and Cords might unexpectedly be thrown over the Channel, and ſo the Enemies Defences might the eaſelier be aſſaulted. The Cart ſtood upon four very high wheels; and upon the forepart thereof roſe up as it were the Maſt of a ſhip, which ſerved chiefly to let down, and to take up the Bridge. But the whole bulk proved to be of ſo cumberſom a greatneſs, and ſo hard to be managed, that before it was undertaken, it was known it could work no effect. The aforeſaid Fences were wrought where the Artillery from the Town could not reach; and at the flowing of the Sea, they were brought upon the Flotes to the places where they were made uſe of. Great was the mortality likewiſe of thoſe that wrought here; the Enemy making uſually ſuch havock of them with their Muskets, Artillery, and Sallies, as ofttimes hardly one of them could be ſaved. But mony ſtill got new men; and ofttimes the Souldiers themſelves wrought. Nor was *Spinola* wanting in being in all places at all times, and in expoſing himſelf as well as any of the reſt to all labour and danger; encouraging ſome, rewarding others, and behaving himſelf ſo, as his imitating without any manner of reſpect unto himſelf the moſt hazardous works of others, made the reſt the more ready to imitate his.

When each Nation had paſt the Channel, each of them began with like emulation to force the Ravelins and Half moons which ſheltred the Counterſcarf: And the *Walloons* and *Burgonians*, by reaſon of their quarter, were the firſt that did it: But with much effuſion of blood, even of the Nobleſt amongſt them; for amongſt the reſt, *Catris*, a Walloon Campmaſter, was loſt, a valiant and greatly experienced Souldier, and whom *Spinola* highly eſteemed both for his deeds and councel. With the like progreſs, and no leſs loſs of blood did the other Nations advance. So as the Enemies at laſt loſt all the Fortifications which they had without their principal Line; about which a great Ditch ran, but not ſo hard to paſs as was the Channel which fenced the Counterſcarf. The eaſier doing of it, made the Catholicks hope better in the effecting thereof. Wherefore full of freſh courage, they prepared to continue their labours more heartily then ever, that they might the ſooner end the ſiege. But the winter being already come on, did much hinder their Works; and the Sea did then more deſtroy them by her Tempeſts. The Enemy did likewiſe make very fierce oppoſition; they ſet up Batteries within, againſt the Batteries without; to Mines oppoſed Countermines; they repaired themſelves on all ſides, and as faſt as one Rampire was loſt they ſet up another. So as the Catholicks were to advance by inchmeal; and yet they

did

did so advance, as by the Spring they were got well forward into the Ditch.

These already progressions of Marques *Spinola*, together with his still daily proceedings made the united Provinces shrewdly afraid that they should at the last lose *Ostend*. It was therefore consulted amongst their chief Commanders, how the Town might be best preserved. Which might be done by two waies; either by some important diversion, or by raising the siege by main force. The second affair brought with it such difficulties, as the first was imbraced. Wherefore they resolved to besiege *Sluce*. A Town which likewise stood upon the Sea, and of so great consequence, as did rather exceed then come short of those of *Ostend*. Having then made a very plentiful provision of vessels to carry their souldiers from *Flushing*, to the neighbouring Country where *Sluce* was seated, Count *Maurice* about the end of *April* in the new year 1604, moved with fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse to compass the said design. *Anno* 1604. We acquainted you with the discription of the situation of this place, and of the Territories thereof when it was besieged, and taken by the Duke of *Parma*; so as we shall need to touch but briefly upon it here. *Sluce* lies more within land then does *Ostend*; but so neer the Sea, as it enjoyes the conveniences thereof no less then doth the other; all the Country thereabouts is so full of Channels, Shores, and standing waters, as it is hardly commerceable at any time of the year, unless it be by banks or barks. From the lesser Channels a greater doth proceed, upon the shore whereof the Town stands, and which falling into the Sea, makes a very fit Harbor for all sorts of shipping. Upon divers sides of the same Channel stood sundry Forts, the better to command it, and one in particular called St. *Anne*, stood neerer the Town then the rest did. *Maurice* being entred into the Channel with his men, he tryed to land them and to take this Fort, by which his landing might be much withstood: but it was so well defended by Camp-Master *Justinian*, who was sent by *Spinola* into those parts, to observe the proceedings of the Enemy, least they might tend to the prejudice of the siege of *Ostend*, as *Maurice* could not make himself master thereof; wherefore he thought to land his men in an other part. *Matheo Serano* was Governor of *Sluce*; a Spaniard, and a souldier of much esteem; but who had but a small Garrison to guard the Town and Forts; wherefore he acquainted the Arch-duke with the need he stood in, both of victuals, men, and amunition. The Arch-duke encouraged him; and soon after sent him three hundred Foot, promising that he would ere long provide for the necessities of the Town and Forts. A little before this the Admiral of *Aragon* was returned to *Spain*, and *Velasco* was made General of the horse in lieu of him; *Velasco* being formerly General of the Artilery, in which place he was succeede by *Buckquoy*, who quitted his Brigado of Walloons. The Arch-duke then ordered *Velasco* to go to *Dama*; a very strong place between *Sluce* and *Bruges*; and that he should there hinder the Enemy as he should see occasion. *Maurice* this mean while had landed his men in another place, and taking now one situation, now another, prepared to besiege the Town. But all the Country there abouts was like a great Labyrinth of Channels and Banks. One branch sprung from another, and these framed a great number of little Islands, which were joyned together by bridges, and there was still every where more marish, then dry ground. These situations were in one respect a great advantage to Count *Maurice*, by affording him oppertunity to Fortifie himself; but were very disadvantagious to him in an other behalf, by reason of the vast circuit he was forced to take, ere he could finde ground fitting to place his quarters in. Amongst other Channels, there was one which ran from *Sluce* to *Dama*, which was of great concern to impede *Maurice*. Here particularly did *Velasco* oppose him, and making a bridge over it, began to build a Fort, he had not then men enough with him for his purpose. Wherefore being set upon by the Enemy, he was forced after a sharp fight to yeild the Pass, and was ill routed; above 400 of his men were slain and wounded, and above three hundred taken prisoners, the rest got back to *Dama*, whether *Velasco* also came. The Enemies loss was but very little; they were very much incouraged by this happy success: wherefore they continued to possess themselves by degrees of the rest of the Passes which were of greatest concernment; and *Maurice* was incredibly vigilant in

joyning

joyning one of them to another, and in ſecuring them with Trenches, Redoubts, and Forts. The Governor of *Sluce* had this mean while often renued his requeſt to be recruted with men, and with ſome good ſtore of ammunition and victuals. One thouſand five hundred men were therefore at ſeveral times conveyed unto him, and he was put in good hope, that all his other needs ſhould be ſoon provided for. But before this could be done, Count *Maurice* was ſo far advanced in his ſiege, as the Town began to be in manifeſt danger. He had taken either by aſſault, or compoſition almoſt all thoſe Forts by which the great Channel was commanded; and becauſe he knew that the Town was ill provided, eſpecially of victuals, his deſign was to take it without aſſault, onely by keeping out relief. But that they might come by ſome the beſt they could, the Arch-duke was come to *Bruges*, which lies almoſt in the midſt between *Sluce* and *Oſtend*, but he had not men enough to continue the one ſiege, and obſtruct the other. Yet he did all he could to gather together as many as he was able: and to that purpoſe went about to accord the Mutineers, that he might make uſe of them upon this occaſion. He was therefore content to aſſign over unto them the City of *Ruremonde* till ſuch time as they were fully paid, and in the interim made them a monthly aſſignment of certain monies: and that they might be the more ſure of what he promiſed them, he delivered up unto them as Hoſtages, the Duke of *Oſſuna*, a Grandee of *Spain*, who was come the year before into *Flanders* to militate in the Catholicks Camp; Count *Fontanoye*, one of the chiefeſt Flemiſh lords, and *Avalos*, who had formerly quitted his Italian Brigado. Whilſt theſe preparations were a making, *Juſtinian* endeavoured to convey ſome victuals and ammunition into *Sluce*; but met with ſuch an obſtacle as he could not effect it. And by this and other attempts it was known, that *Maurice* his fortifications were on all ſides ſuch, as there was but little hopes of Forcing them.

Marquis *Spinola* had this mean while made ſuch conſiderable progreſs about *Oſtend*, as the Arch-duke having ſtil a better opinion of him, reſolv'd that he ſhould try to relieve *Sluce*. *Spinola* ſaw that the Catholick Forces were then too weak to effect this; and thought that though they had been ſtronger, *Maurice* had already fortified himſelf too advantagiouſly on all ſides. He doubted likewiſe leaſt by bootleſsly endeavoring to relieve *Sluce*, the ſiege of *Oſtend* might be endangered, by too much weakning the forces which wrought upon it: out of theſe reaſons he denied this employment as much as he could; but being compelled by the Arch-duke, he obtained that ſome of the chief Commanders of the Army might go along with him, that he might be the better ruled by their advice, and that he might in this manner the better juſtifie the event touching the ſuccour which he already foreſaw would not be favourable. Leaving then ſo many men onely before *Oſtend* as might ſerve to continue the ſiege, he took away the reſt, and with ſome other men, to which the Mutineers did in a great part joyn: he made up an Army of ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, with ten peeces of Canon, and a large proviſion of victuals, which was that which *Sluce* wanted moſt. The want thereof was already ſo great, as if all the ſpeedier care were not taken, the Town could hold no longer out, and this the Governor had openly made known. *Spinola* therefore after he had aſſembled his men together about *Bruges* on the beginning of *Auguſt*, haſtned his march as much as he could, and went towards *Dama*. By the notice he had of the condition of the Enemies fortifications, he hoped to bring in the ſuccour by a little Village called *Terverde*. *Juſtinian* had likewiſe tryed to convey ſome victuals into the Town by that way; but he not being able to overcome the reſiſtance made by the Enemy; they had afterward fortified that place better: So as *Spinola* endeavouring the ſame again, he could by no means force the Paſs: taking a farther compaſs about, he attempted afterwards to get into the Iſland of *Caſſante*; on which ſide he imagined that the Enemies Trenches were neither ſo well fortified, nor ſo well guarded as in other parts. He met with ſome obſtacle in paſſing over ſome Channels; but he got over them, and giving the beſt fitting orders to march by night, and to come unexpectedly upon the Enemy, it was impoſſible for him by reaſon of divers difficulties he met with, to get thither before it was day. The Catholicks did notwithſtanding valliantly aſſault the Enemy; by whom being as

ſtoutly withſtood, the fight continued a great while; but Count *Maurice* coming in himſelf in perſon, and reinforcing the defence anſwerable to the danger, the Catholicks were at laſt forced to retreat There were ſome 400 of them ſlain, and as many hurt; amongſt which the Campmaſter *Borgia* was ſorely wounded in both his arms. In this action the Marquis of *Renty* was particularly ſlain, who was in the prime of his youth; of great expectation, and one of the chiefeſt of the Nobility of that Country. The enemy loſt likewiſe much bloud, and that of the beſt, in this fight. The aſſault proving ineffectual, the Town was ſoon after delivered up upon honourable conditions. Little leſs then 4000 ſouldiers marched out of it, and went to *Dama*, making a moſt compaſſionate ſpectacle: for they were all ſo macerated with hunger, having ſuffered the utmoſt extremities thereof, as they rather ſeemed skellitons then men. And in two ſhort hours march (for it is no more between *Sluce* and *Dama*) threeſcore of them dropped down dead for very weakneſs. *Sluce* being loſt, *Spinola* returned likewiſe to *Dama*; and went from thence to the ſiege of *Oſtend* again. *Sluce* was ſurrendred about the midſt of *October*, when Count *Maurice* entred thereinto: glorying that in three months time, and with the loſs of ſo little bloud, he had made a greater acquiſition then that of *Oſtend*, which would coſt above three years expence of time, and an infinity of Spaniſh gold and bloud, if it could not at leaſt hold out longer. Great ſtore of Artillery of all ſorts was found in the Town, and in the Forts; and all the Gallies which were well furniſhed with all things which were requiſite to the deſigne for which they were intended, fell likewiſe into *Maurice* his hands.

The Archduke appeared much diſpleaſed hereat. And it being to be doubted that the enemy, favoured by ſo important an acquiſition, and having all their Forces almoſt ſtill intire, would preſently come with diſplayed Banners to the relief of *Oſtend*; the Archduke therefore gave forth immediately all neceſſary Orders to keep them from ſo doing. Thoſe places towards which it was thought that *Maurice* might lead his Army from *Sluce* to *Oſtend*, were therefore ſpeedily provided for, and well fortified. And the Archduke gave the chief care thereof to *Spinola*; as to him who bore the whole burthen of the ſiege. Amongſt other places, he endeavoured to ſecure the Town of *Dama*, and the Fort *Blanchemburg*; the former being ſeated more inward into the Country, and the other upon the Sea, almoſt in equal diſtance between *Sluce* and *Oſtend*. *Maurice* muſt needs paſs either by the one or the other of theſe, to bring his men to the relief. And becauſe it was feared that he would rather do it by *Blanchemburg* ſide, *Spinola* drew thither as great a force as was neceſſary to withſtand *Maurice*, if he ſhould have the aforeſaid intent. Theſe Orders being given, he returned to the ſiege, reſolving to carry it ſo as it might the ſpeedilyer be ended. And he already thought himſelf almoſt ſure of it: For the loſs of *Sluce* had not only not diſheartned the Catholicks in the ſiege of *Oſtend*, but had rather inflamed them the more, out of a deſire that the loſs of that place might be counterpoiſed by the winning of this.

At the ſame time then that the enemies were hotteſt againſt *Sluce*, the Catholicks were no leſs fervent againſt *Oſtend*. Each of the aforeſaid Nations had proceeded on in their ſeveral quarters, purſuing to lead on their works in manner aforeſaid; but not without continual loſs of bloud; and amongſt the reſt, Camp-maſter *Melzi* was ill hurt in his leg; and Camp-maſter *Juſtinian* received ſuch a wound in his arm, as he was forced to have it cut quite off. Yet the Catholicks at laſt made themſelves maſters of the ditch; nor were they long afterwards in winning the firſt Line; though the enemy made as many retreats as they could in every Bulwark; making of one flank many, and very much retarding the oppugnors proceedings. When they had won the firſt Line, they diſcovered a new Fortification which thoſe within had raiſed with ditches, flanks, and other defences. *Sluce* was juſt then loſt; and it was feared that Count *Maurice* would come to the relief of *Oſtend*. The Catholicks being therefore ſo much the more moved, and *Spinola* being again returned, it is not to be expreſt with what fervor they fell to their works on all ſides. The greateſt progreſs was made towards the old Town of *Oſtend*. And becauſe when they ſhould have

have won that, they might eaſily hinder the entrance into the Channel, by the mouth whereof ſuccour was brought from the Sea; and for that the new Town was much commanded by the old, therefore *Spinola* did more reinforce his Batteries, aſſaults, mines, and all his other moſt efficacious works on that ſide then on any other. Nor was it long ere the Catholicks had almoſt wholly taken it.

They likewiſe advanced after the ſame manner againſt the new Fortification, ſo as now the beſieged had no where whither to retreat: wherefore wanting ground to defend, when they moſt abounded in all things for defence, they were at laſt forced to ſurrender the Town: which was done about the midſt of *September*, upon all the moſt honourable conditions that they could deſire. Count *Maurice* was often minded to attempt the ſuccour by main force; but conſidering that he was to enter into an Enemies Country, amongſt ſtrong and well garded Towns, and that he ſl ould meet with men that were very ready to fight; he thought it not fit after his proſperous ſucceſs at *Sluce*, to hazard falling into ſome misfortune, as upon ſuch an occaſion he might peradventure do; and therefore he forbore to do it. It was a remarkable thing to ſee ſo many ſouldiers march out of a Town: For there were above 4000 of them, all ſtrong and healthfull, they having enjoyed great plenty of all things in *Oſtend*, by reaſon of their continual ſuccours. So as beſides great ſtore of Artillery, there was found in the Town ſuch aboundance of Victuals, ammunition, and of whatſoever elſe may be imagined for the defence of a royal Town, as the like was never known to be in any other place.

Thus ended the ſiege of *Oſtend*: very memorable doubtleſs in it ſelf; but much more in conſideration of the ſo great expence of monies and time, which the winning and loſing of it coſt. The ſiege continued above three years; in which time the conſtant opinion was, that there dyed, what by the ſword, what by ſickneſs, above a hundred thouſand men, between the one and the other ſide. Whereby it may be conceived what proportionable monies, and other things were therein ſpent. The Town being yielded up, the Archduke and Infanta had the curioſity to go ſee it, and went from *Gaunt* thither; where they found nothing but a miſhapen Chaos of Earth, which hardly retained any ſhew of the firſt *Oſtend*. Ditches fill'd up, Curtains beaten down, Bulwarks torn in pieces, Half-Moons, Flanks and Redouts ſo confuſed one with another, as one could not be diſtinguiſhed from another; nor could it be known on which ſide the oppugnation, or on which ſide the defence was. Yet they would know all, and receive the whole relation from *Spinola's* own mouth. He repreſented at full the laſt poſture of the ſiege; he ſhewed the Spaniards quarters, and that of the Italians, as alſo thoſe of each other Nation. He related how ſtoutly they contended who ſhould outvie one another in pains taking; on which part the greateſt reſiſtance was made within; where the diſpute was moſt difficult without; where they wanted ground to retreat unto; where the Enemy uſed their utmoſt power; and where at laſt the Town was ſurrendred. The Archdukes ſaw the great Platform, the great Dike, and whatſoever elſe of curious might be ſuggeſted by the unuſual face of that ſiege; but not without the Infanta's great compaſſion, and even almoſt tears, by looking upon the horror of thoſe parts where the ſword, fire, ſea and earth may be ſaid to have conſpired together in making ſo long, and ſo miſerable a deſtruction of Chriſtians. They both of them did very much commend *Spinola*, and did alſo thank the reſt of the Commanders who had deſerved well in that enterpriſe. Nor did they leſs gratulate the inferior Officers and Souldiers, who had expoſed themſelves, moſt to thoſe dangers. They left the Seignor *de Griſon*, the Walloon Camp-maſter, Governor of *Oſtend*; and giving ſuch other Orders as were fitting for the keeping of that place, they returned to *Gaunt*, and ſoon after to their uſual abode of *Bruſſels*. *Autumn* this mean while ran on; and that Summers extraordinary toyl and labour had very much tired the Armies of both ſides: wherefore it was needfull for them to repoſe. They were therefore drawn out of the Field, and put into Garriſon. Soone after that yeere ended, and the other of 1605 began

Marquis *Spinola* had not as yet been at the Court of *Spain*, and therefore he would no longer delay going thither. He hoped that his taking of *Oſtend* would

Anno 1605.

make him be the better received in that Court, and cauſe him return the better ſatisfied to *Flanders*. The Archdukes were not willing to let him go; but afterwards ſent all ſuch praiſes with him, as might beſt further his going, and return. He went away about the latter end of the year, and was very honourably received both by the King, and the whole Court; wherein he treated long of the affairs of *Flanders*, ſhewing in particular, that they muſt uſe all means to carry the War into the Enemies Country, by paſſing the *Rhine*, and by diſplaying the Kings Banners in thoſe parts; ſo as the Rebels might receive their greater puniſhment nearer home. He lively repreſented the unruly Mutinies, and that there was no way to prevent them, but by paying the Souldier well; and he was ſo well liſtened unto in all other things, as the King thought it fitting to return him with all poſſible ſpeed back to *Flanders*. At his departure, he made him, and declared him to be, Camp-maſter-General, and Governor of all his Forces in thoſe Provinces; giving him very great authority, not only in the deſtributing of monies, but alſo in the exerciſe of his Command. He was honoured with the Golden Eleece, and ſo fully ſatisfied with all other manner of demonſtrations, as he returned very well pleaſed to *Flanders*. Arriving at *Bruſſels* with very good Bils of Exchange, he forthwith cauſed the mutiniers to be ſatisfied; and ſtrict orders were given for the raiſing of new men in *Germany*, and ſome others in the neighbouring Countries: beſides, a Brigado of Neopolitans was expected from *Italy*, and one of *Lombards*, and another which came by Sea from *Spain*.

This great preparation of Arms made by the Catholicks, being diſcovered, the Enemy were no leſs vigilant to come with good Forces likewiſe aſſoon as poſſibly they could into the field. They were the firſt that marched; and with ſuch a deſigne, as none more bold, nor of greater concernment could be imagined, if they had been therein anſwered by Fortune. Count *Maurice* having aſſembled together in the beginning of *May*, 15000 foot, and 2500 horſe, and imbarking the greateſt part of them, Count *Erneſtus* of *Naſſaw* entred into the *Scheld* with them, and Count *Maurice* met him with the reſt by land, near the great Fort of *Lillo*, two leagues peneath *Antwerp*. The United Provinces poſſeſt that Fort on the right hand ſhore, and another juſt over againſt it on the contrary ſhore. The deſigne was to cut thoſe Dikes on both the ſides by which the Sea is chiefly kept out at high Tide: So as the lower ſcituations being thereby overflown, the Enemy might the better fortifie the higher parts, and by this means begirt *Antwerp*, and ſo come by ſo important a City. They could not move ſo unexpectedly, but that the Archduke and *Spinola* had got notice of it long before. Neceſſary orders were therefore taken for the preſervation of thoſe Dikes, by certain Forts which ſtood on divers ſides where there was moſt need. To this purpoſe *Spinola* diſpatched away the Spaniſh Camp-maſter *Inico di Borgia*, and *Alonſo di Luna*, with their Brigadoes, and *Signor Balanſon* with his Brigado of Burgonians, immediately thither. The greateſt danger lay on the left ſide of the River, and here likewiſe was the greateſt defence made. *Maurice* knew very well what difficulties his deſigne would meet withall by this oppoſition: yet he would put it to the tryal. Wherefore aſſaulting the Dike which was neareſt *Callo*, his men endeavoured by all means to poſſeſs themſelves of it: But *Borgia*, who had the defence of it, did ſo repulſe the Enemy, as many of them were ſlain, many wounded, and many drowned in the River.

Count *Maurice* falling off this enterpriſe, reſolved to retreat, and came again to *Lillo* with all his Naval Preparation, and from thence went to *Zealand*, intending to advance into thoſe parts which were neareſt the Province of *Flanders*, and to endeavour ſome new acquiſition near *Slnce*. The Archduke ſuſpected this very much, and feared leſt *Maurice* would fall upon the Town of *Hulſt*, or upon the Fort *Saſſe*: wherefore *Spinola* went preſently to thoſe parts; throwing a bridg of boats over the *Scheld*, that he might the ſooner get over, he paſt with many Foot and Horſe into the Countrey of *Waſſe*, in the midſt whereof *Hulſt* ſtands, and here he prepared to oppoſe the enemy as he ſhould ſee occaſion. Count *Maurice* being entred into the Gulf which is neareſt the Fort *Saſſe*, and landing his men, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Seats thereabouts, and began

to

to fortifie himſelf in a certain part: ſhewing clearly that he intended to begirt that Fort. But it was ſo well provided to make defence, by *Spinola*, as there was no fear of loſing it; Nor was he long in appearing thereabouts himſelf. *Spinola* had with him thirteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, with great proviſion of all other things. He fortified himſelf alſo; and the Armies were ſo neer one another, as daily skirmiſher paſt between them. At this time came the three Brigadoes which were expected from *Italy*: But the other which came by Sea from *Spain*, had not the like Fortune. *Pietro di Sermiente* who was Camp-maſter thereof, conducted it in eight ſhips; and meeting with many great ſhips of *Holland* in the Engliſh Channel, which lay waiting for him, he was aſſaulted by them; and after a fierce fight, moſt of the Spaniſh ſhips, with the men that were in them were taken by the Enemy. The Camp-maſter ſaved himſelf with the reſt of the ſhips and ſouldiers, and got to *Dunkirk*. At the ſame time the Germans, and thoſe of the neigbouring Nations were likewiſe raiſed. Wherefore the Arch-duke reſolved *Spinola* ſhould no longer delay to put the deſign in execution, which was agreed upon in *Spain*; which was to paſs the *Rhine*, to advance into *Frieſland*, and to make ſome great diverſion againſt the Enemy on thoſe parts.

Count *Frederick de Berg* ſtayed therefore only with ſuch Forces, as might ſuffice to oppoſe *Maurice*, and *Spinola* went from the Province of *Flanders*, and coming to *Bruſſels*, paſt with all ſpeed to make his randezvouz at *Maſtrick*. Prince *Avelino* conducted over the Neopolitans, and returned preſently for *Italy*. *Franciſca Colonna*, Prince of *Paleſtrina* was then in *Flanders*, being a little before come thither from *Rome*; and there was likewiſe *Andrea Matteo Aquaviva*, Prince of *Caſerta*, who came thither likewiſe about the ſame time. One of the two Neapolitan Brigadoes was given to *Colonna*; and *Aleſſandro di Monti* was Camp-maſter of the other. Count *Guido* St. *Georgio* commanded the Lombard Brigado; and *Chriſtophero de Conti d' Emden* was the principal of the German Colonels. Before *Spinola* came to *Maſtrick* he had diſpatched away Count *Buckquoy*, General of the Artillery, to begin a Fort upon the right ſide of the *Rhine*, which was the moſt ſuſpected. The place he choſe was neer *Caſeſuert*, a little Town belonging to the Arch-biſhopriek of *Cullen*. Here *Buckquoy* began to build the Fort; whither it was not long ere *Spinola* came, who haſtning the work, cauſed it ſoon to be erected, with a Line of five Flanks; and raiſed another leſſer one on the other ſide towards *Cullen*. The Arch-duke and *Spinola* kept their intentions of paſſing with their Armies over the *Rhine* very ſecret; and therefore the Arch-duke ſeeming to his own Captains, as if he had ſome other deſign, had ofttimes had it argued in Councel, whether it were better to endeavour the recovery of *Sluce* or *Graves*, or to beſiege *Berghenapzome*, or rather *Breda*, never touching upon the true deſign. Upon the variety of theſe Propoſals, there was variety of opinions; and the Arch-duke had induſtriouſly wrought it ſo, as that the Enemy might be advertiſed of theſe conſultations, to make them the leſs ſuſpitious that they intended any thing beyond the *Rhine*: nor did his thoughts abuſe him, for the Enemy being thus deluded, and out of other reſpects, not beleeving that the Catholicks would put on ſo bold a reſolution, they were not time enough to relieve the Towns which *Spinola* begirt, and took in thoſe parts, (as ſhall be related) this ſo ſpeedy march of *Spinola*'s towards the *Rhine*, made the Enemy beleeve he would beſiege *Reinberg*, and the ſame opinion was conceived in the Catholick Camp, which did not yet know the true deſign. Of all others Count *Maurice* beleeved the like; who therefore had made Count *Erneſtus* march away with good Forces; to the end that the fortifications of that place might be by him ſo ſtrengthned both without and within, as there might be no fear of loſing it.

This mean while the two aforeſaid Forts were finiſhed by *Spinola*, by which that paſſage of the *Rhine* was ſecured. He then no longer deferred the making known whither the Catholick Camp was bent: but calling a Councel of War, he ſaid;

That the King and Arch-duke had reſolved to carry the war to the Rebels own homes, and more inward if they could. That ſo ſtrong an Army was prepared to this purpoſe.

purpose. That to this purpose monies were prepared to maintain the Army; And that to the same end he had already secured the passage over the Rhine. *That the determination was to enter the Enemies Country towards* Friesland; *and particularly to make use of all their power to take the Town of* Linghen *in those parts. That his Highness pleasure was, that this design should by all means be kept secret, that so it might be the easilyer effected; and that there was almost no doubt to be made of it. That they knew the Town was at this time but ill provided; the Enemy never having dreamed, that it could at such a distance, and so at unawares be assaulted by the Catholick Forces. That it was true it was a great way off; and that they were to pass through a great part of the Neutrals Countries, where it might be feared they might suffer for want of victuals. But that there was already great provision made thereof; and that they were to march through that Country with such discipline, as the souldiers being no ways troublesome, and having sufficient monies for plenty of victuals, they need fear no want. That for what remained, the taking of such a Town would be of very great importance. That Count* Maurice *had still fortified it better; that it lay in the Havens of* Friesland, *almost upon the Confines of* Germany: *and that if once they should get footing there, wherefore might they not hope, that this happy success might be insued by many more happy.*

The Councel of War did much approve of this advice; and it was likewise very chearfully received by all the Souldiery. The Army was compounded of the usual Nations; and consisted of 16000 Foot, and 3000 Horse. They were particularly to pass over a great part of the neutral Countrey of *Cleves*, and *Westphalia*. And to the end that all things might be the fairlyer carryed on, both in them, and in all other places of the like nature; *Spinola* had with him the Count *di Lora*, one of the chiefest and best esteemed Lords of all *Flanders*, who was to negotiate with the Magistrates of each Town, and to give them all due satisfaction. To secure the passage of the *Rhine*, and the Army also on their back; Count *Bucquoy* had the charge of the new Forts, having 6000 Foot and 500 horse with him. From whence *Spinola* marched away with the rest, and began to enter into the Countrey of *Cleves*, and after into *Westphalia*. He marched still orderly, and with so exquisite and severe discipline, as victuals were brought unto the Camp in great aboundance from all parts. Coming out of those Countries, he entred into the Province of *Overisel*, belonging to the United States, and very near *Friesland*. The first considerable Town he met with there, in that passage was *Oldensel*; not above one short days journey from *Linghen*. The Councel were of opinion that the taking of this Town would facilitate the taking of the other. *Oldensel* was weak of it self, and the enemy not expecting to have it assaulted, had neglected to fortifie it. *Spinola* incamping before the Town, opened trenches on three sides; and in each of them prepared a battery; and all this was done with such speed, as the defendants failing in their courage, or rather in their forces, the Batteries were not wel begun, when they treated of surrender, and went out of the Town. *Spinola* had in this interim sent away Count *Theodore Trivulsio*, with almost all the Horse, who was Lieutenant General of them, that he might possess himself of all the chiefest situations about *Linghen*. And coming himself after with the rest of the Army, incamped before the Town, and according to his custome, gave out quarters to each Nation. *Linghen* lies almost at an equal distance between the western *Friesland* belonging to *Flanders*, and the eastern one appertaining to *Germany*: It hath a good Country about it. And (as we have already told you) the United States had formerly given that Town, with the Territories thereof to Count *Maurice*, in acknowledgement of the service he had done them. He had therefore fortified the Town very Royally, adding a great Platform to the Line thereof, and muniting it with six Bulwarks; each of which had a large and deep Ditch about it. But the Town being set upon so unexpectedly, it wanted many other things appertaining to the defence thereof. When the Catholicks therefore incamped before it, they met with almost no resistance in their beginning their Trenches, and in their leading of them on. There were hardly 600 foot in Garison there, and they had hardly ten pieces of Canon. In so much as making but few sallies, and doing but little harm with their Canon, at three days end the Catholicks came to the Ditch; and placed their Artillery to play upon the Town on sundry sides. The greatest difficulty

culty lay in getting over the Ditch. It was broadeſt, and deepeſt where the Spaniards wrought: wherefore they thought to drain the water from it, and to lay it dry. But there was no lower parts about it. The place eaſieſt to paſs over fell to the Italians and Walloons; and theſe two Nations ſtriving which of them ſhould be foremoſt, ſtrove likewiſe who ſhould expoſe themſelves to greateſt danger; in ſo much as many of each Nation were ſlain and wounded, yet they did ſo advance with Earth, Bavins, and other materials, as they both of them paſſed over the Ditch almoſt at the ſame time. They then fell to mining, that they might the ſooner come to aſſaults. But they within were not in a condition to expect them. Wherefore hanging out ſignes of ſurrender, they were ſuffered to march out honourably, and *Spinola* entred the Town, not having ſpent above eight days in the taking of it. He preſently applyed himſelf to fortifie it better then it yet was: adding a half-Moon betwixt one Bulwark and another, and by raiſing a *Strada Coperta* well flank'd without the Ditch.

This mean while Count *Maurice* was likewiſe upon his march; and parting from the Province of *Flanders*, had alſo paſſed the *Rhine* to oppoſe *Spinola*: and ſtaying in *Deventer*, the chief Town of *Overiſel*, he bethought how he might preſerve *Linghen*. But being prevented by the ſpeedy ſiege, and then by the ſurrender, he had not time to make ſuch preparations as were fitting for that purpoſe. He therefore turned with 7000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe towards *Coworden*, to ſecure a great Fort which was there, in caſe that *Spinola* ſhould aſſault it. But the new Fortifications about *Linghen* being finiſhed, and leaving that Town well provided for, as alſo the other of *Oulden ſel*, *Spinola* would tarry no longer in thoſe parts. Great complaints were made in *Germany* againſt the Forts of *Caſeſwert*, a place ſituated in the Territories of *Cullen*, which is a City belonging to the Empire. Wherefore the Archduke not willing that the neighbouring Countries ſhould be again irritated, as they had been a few years before; ordered *Spinola* that he ſhould ſlight thoſe firſt Forts, and ſhould erect two others, upon the *Rhine*, at *Rorort*, a Town in the County of *Mures*, which County did belong to *Flanders*. *Spinola* went therefore from *Linghen* thitherward, and with all diligence began to raiſe the new Forts upon the banks of *Rhine* And the ſeaſon being yet very good for lying in the field, he reſolved that Count *Bucquoy* ſhould go take *Vachendonch*. This Town ſtands very low, and is held for one of the ſtrongeſt both for nature and induſtry, that is in the Province of *Ghelderland*, as you may have heard before.

Bucquoy began his works upon a little riſe, and fortified certain paſſes, where ſuccour was moſt to be ſuſpected: though it were credibly believed, that *Maurice* would not attempt it, to ſhun putting himſelf betwixt the men which *Spinola* kept with him at *Rorort*, and thoſe that *Bucquoy* carried along with him to beſiege *Vachendonch*. Theſe conſiſted almoſt wholly of the Brigadoes belonging to *Juſtinian*, *Branchatchio*, and St. *George*. Theſe Italian Camp-maſters, and their Souldiers vying who ſhould be forwardeſt therein, more then if they had been to contend with other Nations, they quickly advanced their Trenches. One Camp-maſter ſucceeded the other, after every days work, which continued alſo the inſuing night, that they might advance the ſpeedyer, and with the more ſafety. There were 1300 foot in the Town, nor wanted they ſufficient Artillery by which at a further diſtance, and by their ſallies nearer hand, they endeavoured to hinder the aſſailants Works. On the ſide where theſe wrought, there ran a little Rivolet, which did almoſt joyn with the Town-Ditch on that ſide. When the Catholicks came to this Rivolet, they were withſtood in paſſing over it; but repulſing the Enemy, they came to the Ditch; where meeting with freſh obſtacles, they again overcame them. Being entred into the Ditch, they were very diligent to win it; filling it with earth, and other materials, and mainly endeavouring to get to the Line. It was now about the end of *October*, and it was apprehended leſt the Autumnal rains might hinder the works more, then the low and miery ſituation of the Town it ſelf did retard them. Wherefore they continued their works with ſuch eagerneſs, as at laſt the Ditch was totally won at the price of death and wounds. They then fell to Mines, and from Mines to Aſſaults; in ſo much as the Catholicks lodged in the Platform of the Wall, being

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brought to this bad condition, the defendants did no longer delay to treat of ſurrender, which being agreed upon, they quitted the Town upon good conditions.

Whilſt *Buckquoy* beſieged *Vachendoncke*, there happened a very conſiderable party between *Spinola*'s Camp, and that of Count *Maurice*. *Spinola* kept about *Rorort* by reaſon of the new Forts which he cauſed to be erected upon the *Rhine*, and *Maurice* was not far of, upon the ſame ſide of the River; each Camp obſerved the others proceedings, either to get advantage, or not to be indammaged thereby. *Maurice* knew that the Catholicks Cavalry was quartered far enough from the reſt of the Camp, and that they were ſufficiently at odds within themſelves. Wherefore he hoped that by aſſaulting them ſuddenly, he might greatly diſorder them, and peradventure totally defeate them. They were quartered in the village *Mulem*, and in the Caſtle *Bruck*; the one of which was ſeated upon the left hand, and the other upon the right, of the little River *Roer*: The ſaid quarter was kept by *Trivulſio*, Lieutenant General of the Horſe, who had given very accurate orders every where, where it was behoofeful, that he might not be ſet upon at unawares. But theſe orders were very ill obſerved, and *Maurice* being advertiſed of the Souldiers careleſsneſs, he went with three thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and ſome peeces of Artillery; and marching by night, came upon break of day to the quarter. He forthwith made his brother *Henry* advance, who was General of the Horſe, a young man about ſome twenty years of age, but ſprightly and bold beyond his age; and who after Count *Maurice* his death, ſucceeded him both in the ſame command in war, in the like reputation of name, and did afterwards prove ſo gallant a Commander. *Henrie*'s unexpected aſſault put the firſt Guards to flight, and likewiſe diſorder'd *Franciſco Arirazaval*, a Spaniard, who was quartered with a Troop of Horſe in certain houſes near the Caſtle *Bruck*. There *Henry* would have paſſed over the River, and have aſſaulted the chief quarter of *Mulem*. But in this interim *Trivulſio* and many of his men were got on horſe-back, and encountring *Henry*, did ſo ſtoutly oppoſe him, as he could not paſs over the River.

Velaſco General of the Catholicks Horſe, was then with *Spinola*, to ſolicite likewiſe the raiſing of the Forts, and caſually both of them came to viſit the Horſe quarter, when by the way they met a meſſenger whom *Trivulſio* had ſent to pray aid. *Spinola* returned preſently to the Forts to bring on ſuccour, and *Velaſco* advanced in all haſte towards the Quarter; and meeting with *Frabritio Santomango* a Neopolitan Captain of Horſe, who was going with three other Horſe Companies to *Rorort* to guard the Forts, he made him turn back with him to *Mulem*. *Velaſco* came in juſt when *Trivulſio* over-powred by the Enemy, could no longer withſtand them. But this aid did ſo enharten the Catholicks, as a fierce fight enſued thereupon; wherein *Velaſco* in particular, wan great praiſe; commanding, executing, and in all things elſe making his courage and his long military experience appear. *Spinola* came in this mean while with ſix hundred Spaniſh Foot, which ſuddenly followed him, and two thouſand more were to come after. He made uſe of a Stratagem often practiſed by Commanders, which was to ſend forward ſome Drums on Horſe-back, which might beat a march, to make the Enemy believe that new and greater ſuccour was with like haſte coming to the Catholicks; nor did the invention prove vain: for *Maurice* judging (as it was likely) that *Spinola* was either coming with new men from the Catholick Camp of *Rorort*, which was not far diſtant, or that he ſent ſome freſh aid; would no longer forbare retreating. And yet *Spinola* came time enough to prejudice the Enemy in their retreat; for after his coming many of them were ſlain as they departed: But this was not done without a great loſs to the Catholick party. *Trivulſio* being ſlain with a Canon ſhot, whilſt he, having fought even to the laſt, and ſtill with the ſame courage ſaw the Enemy almoſt wholly retired. On the Catholicks ſide *Santomango* was likewiſe ſlain, and *Nicola Doria* another Captain of Horſe, was ill hurt, and taken priſoner. Above three hundred other Catholicks were ſlain or hurt, and above five hundred in like manner of the contrary party. The fight being over, and the quarter being well ſecured, *Spinola* and *Velaſco* returned to *Rorort*. In the Territory of *Moeurs*, which joyns upon

upon the other Bank of the *Rhine*, there was a Garriſon of the Enemies in the Caſtle of *Cracove*, which did much annoy the Gountry thereabouts. *Vachendonke*, lately taken by *Bucquoy* was not far from thence: *Spinola* therefore thought, that by all means that Garriſon muſt be driven from thence: and ſending *Bucquoy* with the ſame men, to ſee it done, the Caſtle was ſoon invironed on all ſides. Thoſe within expected a formal battery; and the weakneſs of the place being ſuch, as it would be in vain to make any reſiſtance, *Bucquoy* would have the Garriſon yeild upon diſcretion; yet ſuffered them afterward to come forth with their lives ſaved. It was now about the end of *November*, and by reaſon of the rain there was no longer keeping in the field; wherefore *Spinola* having made the Forts ſufficiently defenceable, and leaving men enough to guard them, reſolved to put his Army in Gariſon; and *Maurice* did the like.

Spinola being come to *Bruſſels*, he diſcourſed a long time with the Arch duke, touching what they ſhould undertake in the field the next year. The reſolution was, That by an Army apart, they ſhould continue what they had already begun beyond the *Rhine*, and uſe all means to paſs over the *Yſel*, and prejudice the Rebels as much as they could on that ſide. And that at the ſame time they ſhould endeavour to paſs over the *Wahal* with another Army, and to get footing in ſome conſiderable place in the Iſland of *Betway*, that the Catholicks Armies might advance ſo much the further into that part of *Holland*. This was a high deſigne, and the difficulties that were therein to be met withall were foreſeen: for it was not to be doubted but that the United Provinces would endeavour with like Forces to hinder thoſe paſſages, and would uſe all other needful oppoſition. *Spinola* thought it therefore fit to go himſelf again to the Court of *Spain*, to the end, that by his more efficatious ſhewing of how great a concerne the aforeſaid undertakings were, the King with the Authority of his Councel might approve thereof; and ſo deal with his Forces, as that they might prove fully effected. The Arch-duke was of the ſame opinion, and *Spinola* departed in the very latter end of that year.

Now came in the next year of 1606. memorable for that it was the laſt for that time, in which after ſo long and bitter war, the *Flanders* Forces went into the field. For in the enſuing year the Treaty of Truce began, which was afterwards concluded for twelve yeare, as we ſhall by and by tell you. *Spinola* being arrived at *Madrid*, it was not hard for him to perſwade the King to the ſame things which the Arch-duke had formerly approved of: the greateſt difficulty lay in finding out ſufficient monies for ſuch enterpriſes; for, to boot, with the uſual contributions of the obedient Provinces of *Flanders*, it was caſt up that three hundred thouſand Crowns a moneth would be requiſite to come from *Spain*. An exceſſeſſive expence in it ſelf, and much more in reſpect of the ſo many other great expences, which the vaſtneſs of the Spaniſh Empire did neceſſarily require in ſo many other parts: yet ſuch diligence was uſed, as there was courſe taken for it; and ſome part thereof was disburſt in *Flanders* before hand, to raiſe new men, and in providing divers other things which were neceſſary for going into the field. Theſe negotiations kept *Spinola* longer in *Spain* then the affairs of *Flanders* would allow of. At his departure, the King to witneſs his confidence in him, and eſteem of him, made him one of his chief Councel of State. He at laſt began his journey backward by the way of *Italy*; and parting from *Genua*, was ſtayed in his journey by a Feaver, which kept him from coming to *Bruſſels* till the firſt of *June*. Nothing of conſiderable had this mean while been done in *Flanders*: only Monſieur *de Teraglia*, a Frenchman had put himſelf into the Kings ſervice, he being very well verſed in matter of Artillery and Petars, which are made uſe of in ſurpriſals. Whereof he made uſe of divers on both ſides the *Rhine*; but ſince none of them wrought any conſiderable effect, we will forbare to mention them.

Anno 1606.

Spinola being arrived, and the Army being increaſed by new Germans and Walloons, and by 2000 Spaniards, who were come from *Italy* under the Camp-maſter *Jovanni Bravoi*; the Archduke would no longer forbear putting the aforeſaid deſignes in excution. And thus it was carried. *Spinola* made his Rendezvouz about the Forts upon the *Rhine*, and having muſtered there 12000 Foot and

2000 Horſe, he reſolved to advance into that other part where *Oldenſell* and *Linghen* were taken the yeat before. The reſolution was, as we told you, to paſſe over the River *Yſel*, and to get into *Vela*, which is an open Country, and near *Utricht*, a City of great circuit, but badly fortified; in ſo much as they might hope to take ſo principal a Town, and having well fortified it, to trouble *Holland*, near which that City ſtands on that ſide. Count *Bucquoy* prepared at the ſame time to paſs over *Wahal*, intending to bring the Catholick Forces into the Iſland of *Betua*, and there to get footing, and take ſome place of importance. *Nimingben* would have been the moſt conſiderable of all others; a great City, ſcituated upon the left ſide of the ſame River, and which bore great conſequences with it. We have ſo often, upon ſo many other occurrences, ſpoken of this City, and of the ſame Rivers of *Wahal* and *Yſel*, as it will be ſuperfluous to make the ſame relations again here.

Bucquoy had with him 10000 Foot, and 1200 Horſe, with plenty of all neceſſary proviſions; and in *Spinola*'s Camp there were above 3000 Carriages with great ſtore of Victuals and Ammunition; with Mils, Ovens, and all other accommodations neceſſary. This extraordinary great preparation on the Catholicks behalf, made the United Provinces firſt very ſuſpitious, and then very fearfull. They had not then Forces enough to oppoſe the Catholicks in the open Field; they therefore reſolved to ſupply that want, by fortifying thoſe River-banks, where moſt fear was to be had that the Catholicks would endeavour to paſs over; by better fortifying thoſe Towns which they thought they would aſſail. And truly they made wonderfull Fortifications upon this occaſion. They made a great many Redouts upon the banks of all that ſhore of the *Wahal*, which runs along the Iſland of *Betua*, where it might be feared the Catholicks might attempt to poſſeſs it on that ſide. A *Corps de Gard* was aſſigned, with Sentinels to every Redout; and according to occaſion one Redout was to aſſiſt another. At the ſame time divers men of War, and other Boats were to ſcoure up and down upon the River, to be another ſort of impediment; and ſtrict Orders were given to all the Towns thereabouts, that with great vigilancy they ſhould be prepared to ſend forth men, to make the like oppoſition. The other yet greater tract of ground which ran along the ſhore of *Yſel*, was likewiſe equally defended. So as having made theſe proviſions, the Enemy ſeemed little to dread what the Catholicks could do. And yet Count *Maurice* aſſembled ſo great a body of an Army together, as being added to thoſe ſo advantagious Fortifications where moſt need required, might cauſe the greater hopes of rendring all contrary deſignes vain.

Spinola parted from the Rendezvouz about the beginning of *July*, and marched towards *Yſel*. The ſeaſon was very rainy before he could paſs the *Rhine*. The Climate of *Flanders* doth naturally abound in moyſture and rain. And the Spring, and Summer, and Autumn, are uſually there ſo confounded together, as one ſeaſon can hardly be diſcerned from another; but extraordinary ſtore of rain fell particularly that Summer, and all the while the Enemy kept in the Field during that year. *Spinola* marched through low grounds, where the water which was already fallen, and which ſtill continuing to fall, had made the ways through which he marched, extraordinarily durty, and ſlippery. It is not to be ſaid how much the Souldiers ſuffered thereby; how much the Artillery was incommodiated; and particularly how great the diſorder was in conducting ſuch an unuſual number of Carriages. *Spinola*, and the reſt of the Commanders, and the whole Army, were greatly afflicted in ſeeing the ſeaſon prove ſo perverſe; and they were more grieved when they heard that the Rivers were ſo ſwoln, as they were not to be forded over in any part. *Spinola* knew likewiſe what great Fortifications the Enemy had made on the contrary ſhore, and whatſoever elſe they had done to impede the paſſage. Yet he ſtill drew towards *Yſel*; and afterwards marched towards thoſe parts where *Zutfen* and *Deventer* ſtand. Between theſe two Towns, on the other ſide the River did Count *Maurice* keep with his Army, that he might turn where occaſion ſhould moſt require. *Spinola* did ſtudiouſly endeavour to make him ſtill keep there, till ſuch time as Count *de Sora* might come to a certain place a good way from thence, which was a little below

below the Town *Suole*, where he intended that *Sora* ſhould by all means attempt to paſs over the River: and in the mean while *Spinola* thought it might be advantagious for him to take *Lochem*, a little Town, not very ſtrong, but oportune for the condition of the ſcituations where he at that time kept. He therefore ſent the Camp-maſter *Borgio*, who was a little before choſen Governour of *Antwerp* Citadel, to begirt it with 3000 Foot, and 50 Horſe. He met with but ſhort reſiſtance: For the Catholicks being come in two days to the Ditch, and having began a Battery on the third day, thoſe within ſurrendred the Town. *Spinola* hoped ſtill that the River of *Yſel* would fall, and that Count *Sora* might get over it, at the aforeſaid place. But he being come thither, and having made ſome tryal, found both the water ſo high, and the oppoſition made by the Enemy ſo great, as he failed in his deſigne.

Whilſt Marquis *Spinola* laboured thus on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, *Bucquoy* had alſo gathered his Army together on this ſide, in *Brabant*; and paſſing the *Mauſe* over againſt *Moch*, kept there. *Moch* is an open Village not above four leagues from the *Wahal*. *Bucquoy*'s intention was to attempt a paſſage in a certain place which lay juſt in the midſt between *Schincks* Sconce and *Nimínghen*; he had cauſed a great many of Barks proportionable to the deſigne, to be carryed upon Carts, to put them into the River; and to put thereinto men ſufficient to make way through the contrary ſhore. Amongſt other Commanders, Camp-maſter *Juſtinian* was with *Bucquoy*, who imployed him in attempting the ſaid Paſſe. *Juſtinian* going therefore with 4000 Foot, two pieces of Arrillery, and neceſſary Barks for the tranſporting of them, prepared to put the deſigne in execution. But he found the Enemy no leſs ready to oppoſe him on that ſide the *Wahal*, then they had been on the other ſide of *Yſel*. The River was much greater, and much more rapid then uſual. Wherefore the Marriners could not govern their Barks as they would have done; nor were their Artillery of any advantage to them; for the contrary ſhore was better furniſhed therewithall: and therefore all attempts proving vain, *Juſtinian* retyred to joyn with the reſt that were with *Bucquoy*. *Spinola* having notice hereof, knew there was no more hopes of paſſing over either in the one, or in the other place; he reſolved then not to part from thoſe places where he was, without making himſelf Maſter of ſome place of importance.

The chiefeſt Towns the Enemy had thereabouts were *Zutfen* and *Deventer*, both of them ſeated upon the *Yſel*, but ſo munited both by the River on one ſide, and by their Fortifications on the other ſide, as they required longer time, and greater Forces then *Spinola* then had to offer at the winning them. Beſides, *Maurice* kept with his Army almoſt in the midſt between them. Nor was it to be doubted but that he might be at liberty to ſuccour which of the Towns he would. The Town of *Groll* is not far from thereabouts; and though it were not to be compared with the other two, it was notwithſtanding to be eſteemed a place of great conſequence, both in it ſelf, and becauſe by the ſcituation thereof the other two Towns of *Oldenſel*, and *Linghen*, which were won the preceding year, might be the better ſheltered. *Spinola* therefore reſolved to apply himſelf to this ſiege. And the deſigne being approved of in the Councel of War, he marched towards it on the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Groll* lies in a plain; and on the one ſide thereof runs *Berchel*, a little River, but ſufficient to ſerve for a good defence to the Town on that ſide; on the other ſide the Line was well Flanked, and beyond the chiefeſt Ditch ſtood other Flanks, with Ditches likewiſe. *Spinola* diſtributed his quarters out on three ſides, with his uſual diviſion of Nations; to boot with the Iriſh, who in Queen *Elizabeths* time were naturally inclined to fight under the Catholicks Colours in *Flanders*, many Engliſh and Scots did the like now. Which was permitted by the new King who ſucceeded her, to witneſs the good intelligence which he held with the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-dukes. The ſiege being begun, and the Catholicks ſtriving to end it as ſoon as they could, they came with their Trenches in three dayes to the Ditch which invironed the Half-moons without. Then the ſeveral Nations ſtrove a main who ſhould firſt paſs over it: in which ſome bridges of cloath extended upon rafters and little casks did great good; a device invented by the Engineer *Targone*. The firſt

Ditch being paſt over, ſome conteſt was had, and not without the loſs of much blood, before they could get the Half-moons: but the Aſſailants making themſelves maſters of them alſo, betook themſelves to ſtorm the chief Line; nor were their Batteries this mean while Idle; aſſiſted by which, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the greateſt Ditch, and came to the aforeſaid Line. Thoſe within laboured as much as they could to make good their defences: but all of them being at laſt beaten down by the batteries from withour, they knew it would be but vain to make any further reſiſtance, and therefore reſolved to deliver up the Town, and thus in nine dayes ſpace *Spinola* took it.

Having gotten this place much ſooner then he expected, and thinking that he had yet time enough, to attempt ſome other Town of better conſequence, he bethought himſelf of *Reinberg*; which had been ſeveral times taken and retaken by the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes, and by the United Provinces. But being laſt taken by Count *Maurice*, he had fortified it much better them formerly it was; particularly the year before, and this very year, fearing leaſt one of *Spinola*'s chief ends about the *Rhine*, might be to beſiege that Town. This was very much approved of in the Councel of war, and it was hoped that it might be ſoon effected. *Spinola*'s Army was ſo diminiſhed by reaſon of the unuſual troubles which it had undergone, as his Forces alone were not ſufficient to undertake ſuch an enterpriſe: wherefore he writ to *Bucquoy* to come with all ſpeed to him. *Bucquoy* drew firſt near *Reinberg* on that ſide which lies towards *Brabant*; and *Spinola* ſoon after came on the other ſide which looks towards *Frieſland*. When *Maurice* had diſcovered the deſign, he ſuddenly diſpatched away his brother *Henry* with two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe into the Town, and began to make fitting proviſions to come to the full relief thereof himſelf. This mean while all the Catholick Forces came on both ſides the *Rhine*; inſomuch, as about the end of *Auguſt Spinola* incamped himſelf formally before the Town on both ſides. *Reinberg* is ſeated on the left hand of the *Rhine*, which is thought to be one of the moſt advantagious ſituations which is to be had about that River. To her former ancient and but ill flancked Line, was added a ſecond, which had a great number of Ravelins, Half-moons, and other greater, and leſſer Flanks, which were all accompanied with a Ditch and *Strada Coperta*. Nor did the outward Rampires end here, but a third Line was almoſt finiſhed, with new works, flanckt, and of a large circuit, to the end that embracing ſo much compaſs abroad, the inward fortifications might be the better ſheltered, and defended. Not far from the ſhore where the Town is ſituated, an Iſland of ſmall circuit riſeth in the River: in it there was a Fort with four flancks, to which other fortifications were added, which took up almoſt the whole Iſland. And a Fort was likewiſe placed on the other ſide of the ſhore, but with greater Flancks, with Trenches, and other defences near it. The ſiege began hotteſt on this ſide, for they deſired firſt to bereave the Enemy of the Fort on the aforeſaid ſhore, and then of the other in the Iſland. Here then they began firſt to fight. The Catholicks were firſt to win the great Trench: but they met with great reſiſtance; and the beſieged ſallyed ſo fiercely out upon them both with Foot and Horſe, as they could not take that fence from the Enemy ſo ſoon as they thought to have done: yet they did ſo vigorouſly reinforce their aſſaults, as they won the Trench, and made uſe of it afterwards to go the better ſheltered to the taking of the Fort. Where the buſineſs was more hotly diſputed, and the Camp-maſters *Autunes*, a Spaniard, and St. *Georgio* an Italian behaved themſelves therein very gallantly. But after ſome dayes ſtout reſiſtance, thoſe within the Fort were at laſt forced to quit it, and went into the other Fort in the Iſland, which was commanded by the other, which gave great advantage to the Catholick for the eaſier coming by this alſo; and which hapned after divers bickerings, which coſt much blood on both ſides. The Forts being taken, *Velaſco*, the General of the Horſe, ſtayed on that ſide the River, and was very careful in fortifying a quarter; for Count *Maurice* was on that ſide, between *Weeſel* and *Res*, intending to come himſelf unto the ſuccour very ſpeedily, *Spinola* would go to the other ſhore, that he might be an eye witneſs of the works which were to be made on that ſide. He from the beginning had made the bridge of boats, firſt built at

Rorort,

Rorort, to fall down near *Reinberg*, to the end that his Army might have ſuch communication as was needful from the one and the other ſide. *Maurice* had likewiſe throwne another bridge over the *Rhine*, a little beneath, that he might the more eaſily paſs to relieve the Town; to which purpoſe he aſſembled men together, and made all other neceſſary proviſions. The chief bulk of the buſineſs being then brought to that part whither *Spinola* was gone, the Catholiks began to advance with their Trenches. There was above 4000 Foot, and 300 Horſe in the Town, many pieces of Artillery, and great proviſion of all things that were neceſſary for the defence thereof. There was particularly much French Nobility, who were come to exerciſe their Arms under Count *Maurice*. The beſieged therefore ſallied almoſt every day out of the Town; and ofttimes acting the part rather of beſiegers then beſieged, they fell furiouſly upon the Trenches, hindred the works, and endeavoured by all means to retard the Catholicks proceeding. They made one very fierce ſallie in particular againſt the Italians Trenches: But the Camp-maſters, *Juſtinian* and *Brancherone* did ſo valiantly defend them, as the Enemy was forced to give back, and to retreat. A like action, and with a like ſucceſs happened where *Bucquoy* made his men work, who were almoſt all of them Germans and Walloons. Nor were the ſallies leſs frequent againſt the Spaniards quarters, nor leſs ſtoutly withſtood. *Spinola* had a great care at the ſame time over all the works, viſiting the quarters, encouraging the ſouldiers, and ſtudying to haſten the inward works, and to ſecure the fields without; in which the Cavalier *Meltzi*, who ſucceeded *Trivulſio* in the Lieutenancy of the Horſe, did worthily behave himſelf; and wherein amongſt other Captains, our brother Cavalier *Bentivoglio*, was much imployed with his Company of Lances, moſt commonly augmented with other Troops of Curaſſiers and Harquebuſiers. The Catholicks did every day thus advance; and the Enemies defences were continually played upon by them, with above 30 pieces of Canon; and the foremoſt which were furtheſt outward and were the leaſt exact, could already no longer reſiſt their aſſaults. Wherefore the Catholicks having won them, laboured to fall into the Ditches of the ſecond. Here the conteſt was longer and fiercer: For it was not to be doubted but that if the enemy were driven from thence, the ſiege might be accounted at an end: But if the oppugnation were great, the reſiſtance was no leſs vigorous: the beſieged uſing likewiſe counterbatteries, countermines, and artificial fires, and with all gallantry oppoſing nearer at hand, Pikes to Pikes, Swords to Swords, and all cloſſer defence, to the more cloſe oppoſition of the Adverſaries. Many therefore were ſlain on both ſides; and very many were wounded; nor were the chief Commanders leſs adventurous then thoſe of the meaner ſort. On the Catholicks part *Spinola* did worthily behave himſelf; as did alſo *Velaſco*, and *Bucquoy*: the Camp-maſters of each ſeveral Nation doing what could be deſired at their hands. Nor ought the Duke of *Oſſuna* to be forgotten; who though he were one of the chief Subjects of *Spain*, did notwithſtanding, without any reſpect to his perſon, expoſe himſelf to the moſt uſual dangers with the common ſouldiers. The Princes of *Caſerta* and *Paleſtrina* laboured with like fervency. And the Marquis *Sigeſmond d'Eſte*, and Marquis *Ferrante Bentivoglio*, our Nephew, being come a little before into *Flanders*; neither of them did ever ſtir from *Spinola*, but imbraced all occaſions wherein they might ſignalize themſelves amidſt dangers and labours. The defendants ſhewed equal courage; and thoſe moſt who were greateſt either for office or bloud. They did notwithſtanding conceive that they muſt ſhortly be forced to yield, unleſs Count *Maurice* ſhould come all the ſooner with the expected ſuccour; of which he gave aſſured hope, and prepared for it. But the Catholicks were already well fortified every where. And *Maurice* thought that to go about to force their Trenches, would be too hard a buſineſs: having them for his example who upon other occaſions of ſieges had ſo oft in vain endeavoured to force his. He had with him 12000 Foot, and little leſs then 3000 Horſe. Seeming as if he would attempt the relief, he at laſt reſolved to paſs over to the other ſide of the *Rhine*, and deviding the foot into divers ſquadrons, ſecuring them on both ſides with wings of Horſe, he marched towards *Alpen*, a Town belonging to the Country of *Meurs*, and not above three hours march from *Reinberg*.

He

He from thence put 2000 Foot into *Meurs*, a Town not much further from *Reinberg*; and it was thought that he would leave ſome other men in *Alpen*, and make no further attempt at that time; but that returning again more unexpectedly, he would give a very hot falſe alarm againſt *Velaſco*'s quarter, and make true aſſaults elſewhere, making the Gariſon ſally out furiouſly at the ſame time. *Spinola* was advertiſed by his ſpies, that *Maurice* was removed, and drawn nigher. Wherefore he cauſed *Velaſco* to joyn with him, together with all his men, ſave onely ſuch who were of neceſſity to guard the quarter; and ſending in like manner for *Bucquoy*, he prepared to give battle. But *Maurice* did advance no further, and *Spinola* ſtill better ſecuring his quarters, it was not perceived that *Maurice* would make any further attempt to entroduce ſuccour. As much as the beſiegers were inhearted, as much diſhartned were the beſieged. The former continued to make great ruins with their Batteries, and advancing every day further in filling up the Ditches, and then in undermining the Flanks, they brought the beſieged to bethink themſelves rather of ſurrendring, then of defending themſelves. Yet divers parties paſſed before they treated of ſurrender; in one of which Signior *di Tortes*, a Walloon Camp-maſter, an ancient and highly eſteemed ſouldier, was ſlain. All poſſible military worth being thus expreſt, the beſieged condeſcended at laſt to treat of delivering up the Town; and having obtained the moſt honorable conditions from *Spinola* which they could deſire, they in the beginning of *October* delivered the Town up into his hands. Above three thouſand Foot, and one hundred and fifty Horſe marched out of the Town in good order; beſides thoſe who were wounded which were above ſeven hundred, five hundred of which dyed. On the Catholick ſides more men were ſlain, and hurt, and the ſiege laſted but little longer then a moneth.

Spinola had not well ended this ſiege, when as the ſouldiers retreated, a new mutiny began to be diſcovered; which was endeavoured to be remedyed firſt by fair means, and then by foul; but all proved to no purpoſe. Their number increaſed in a ſhort time to two thouſand, what Foot, what Horſe, and fomented, as uſually, by the Enemy, they went to the parts about *Breda*, and did there ſecure themſelves; to boot, with the diminution of the Army by reaſon of theſe men, many more were loſt in the late enterpriſes; ſo as the Catholick Army was very much leſſened. Wherefore *Maurice* made uſe of this occaſion: He having brought his Army ſuddenly together, he turned towards *Frieſland*, thinking to recover ſome of the Towns that were loſt: and with firm belief that he might do it, before the Catholick Army could bring ſuccour. His firſt aſſault was againſt *Lochem*, a Town not able to make any defence, and therefore he took it in three dayes ſpace. From thence he threw himſelf upon *Groll*, and beſieged the Town. *Spinola* was very much troubled at this unexpected reſolution of *Maurice*: he conſidered the danger that *Groll* might run; (as for *Lochem* the matter was not much) but he could not endure, that a place of ſuch conſequence as was *Groll*, and which he had won but a little before, ſhould fall again ſo quickly into the Enemies hands. He therefore inclined to relieve it; but propounding it to the Councel of war, they were moſt of them againſt it.

The ſeaſon was now too far advanc'd to tranſport the Army again beyond the Rhine. *And if they had ſuffered ſo much in thoſe low ſituations but a little before, whilſt it was yet Summer; how much greater would their ſufferings be now about the end of Autumne? Then how many hardſhips had they undergone in the laſt ſiege? That therefore the Army required ſom reſt after ſo ſore labour. That it was to be conſidered how much it was leſſened; a part thereof being mutinied, the reſt but little ſatisfied; and there being two great a ſcarcity of monies to content them. Wherefore what certainty could there be of bringing them ſo ſoon into the field again? That they were alſo to paſs through Countries of the Enemy, or at leaſt ſuch as were ſuſpected. That they ſhould finde the Enemy very ſtrong; and already fortified about the Town: ſo as it would be little leſs then raſhneſs to aſſault them. And if the Catholick Army ſhould chance to be endangered, what other Forces had they to relieve them? And conſequently into what danger would the affairs of the King and Arch-dukes fall.*

Theſe were very efficatious reaſons; but it was no leſs efficatiouſly urged on the contrary.

That

That upon this occasion the loss of Groll *was not onely to be considered; but the manifest danger of losing* Oldensel, *and* Linghen *also. And how could it be doubted but that* Groll *being cut off from them, and the other remaining open and without such an aid; both of the other Towns must be inevitably lost? In which case, the King nor Archdukes having no Towns at all beyond the* Rhine, *what would it avail them to have* Reinberg *on this side, which was taken chiefly for the securing of that passage? Were these to be the advantages; these the glories of two fields, which had cost so much Treasure, blood, and trouble? That then since the question was now, whether whatsoever they had beyond the* Rhine *was either to be lost, or to be preserved, it must consequently follow that they must endeavour by all means to overcome those difficulties which presented themselves to the contrary. That Armies were made use of in severer seasons, and upon lesser necessity. That if the Army might receive some relief, it might be believed they would willingly undergo this new trouble. That whether the Country were foe, or Neutral, they would march in such order, as by means of their Forces in the former, and their good Reglement in the other, the souldiery should be sensible of no sufferings. That succour was therefore by all means to be carried with all possible speed. That it was not possible the Enemy should so soon have fortified themselves on all sides. Wherefore being resolutely assaulted in some of their weaker quarters, it might very possibly be, they would not wait the encounter. That uncertainty alwaies attended Armies: And that if in so many, not altogether so unnecessary occurrances, Commanders did adventure themselves, much more ought they to do so in these, where manifest necessity did not admit of any more circumspect resolutions.*

In wise debates it is seen, that a few weighty reasons, prevail over the numbers of a great many to the contrary. *Spinola* was of this opinion: the particular consideration was of too great force with him, that if *Groll* should be lost, *Oldensel* and *Linghen* would be lost likewise almost unavoidably. Wherefore he resolved to attempt the relief

This resolution being taken, and the Arch-duke approving thereof, he came to *Reinberg*, and passing over the *Rhine*, began to march towards the Enemies Camp. He could not muster above eight thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse; all of them notwithstanding people long experienced in Arms, and who came readily to their colours, to be made use of upon this occasion. Count *Henry de Berg* was at the defence of *Groll*, but with a far less Garrison then the Town required. He therefore made known the apparent danger of losing it, if it were not all the sooner relieved: nor did *Spinola* fail to march as fast as he could; insomuch as about the midst of *November* he drew near the Enemy. *Maurice* by reason of the so short time, had not yet sufficiently fortified his quarters; nor did he believe that *Spinola* would have put on so bold a resolution, being to meet with so many difficulties therein. when the Catholicks camp was come to the Enemies Trenches, and when *Spinola* spyed out their weakest situation, he turned thitherward. The design was to fall on at the same time, both those who brought the succour from abroad, and those that expected it from within. *Spinola* thus ordered his Army; he made a flying Squadron, which according to his custom he placed in the Front, with two peeces of Artillery; and in it were twelve hundred choise souldiers, picked out of all the Nations; and this he assigned to Camp-master *Antunes*, who was one of the vallianteſt and oldest souldiers of all *Flanders*. A little behinde this followed two other Battalions of Foot, with two peeces of Artillery likewise in the Fronts of each of them; the one Spaniards under Camp-master *Menesses*; the other Italians, under the two Camp-masters, *Justinian*, and *Branchatchio*. These two Battalions stood on equal brest, but at a befitting distance one from another. After these came another greater Battalion of Foot; and because it was the last, it had two peeces of Artillery on the Rear thereof; and it was led on by Count *d' Emden*, a German Camp-master; and by Monsieur *d' Ashburt*, a Walloon Camp-master. The Horse were placed on both the Flanks, divided into divers Squadrons: two whereof which were the greatest, and which were called the reserve, as being reserved for the greatest need, were commanded by Cavalier *Bentivoglio*, and *Luca Cairo*, both of them Italians, and who were the ancientest Captains. On the

the Front of the Cavalry, and in the Van ſtood *Velaſco* their General, on the right hand; and *Melzi* Lieutenant General on the left. And becauſe the Enemy were much ſuperior in Horſe, their wings were ſheltered with long and redoubled Files of Carts, which were likewiſe furniſhed with ſome Files of Musketteers, and with a peece of Artillery on each ſide. *Spinola* choſe no particular place for himſelf, that he might be at liberty to turn whither he liſted. This was the order of the Catholick Camp, and in this manner they ſtill drew nearer the Town; and though they had all a great deſire to fight, yet *Spinola* to confirm it the more in them, by ſhewing his own forwardneſs, added ſuch incitements, as upon ſuch an occaſion was moſt requiſite; he told them,

That the preſervation of Groll *was not onely in diſpute now, but even the like of all that they had purchaſed at the price of ſo much blood and labour on the other ſide the* Rhine. *That therefore they muſt either dye or relieve it. But that he believed, though the Enemy were more in numbers then they, yet they would not come to the tryal of a battel. That it was not numbers, but valour that got the victory. And had they not newly tryed even in thoſe very parts, that Count* Maurice *would ſtill keep ſheltered between Ditches and Rivers, not ever coming forth to open battel? And more of late at* Reinberg, *when did he ſhew any true good will thereunto? Let them then according to their cuſtom, play their parts valiantly. That he would not fail on his behalf; nor would he forget to let the King and Arch-dukes know their ſeveral good ſervices, and endeavour their reward.*

But theſe exhortations needed not: For Count *Maurice*, were it either by expreſs orders from the Confederate Provinces; or for ſome particular ſenſe of his own; or that in reaſon of war, (he being ſo great a Commander) it ought indeed to have been done; he would not lead forth his Army into the field, nor put himſelf upon the trial of a Battel. And not being ſufficiently fortified, to attend the Catholick Camp within his Trenches, he reſolved to retreat; and firſt ſtaying in a certain place where he was ſafe on all ſides, he afterward withdrew from the Town, and led his Army into other parts. And *Spinola* after he had furniſhed the Town with what was neceſſary for the defence thereof, did the like. And ſending his ſouldiers to their Garriſons, he himſelf paſt back again over the *Rhine*, and came to the Arch-duke at *Bruſſels*: *Spinola*'s deſigns had then been really very great, as may be gathered by what we have ſaid. And though by reaſon of the unexpected difficulties which aroſe, the ſucceſs did not correſpond to expectation; yet theſe two affairs of *Reinberg* and *Groll* proved ſuch, as doubtleſsly the one may be numbred amongſt the nobleſt Sieges, and the other amongſt the moſt famous Reliefs, that the War of *Flanders* had till then produced.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS OF FLANDERS,

Written by CARDINAL *BENTIVOGLIO.*

The Third Part.

BOOK VIII.

The Contents.

The opinion of the Popes of Rome *in advantage to the affairs of* Flanders. *A ſuſpenſion of Armes inſues in thoſe Provinces. They then fall to a ſetled Treaty, that they might come either to a ſettlement of a perpetual Peace, or of ſome long Truce. The reaſons why the King of* Spain *and the Arch-Dukes do incline to bring the Affairs to ſome accommodation. Great conſultations hereupon had in the Confederate Provinces. The Emperors, King of* France, *and King of* Englands *ſenſe therein. Count* Maurice *his declared oppoſition: yet the Treaty proceeds; and Depnties on both ſides meet. The Buſineſſes are propounded. Great difficulties in thoſe of the* Indies, *and afterwards in other things. Whereupon all Treaty of Peace ſoon ends. They therefore enter upon the ſecond Conſideration;* Viz. *Of a long Truce. The Ambaſſadors of* France *and* England *labour hard therein. Count* Maurice *does what he can again to interrupt it. Yet the Treaty is held on foot by the ſaid Ambaſſadors. And the Ambaſſadors of* France *doe particularly ſtickle very fervently therein. Divers difficulties ariſe on the Spaniſh ſide: And great diligence is had to overcome*

them. Which at laſt is done; and a Truce for twelve years is concluded.

Anno 1607.

IN this condition were the Affairs of *Flanders* when the year 1607 began; the forty ſixth year wherein thoſe miſerable Provinces had been ſo long and ſo ſorely agitated with the troubles of war, was now on foot. Nor for as many Treaties of agreement as had been begun, was it ever poſſible to bring any of them to a good reſult. The hotteſt negotiation was that of *Cullen*, wherein *Gregory* the thirteenth had imployed an extraordinary *Nuntio*, (as was then ſhown) that thoſe Provinces might take into conſideration the prejudice which the Church had ſuffered in *Flanders* by occaſion of the Wars: And on the contrary, what benefit ſhe might reap by the introducing of ſome ſort of accommodation. His ſucceſſors did ſtill retain the ſame ſenſe. And more modernly *Clement* the eighth, in his having endeavoured and procured a peace between the two Kings, did amongſt his other ends ayme at making ſo good a corriſpondency between them, as that *France* might for the time to come afford all favorable aſſiſtance to the new Principallity of *Flanders*; and might reduce the affairs of thoſe Provinces to ſome peaceful end. *Leo* the eleventh, who ſucceeded *Clement* in the Pontifical See, did abound yet more in the ſame ſenſe, as he who being imployed as *Clements* Legat in *France*, had been the chief inſtrument of making that peace. But being ſuddenly ſnatched away by death, he could not witneſs it by his endeavours. After him *Paul* the fifth was Pope; a Prince very zealous in exerciſing the Pontificial office; endowed with great worth and goodneſs; and who being make Cardinal by *Clement*, had drunk in the ſame ſenſe of labouring peace in Chriſtendom: and of ſtill preſerving that between the two Crowns, particularly in reſpect of the ſervice that *Flanders* might receive thereby. *Paul* ſat at the helm of the Univerſal Goverment of the Church this very year of 1607, which was the ſecond year of his Popedome. Cardinal *Maffeo Barberino* was then Nuntio in *France*, who was a little before promoted to the Cardinals Cap, together with *Jovanni Garzia Millino*, Nuntio of *Spain*, with divers others of great merit; amongſt which the ſame Cardinal *Barbarino*, by the eminency of his deſerts came afterwards to the Supreme dignity of the Church, and continues ſtill happily therein. Theſe two Cardinals did in the name of Pope *Paul* the fift, do all the beſt offices they could ſtill better to eſtabliſh the aforeſaid Peace between the two Kings. But great were the difficulties which were met withal on the behalf of *France*, in order to the Affairs of *Flanders*, by reaſon of the near confederacy which was between the United Provinces and that Crown. Yet Cardinal *Barberino* took often occaſion to put the King in minde, how much it became him to ſee the pride of the Flemiſh Rebels abaſed. He told him how that they had alwaies conſpired together with the Hugonots of *France*; and the *French* Hugonots no leſs fervently with them; that each of theſe had at all times, with mutual intelligence favoured the others rebellion. That in point of Religion, Calveniſm raigned equally in them both; a Sect which was no leſs an Enemy to temporal Monarchy, then to the ſupreme premecy of the Church: and that it had already been ſeen, and was ſtill ſeen to what end the Politick Government of the Hugonots did tend: and particularly by their ſo many Towns of ſafety; wherein doubtleſsly their onely ayme was to make a ſeparation of themſelves from the State, and to bring the Government of *Holland* into *France*. Theſe reaſons, together with divers other which the ſame matter did adminiſter, prevailed much with the King. But becauſe the Cardinal knew very well how deſirous the Pope was to faſten the two Crowns cloſe together by all poſſible means, he bethought himſelf of uniting them together by marriage. They had both of them ſeveral ſons and daughters; and though they were very young, yet by the example of ſo many remote eſpouſals, which had at all times inſued between great Princes, in order to the Publick good, he thought the negotiation hereof ought very ſuddenly to be commenced. The Pope approved of his purpoſe, and gave order to the Cardinal that he ſhould as dexterouſly as he could, ſet on foot the Treaty there in *France*. Monſieur *de Villeroy*

Villeroy was then chief Secretary of State in the Court of *France*, a State Minister very much verſed in the mannagement of the weightieſt affairs of that Crown; wherefore by reaſon of his place, and the particular eſteem that he was in with the King, of all the other State Officers, the Cardinal did moſt uſually negotiate with him. He therefore made the firſt overture to him, and thought he found ſuch a diſpoſition in him thereunto, as he began afterwards to move it to the King, who ſeemed to approve of it from the very firſt. The Pope was hereat very well pleaſed, and ſo much the more, for that the like introduction being by his order made by the Cardinal *Milino* in *Spain*; upon the ſame motives which Cardinal *Barbarino* had made uſe of in *France*; he found alike inclination there alſo, applying himſelf eſpecially to the Duke of *Lerma*, who was in chiefeſt favour and authority with the King of *Spain*. And though by reaſon of the tender years of the Princely progeny, and for divers other reaſons, the buſineſs paſt no further at that time; yet the ſame Pope having at other times ſet the negotiation more maturely on foot, it was at laſt to the great honor of the Holy See, and to the great glory of his endeavours, perfected and conſummated, in two mutual marriages between thoſe two Crowns. But amongſt *Barbarino*'s main motives, and *Paulus quintus* his chief ends this was one, that by the near alliance of the two Crowns, for both their general welfares, a third marriage might be made, by joyning a ſecond ſon of *Spain* to a daughter of *France*, and by placing this young couple near the Infanta *Iſabella*, who might ſucceed in the Principallity of thoſe Provinces, now that there was no hopes of ſucceſſion between her and the Arch-duke; and this would at the ſame time have redownded to the advantage of the affairs of *Flanders*; and without doubt it might be thought, that no tye would have proved more tenacious then this, to unite both the Crowns together by interchangeable advantages, and to make *Flanders* injoy the benefit which by the precedent marriage between the Arch-duke and the Infanta *Iſabella* was hoped for, as well in matter of Religion, as in point of State, and which for want of ſucceſſion did not afterwards inſue. A thought which the Pope himſelf alwaies had, and which often was made known to us in the time of our Nuntioture in *Flanders*: to the which he was chiefly moved by the example of what had been done in the caſe of the ſame two Princes, by *Philip* the ſecond a King of great piety and prudence, and by the ſame conſiderations which were then diſcerned in *Clement* the eighth, who was ſo worthy and ſo zealous a Pope. Theſe interceſſions which were ſo efficatious made in the name of Pope *Paul* to the two Kings ſtill to eſtabliſh more good intelligence between them, made much then for the ſervice of the affairs of *Flanders*.

There was a Treaty begun that Winter touching ſome ſuſpention of Arms, that they might afterwards come, if it were poſſible, to ſome former negotiation, either of a perpetual Peace, or of a long Truce. The Authority which the King of *France* had with the United Provinces, could not be greater then then it was; and it was plainly ſeen, that no overture made by the Spaniards would have been liſtned unto by thoſe Provinces, and would much leſs have had any good end without his appearing, and particular favour therein. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, but that the aforeſaid interceſſions would greatly help to diſpoſe that King to favour ſo much the more the negotiation which was already begun, and which afterwards by his authority chiefly was concluded, and ended in a Truce of twelve years (as ſhall hereafter be related) though through the wonted jealouſies of Princes, he ſeemed at firſt rather averſe then willing thereunto. At this very time were we deſtined to be Nuntio in *Flanders*, and came to *Bruſſels* juſt when the ſuſpention of Arms was, which afterwards paſt into a greater Treaty. Before the ſuſpention was had which was about the beginning of *May* no military action was done that deſerves any relation. We will therefore fall to give you an account of all the aforeſaid negotiation; and becauſe when the Truce was eſtabliſhed, we did then compoſe a full hiſtorical Narration thereof apart, which was afterwards printed, together with ſome other of our writings concerning the Affairs of *Flanders*; and that even ſince then we had a thought of compoſing this intire preſent Hiſtory of the War which happened in thoſe Provinces, till by the Truce, Arms were laid down: we will therefore here

inſert the ſame Relation, though it were formerly printed; it being a member which ought alſo to be joyned to this body in this place: and which will now fully compleat it.

The Command of the Catholick Army being paſt into Marquis *Spinola*'s hands, great were thoſe deſignes (as you have heard) which he brought with him from *Spain* to *Flanders*, to make the chief ſeat of the War on the other ſide the *Rhine*, and to ſtraiten the enemy the moſt they could in thoſe parts. To that purpoſe were the extraordinary Forces in the two laſt fields raiſed. But though great advantages were gotten thereby, yet fell they far ſhort of the conceived hopes. It was ſeen that *Spain* could not continue to maintain ſo exceſſive an expence. That for want of money, a new Mutiny had again happened. That another might inſue; and that one of theſe diſorders did much confound, and diſtort the whole body of the Army. *Spinola* was ſo troubled with theſe and ſome other reflections of importance, as he at laſt fell upon thoſe very conſiderations, which already divers of the graveſt, and beſt experienced State-Miniſters both of *Spain* and *Flanders* had faln upon, touching the difficulties and dangers which the Warre of *Flanders*, and the going about to weaken or ſubdue the Enemy by force of Arms brought with it. They diſcourſed thus amongſt themſelves.

That all the good they had reaped by forty years War was, their having made the Enemy the more ſtrong; more reſolute to defend their uſurpt liberty; more firm in the union which they had eſtabliſhed amongſt themſelves; and better united to the forein Princes who ſided with them: That Nature's ſelf might be ſaid to have fought always for them, by their Bulwarks of Sea and Rivers, and their ſtrong ſcituations in all other parts; and that where nature was wanting, there induſtry, together with their ſo many well munited places did make amends: That their power by land was very great in all things elſe; and their power at ſea ſo great, as that the Crown of Spain *had been much indamaged thereby, even in the* Eaſt-Indies; *and was in danger of being a greater ſufferer by them in the* Weſt-Indies *alſo: What amaſs of ſtrength (on the other ſide) and money muſt it coſt the King to maintain the War of* Flanders? *That doubtleſly his Empire was very large, but much diſunited;* Flanders, *the moſt diſunited member of the whole body of his Dominions both by ſea and land. That the ſea was blocked up by the Enemies ſhips: That their paſſage by land did depend upon many Princes, which alwaies cauſed great difficulties in their ſending of aid, and deſtroyed their men more by their marches then by their bickerings. Then, how many corruptions and diſorders had been rooted in their Army? and how could they be remedied during the War, they being the effects which ſo long a War had inevitably produced? That inſtead of obedience, ſtrife reigned amongſt the Nations. That there were now more wives then ſouldiers; more mutinies then years; that their own Forces were almoſt as dangerous to them as thoſe of their Enemies: And mutinies growing ſo familiar, now of one, now of another Nation; and ofttimes of many Nations at once, what a ſad day would that be when the whole Army ſhould mutiny together? a day which would bring the Kings affairs in* Flanders *to their utmoſt danger, as alſo the Cauſe of the Catholick Religion; for the defence whereof the War at firſt was chiefly made, and hath been ſo long maintained by the Spaniſh ſide. If then by ſo many reaſons and ſo long experience, War againſt the Enemy were to be eſteemed ſo fruitleſs, is it not better (ſaid they) to come to ſome fair agreement with them? is it not better to order our Army anew? and in the mean time to get ſtrength, and laying down Arms, except what with time would make moſt to the Spaniſh advantage? Arms being laid down, the King of* France *already grown old, might in this interim die, and with him that aſſiſtance might chance to ceaſe, which was ſubminiſtred to the Enemy by a Prince of ſuch power and repute: That after his death the affairs of* France *might peradventure change face, their King being ſo young: the like might be expected in the affairs of* England, *their King being a new King, and a Scotchman, but ill looked on by that Kingdom; the Enemy having likewiſe received conſiderable ſuccours from* Scotland: *And in caſe any of theſe things ſhould happen, how much would the affairs of* Spain *be bettered? But above all, it was to be hoped that even peace it ſelf might turn to a ſecret war againſt the Enemy: That the fear of the Spaniſh forces was the bond which faſtened their union cloſeſt; ſo as this fear ceaſing*

through

through the enjoyment of quiet, some domestick evil might arise amongst them which might break the union; and some opportunity in favour of the King and Arch-dukes, of regaining some of the Rebellious Provinces by underhand-dealing, and of subjugating the others afterwards by force. These

These reasons were doubtlesly very weighty, and of great consideration, and had been oft-times argued in *Spain*; whereupon the King had at last resolved that if he could not effect his ends by arms, all possible means should be used to come by some convenient Treaty of agreement with the Enemy in *Flanders*: and the affairs of *Flanders* may be said totally to depend upon the King: For the marriage between the Arch-duke and the Kings sister proving barren, and the Provinces of *Flanders* being consequently to return unto the King again, he had therefore chiefly maintained the War with his Forces, and consequently all Treaties of agreement were chiefly to depend upon his Authority. The Arch-duke inclined also very much to bring things to some accommodation, he being a Prince naturally given to love his quiet, and full of years and experience, might comprehend better then any other the dangerous consequences which the War of *Flanders* brought with it: but it was very hard to find out a way how to treat of accommodation. A while since the enemy seemed to be quite averse unto any such Treaty; and still swelling with prosperity and success, they resolved never to listen to any whatsoever Treaty, till such time as the King and Archdukes should first publickly declare that they treated with them as with Free Provinces and States, unto the which the King nor Arch-dukes made no claim nor pretence whatsoever: wherein the Arch-duke found great repugnancy in himself, and foresaw the like in the King.

'He thought that to declare those now to be a free people, against whom they 'had fought as against rebels, would be to confess that their former war had been 'unjust; and that to seem now so willing to put an end unto it, would be likewise 'a declaring that they were no longer able to maintain it; what honour should 'they lose herein? how could they with credit treat of peace or truce with their 'own rebels; and how dangerous a president would it be, to make liberty the re-'ward of rebellion? for such an example in favour of those Provinces which had 'rebelled, would be an invitation to such as yet kept their obedience to doe the 'like.

This preparation of the affairs of *Flanders* was in the beginning of the year 1607. Father *John Neyen*, a Franciscan Fryer, was then at *Brussels*; he was born at *Antwerp*, and after having taken upon him that religious habit, he had staid awhile in *Spain*, to pass the course of his studies there, and by that reason was well acquainted with the affairs of that Court. He returned from thence to *Flanders*, and being become Commissary General of his Order in those parts, he kept very much at *Brussels*: He was very religious, of an eloquent tongue, very well fitted to the nature of his Countey, and therefore as well acceptable in private discourse as in the Pulpit; and much versed in the negotiations of the age. The Commissary had some acquaintance in *Holland*; and by chance a *Holland* Merchant who was a friend of his was then in *Brussels*; This Merchant was very inward with divers of the chiefest that sate at the Helm in the United Provinces. The Arch-duke being at privat councel with *Spinola* and some others of the Kings Officers in *Flanders*, 'twas thought expedient that the Commissary should dispose the Merchant to go to the *Hague* in *Holland* to endeavour some new overture of Treaty. The Merchant went; but he found no ear would be given thereunto, till the abovesaid Declaration of their being Free-States were granted, and that this should precede all other things. The Arch-duke was sencible of the aforesaid repugnancies in condescending thereunto: yet all the former considerations being again weighed, it was at last judged, that it was best to yield to the present necessity, and that all means should be used to procure a cessation of Arms, and to enter into a Treaty of accommodation.

'If the Treaty should have good success, the success would sufficiently applaud 'the Treaty; if it should not succeed well, but that they must be forced to con-'tinue the war, the making of such a verbal Declaration would not import 'much; 'twas added, That to declare that they treated with the United Provinces,

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'as with Free States unto which the King and Arch-dukes laid no pretenſion, was 'alwayes to be underſtood by way of ſuppoſition, to wit, as if they were free, 'not ſignifying a true and legitimate liberty; which they by their rebellion could 'never juſtly come by, nor juſtly enjoy: which being ſo manifeſt, neither did 'the King nor the Arch-dukes loſe any right which they formerly had to the 'United Provinces, though they ſhould make a Declaration thus limited.

Sudden advertiſment was ſent to *Spain* of what had been diſcovered by the Merchants means; and all things were again repreſented unto the King, which were thought likelyeſt to induce him to give way, that ſome Treaty of agreement might be had with the United Provinces, in ſuch manner as hath been ſaid. The reaſons which prevailed in *Flanders*, did ſo likewiſe in *Spain*, in perſwading the King to give way to the Treaty which was deſired. Whereupon the Arch-duke reſolved to ſend the Commiſſary General in perſon, into *Holland*, to endeavour once more ſome fairer way of commencing a Treaty, and to yield at laſt, if there were no remedy, to what the United Provinces pretended unto. The Commiſſary took his journey about the end of *February*; and being come to the *Hague*, he ſoon perceived there was no hopes of ever being heard in any thing whatſoever, unleſs the aboveſaid Declaration ſhould precede: whereupon being admitted into the Councel of the States Generall, which is the ſupreme magiſtracy by which the whole body of thoſe Provinces is repreſented: he opened himſelf thus unto them.

'That the Arch-duke *Albertus*, and the Arch-dutcheſs the Infanta his wife, 'had alwayes deſired to ſee the Low-Countries once free from civil wars; that ſo 'many and ſo bitter calamities of war, might be turned to the enjoyment of a 'happy peace. That peace was the end of war; which not being to be had but 'by the way of Treaty, they did conſent on their ſide that the Declaration of Li-'berty which they knew the United Provinces do pretend unto ſhould precede; 'that it became all good Princes to endeavour all means whereby to cauſe quiet 'unto their people, and that to juſtifie this their ſo juſt and religious end to the 'world, they had willingly deſcended now to an overture of Treaty; and to ſecond 'the ſucceſs thereof, would be as willing to do any thing that might tend to the 'good of the weal-publick.

This Propoſition being well diſcuſt in the Councel of the States General, they thought that whatſoever could be deſired, made then for the advantage of the Low-Countries; whereupon they reſolved to accept of the offer: and before the Commiſſary departed, a ſuſpenſion of Arms for eight months was agreed upon, which was to begin the next *May*; and it was likewiſe concluded that the Treaty ſhould begin the next *September*. The Commiſſary went from *Holland* with this anſwer. Not long after the Arch-dukes declared by a particular Edict or Proclamation, that they came to ſuſpenſion of Arms with the United Provinces, as with Free Provinces and States, unto which they did not lay any pretence; the States-General did alſo the like on their ſide: the Commiſſary did likewiſe promiſe that the King of *Spain* ſhould by the Arch-dukes procurement ratifie the ſame within three months: and he did likewiſe deſire in the names of the Arch-dukes, that the States would inhabit all hoſtility by ſea, promiſing that the Arch-dukes would oblige themſelves that the King of *Spain* ſhould do the ſame: to the which the States after ſome difficulties condeſcended: all this was afterwards publiſhed by the United Provinces to their people with great demonſtrations of joy; and they gave an account thereof to their Confederate Princes; but more particularly to the King of *France* and King of *England*; from both of which, Ambaſſadors were forthwith ſent to congratulate with them.

The affairs of *Flanders* were at this paſs when I came to *Bruſſels*, which was on Saint *Laurence* his eve, 1607. It cannot be expreſt how all men on all ſides did rejoyce, in expectation of what the event would prove. Soon after my coming to *Bruſſels* the Kings ratification came; to procure the which, as alſo to give a more particular account of what had paſt, the Arch-duke had diſpatched away Commiſſary *Neyen*. The ratification came in general terms, and ſo pen'd, as it was to be doubted the United Provinces would not allow of it: yet *Lewis Verreychen*, chief Secretary of State to the Arch-dukes was ſuddenly ſent with it into *Holland*.

Holland. The United Provinces ſhewed ſtrange arrogancy in theſe negotiations; and particularly a great ſuſpition of being over-reached by the Spaniards: whence it was to be beleeved that they would interpret all that ſhould come from that ſide in the worſt ſenſe.

You have heard what the number and Government of the United Provinces are, and how they are ſeated. How *Holland* and *Zealand* are ſeated in the boſome of the Sea, and the other five lie more inwards into the land; theſe therefore did more willingly give way unto the Treaty at the firſt, and did afterwards appear more inclined to continue it. The principal and Fundamental Law of their union is, That in reſolutions appertaining to the common intereſt, the Votes of all of them muſt equally agree; ſo as their buſineſſes proceed but ſlowly; they being to be treated of apart in every ſeveral Province, and alike uniform conſent to be gathered from them all by long and tedious perſwaſions, as their liberty is in all of them alike; The Kings ratification being then ſundry times conſulted on, and with great jealouſies, theſe difficulties were objected by the United Provinces. That the ratification came in general terms; that it did not contain the eſſential clauſe touching their liberty; but that the King ſtill ſtyled the Arch-dukes Princes of the Low-Countries; that the King writ himſelf, I the King, as he uſed to do to his own Vaſſals; that it was written in ordinary Paper, and not in Parchment, as is uſually done in things of great importance: and finally, that it was ſealed with a little ſeal, and not with a great one; as ought to have been. *Verreychin* being afterwards ſent for in, theſe difficulties were propounded unto him and exaggerated rather in an inſolent then free manner: and it was at laſt concluded, that the United Provinces would by no means accept of the ratification in manner as it was by him preſented.

The common peoples madneſs is alwaies very great, but more when they are ſmiled upon by Fortune. They are full of arrogancy, and raſhneſs, in time of Proſperity; and as baſe and abject in adverſity: So as a multitude muſt either not be treated with at all, or theſe alternate defects muſt be patiently born withal *Verreychin* uſed therefore ſuch diſſimulation as was requiſite; and endeavoured to remove their ſuſpitions. He aſſured them that ſuch a ratification would not have been ſent from *Spain*, did not the King intend to make it good; that his intentions were excellent, and that he did vie therein with the Arch-Dukes; he prayed them to allow time for another to come; that he did again promiſe in the the name of the Arch-Dukes to cauſe another ratification bee ſent in ſame form as was by them deſired. The reſolution put on in *Holland* was; that the Arch-Dukes ſhould procure a new ratification to be ſent from *Spain* within ſix weeks, which ſhould contain word for word the ſame Declaration of Freedom, Which the Arch-dukes had made in their inſtrument; that it ſhould be written in Latine, French, or Dutch, and ſhould be ſubſcribed by the King, with his own name; and to the end that no more errors might be run into, the form thereof was given to *Verreychin* in all the three Languages.

Father *Neyen* was this mean while returned from the Court; he acquainted them how hard it was to procure the King to ſend the former ratification, though in general terms; yet he affirmed that he did verily hope that a ſecond would come in particular terms. The Spaniards knowing what neceſſity there was to commence a Treaty thus with the United Provinces; ſince no other way would be admitted of. The Arch-Dukes did again ſignifie this neceſſity; ſo as not long after the ſecond ratification came from *Spain*, but it was ſo penned, as it was feared the United Provinces would raiſe new ſcruples in admitting it; it contained the pretended declaration of liberty; and all the other clauſes that were deſired. But in the concluſion this was added by the King; that if the matters of Religion ſhould not be agreed upon as well as the other points, his ratification ſhould ſignifie nothing; and affairs ſhould ſtill continue in their former poſture. It was alſo written in Spaniſh, ſubſcribed as uſually, I the King; and in all things elſe according to the former manner. Yet it was believed that theſe laſt rubs would eaſily be removed, by the example of the Kings having done the ſame in the two Peaces which were lately concluded with the King of *France*, and King of *England*. The other difficulty touching the new added

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clauſe, was thought the greater. And that word Religion ſeemed to be immaturely put in; ſince it might raiſe jealouſies in the United Provinces; as if it were already determined in *Spain* to make propoſitions againſt the liberty of their Government, and againſt that declaration which the King at the ſame time made in form aforeſaid. The Commiſſary and *Verreychin* were ſent both together with this ſecond ratification into *Holland*; who in the preſenting thereof, made large profeſſions to the States general again, of the great good inclinations of the King and Arch-dukes towards the common good, and how deſirous they were particularly of the Low-Countries welfare.

The States took time to give their anſwer; and after much conſultation, their anſwer according to their wonted arroganee, was thus: That the Kings ratification was not anſwerable to the form which they deſired; and that amongſt other things the new added clauſe could not be allowed of: ſince the King knew very well, as did alſo the Arch-Dukes, that the United Provinces were free Provinces, and would alwaies be ſo, though no agreement were made. That notwithanding the States would acquaint every Province with the ratification, and would within ſix weeks make their reſolution known: But with this proteſtation, that they intended not that by vertue of ſuch a ratification any thing ſhould be propounded which might tend to the prejudice of the freedom of their Government, in caſe the Treaty went on.

This anſwer being given, the Commiſſary and *Verreychin* returned to *Bruſſels*. Whilſt affairs were thus negotiated in *Flanders*, divers intereſts, paſſions, and ends were upon this occaſion diſcovered to be not onely in the neighbouring Princes, but almoſt in all the Princes of *Europe*. In *Germany*, the Emperor *Radulphus* the ſecond, pretended that no Treaty of agreement could be made in *Flanders* without his participation and conſent; taking for granted, that the Low-Countries did depend upon the Empire; and therefore no ſeparation could be made therein without his Authority: Wherefore he had written ſome Letters to this purpoſe to the Catholick King, the Arch-duke, and the United Provinces.

The King and Arch-duke anſwered him in general terms; as did alſo the United Provinces; ſave onely that they added a long juſtification of their cauſe, and of their war againſt the Spaniard till the preſent. Neither was there any more news heard of the Emperor in the whole progreſs of the Treaty. But *Henry* the fourth of *France*, was not ſo negligent in the conſideration of theſe paſſages. He had ſent Ambaſſadors upon this occaſion at the firſt into *Holland*; the trueſt and moſt intrinſecal end whereof was, that he might have a ſhare in what was to be done, and ſpecially to cauſe jealouſie in the Spaniards, and by this means to induce them to make uſe of him, and to make him Arbitrator in the differences.

The King of *France* was then in his chiefeſt greatneſs and proſperity: and enjoying his Kingdom in perfect peace and honour; after having arrived thereat through many difficulties, all which he had overcome with incredible conſtancy and valour. He conſidered the Affairs in *Flanders*, after ſeveral manners; on one ſide he could have wiſhed that the war might continue, and that thereby the affairs of *Spain* might ſtill be impaired, even till at laſt they might loſe whole *Flanders*. On the other ſide he ſaw himſelf well ſtricken in years; his children very young; and that in caſe he ſhould fail, freſh troubles might in a ſhort time ariſe in his Kingdom, which might chiefly be fomented by the Spaniſh Forces of *Flanders*; that the diſorders of thoſe Forces were not ſo many, but that if the war ſhould continue, very neceſſity would force them to finde out a remedy; nor the danger of their loſſes ſuch as might not be evaded by the power of ſo great a Monarch; which made him deſire to ſee *Flanders* without war, and the Spaniards without Forces ſo near at hand. Neither did he like that the United Provinces who were already become ſo formidable at Sea, might by their growing too great be as dreadful at Land. For the Hereticks of his Kingdom could from no part elſe be better fomented to rebel. The King amidſt theſe various conſiderations had his eye fixt upon theſe paſſages of *Flanders*, and becauſe his authority was very great in the United Provinces, he beleeved they would never come to any accommodation with the Spaniards without his conſent.

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At the first he seemed to be averse to the affairs in hand; though to say truth, he did not well know what he had best to do: but he did this of purpose to enforce the Spaniards to put the Negotiations into his hands. Great dexterity and cunning was requisite to the leading on of these designs. He therefore chose for this so important affair the President *Jannine*, a man of great experience and abilities, and one who was then chiefliyest employed by him in State affairs. He sent Mr. *de Rosse* along with *Jannine* (who was then extraordinary Ambassador into *Flanders*) to continue afterwards his ordinary Ambassador in the United Provinces. Having both of them exercised their Offices in the entrance into the affairs spoken of, they stayed in *Holland*; *Jannine* did diligently observe the whole carriages, and wrought himself every day more and more into the affairs, which still increased the jealousie of the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes; who then began to see clearly, that it behoved them to have recourse to the King of *France* his mediation; who already had complained to the Commissary General in his return to *Flanders*, that the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-dukes had proceeded so far without his knowledge in the aforesaid business. Almost the like passions and artifices appeared in *James* the first King of *England*, who was newly come to that Crown. The same reasons appeared in him for desiring the continuance of the war in *Flanders*, as did in the King of *France*: for the King of *England* being strong at Sea, and confiding in the strength of all his Kingdoms situation, as also in the conformity of his ends with those of the United Provinces in favouring heresie, he could not much fear their Forces; though they should grow greater. He was the more secure likewise by having *Flushing* and the *Ramechins* in *Zealand*; and the *Brill* in *Holland*, Sea Towns of great importance in his hands; as pawned for monies lent by Queen *Elizabeth* to the United Provinces, and for that their chiefest strength consisted in English and Scottish souldiers, who were in their Army. He foresaw he should have greater cause to be jealous of the Spaniards, if being free from the war of *Flanders*, they might endeavour to molest him in any part of his Dominions: especially in *Ireland*, an Island which is almost wholly Catholick, well-affected to them, and much dis-affected to *England*.

Out of these reasons it was believed, that the King of *England* desired the war in *Flanders* might continue. But being a great lover of Quiet, and much given to Hunting, and to his Book, and wholly fixt in warring by writings with the Church, it was therefore judged he would not at last, shew himself totally averse to see the affairs of *Flanders* in some sort pacified. To boot, that not being able for scarcity of Monies to give any considerable succour to the United Provinces, his power would be but small in perswading or counselling the continuance of war, since he could not much assist it by his Forces. Yet it very much imported those Provinces to preserve his friendship, were it onely that they might raise souldiers out of his Kingdom. Wherefore they entertained his Ambassadors which were sent into *Holland* at the beginning of this Negotiation with very much respect, and treated with them with all confidency.

The King of *Englands* end in sending of them was almost the same as was that of the King of *France*: To wit, that he likewise would have a share in the business which was in hand, and to enforce the Spaniards to make use of him likewise therein. The King of *Denmark* sent likewise Ambassadors to *Holland*; as also the Prince Elector Palatin, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, and other German Heretick Princes; who all of them seemed to shew their good affections towards the united Provinces in so important an occasion. These businesses which were thus begun grew very hot in *Holland*: every thing was in motion, and great was the expectation what the united Provinces would resolve, as well touching the second ratification come from *Spain*, as also whether they would continue or break the Treaty. But of all others Count *Maurice* of *Nassaws* thoughts were most busied at this time. His father the Prince of *Orange* being dead, he being yet but a youth of sixteen years of age, had got into all his fathers Military and Civil employments, with the great good will and approbation of the united Provinces. And encreasing no less in valour, then in years, after so many enterprises and prosperous successes, his authority grew

daily greater amongst them. He had won it by arms, and he thought he could best preserve it by arms. And by means of the publick trouble of war, he hoped some favourable conjuncture might the easilier be opened unto him, of making himself one day Prince of those Provinces.

It is not to be doubted, but that his ambition carried him thus high; for his Father was very near attaining thereunto; and his own deserts being added to his Fathers, his hopes ought rather to be augmented then diminished. To boot with the Supreme Government of the Army, he had succeeded his Father in the civil Administration of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utricht*, & *Overisel*. His brother Count *Henry*, General of the Horse of the united Provinces, and the Counts *William* and *Ernestus*, the one of them Governour of *Friesland* and *Groninghen*, and the other Governor of *Ghelderland*, were all of them of his House, and depended on him almost in all things, so as the whole Government of the united Provinces, as well Military as Civil, may be said to be in his hands: and his domestick power was the greater by his great friendship and alliance with Forraign Princes. The Negotiation in hand made nothing at all for his present condition, nor for that which peradventure he had an intention to raise up unto himself. And say he had a minde to have hindred it at the beginning; what colour, or what pretence had he so to do? Since the united Provinces in the Proposal made by the Arch-dukes for a Treaty, had gotten all that they desired; when the first ratification which came therefore from *Spain*, proved vain, *Maurice* began to hope well in the begun breach of the Negotiation; & by occasion thereof augmented the common jealousies. He inlarged himself very much and with great fervency in calling to minde their late good successes; so many mischiefs, cruelties, and horrible inhumanities ommitted as he affirmed, by the Spaniards, together with many other things, to make all manner of Treaties with them suspitious, and to encrease the hatred which those of the united Provinces alwaies bore to that Nation. And though the second ratification was come in very ample manner, yet did not he go less in continuing to do the same, hoping to make this second appear likewise faulty in many things. The time drew near of giving their resolution therein, concerning which they had had many meetings; at last, one day when the Councel of the States General was fuller then usual by reason of the importancy of the business, 'tis said Count *Maurice* spoke thus:

'How much (most worthy Deputies) I have alwayes desired the prosperity of 'our Republick, all my precedent actions which have made me appear no less my 'Fathers competitor then his son, in her service, may sufficiently manifest. I 'have not laboured less then did my father, in all wayes procuring the common 'good; and if he lost his life in the publique cause, I have exposed my self to no 'less dangers in the defence thereof; and certainly it would have redounded 'much more to my honour and glory to have died amidst Arms, then it did to 'him to perish by the hand of that base and detestable Paricide, who so unwor-'thily slew him. None therefore should more rejoyce then I, to hear our Pro-'vinces declared to be Free-States, even by our Enemies themselves, did I not 'think that all these proceedings were but couzenages, whereby more easily to 'draw our Liberties again into their subjection. I apprehended this even from the 'beginning of these practises; so that, as I have hitherto ever abhorred them, so 'do I now abhor them more then ever, and think it now more necessary then e-'ver to break them wholly off, and to throw back this second ratification with the 'same resoluteness as we did the former. How many tricks, and how many 'cheats the Spaniards have alwayes used in their like Treaties, is too well known 'to us all. But what need we look after past-times? hath not the like been 'seen, and is it not now seen in these present negotiations? The first ratification 'came in general terms, nor did it contain any thing of ratification but the bare 'name. The second is come since, which is likewise so defective, as in my opini-'on it ought in no way to be excepted. Do you perceive how the King would 'have it sent in the Spanish tongue? a tongue unknown to us, the true meaning 'and efficacy whereof we do not understand. Do you observe how he uses the 'same subscription as he useth to his Vassals? Not having changed any of the o-'ther things excepted against. And the addition of the last clause, doth it not e-

'vidently,

'vidently enough ſhew his pretenſions that it ſhall wholly depend upon his will 'whether we ſhall be free or no? As if from the time that the Duke *d' Alva*, '(that Fury and Firebrand of all the troubles of *Flanders*) and after him the o-'ther Governours had bereft their Countrie of its priviledges, brought forein 'colonies thereinto, put the whole Country to fire and ſword, and given ſen-'tence themſelves againſt our Liberties, and we had not known how to defend it 'by our unconquered Forces? We then are free, whether the King declare us 'to be ſo or no. And our pretence to this Declaration is, becauſe it is due to us 'from all the world, and due to us by him abſolutely, without any conditional 'limitation of inſuing agreement, as he pretends in the additional clauſe; ſo as it 'is now too well ſeen that the Spaniards treat with their wonted frauds; and that 'they would pretend they can never loſe by any whatſoever accord that ſhould 'inſue; the right which they preſume to have over our Provinces; that they 'may afterwards expect new opportunities to oppreſs them again; it may then 'be granted, that it is not any publique reſpect, but their own particular neceſſity 'which induceth them now to come to agreement with us. The neceſſity I ſay 'of their diſorders, which doubtleſly are ſo many and ſo great, as we may expect 'their utter loſing of *Flanders*. What darkneſs, what obſcurity is it then that 'doth poſſeſs our ſenſes? or what hoodwinkt and untimely wiſdom is it which 'teacheth us to intermit and ſlacken the courſe of our Victories, whence they are 'neareſt and moſt certain? their Army is in very great confuſion, without any 'diſcipline, without any obedience; corrupted by perpetual mutinies: And if 'the War continue, we ſhall doubtleſly ſee the whole body of the ſoldiery muti-'ny, and then their whole Countrey will riſe. How great a part thereof does 'there already abound in our ſenſe? We on the other ſide have a flouriſhing 'Army, well diſciplin'd, well paid, and well provided of all things. We have the 'aſſiſtance of *France*, of *England*, and of the greateſt part of *Germany*. We 'maintain a Cauſe, then vvhich none can be more juſt; nor can there be more 'conſtancy deſired in our peoples wills to defend it: To theſe our advantages by 'land, our other progreſſes at ſea do fully correſpond. What greater blovv 'could the Spaniards receive from us, then that which we have given them in the '*Eaſt-Indies*? What will the other prove vvhich vve are preparing for them like-'vviſe in the Weſt? To this end, to boot vvith the publicke forces, particular 'Companies of the richeſt Merchants of all our Provinces are appointed: ſo as 'when we ſhall get footing there, to what ſtraits and hazards ſhall we reduce 'the Spaniſh Fleet? On the contrary ſide, how much both publick and private 'advantages, how much honour and glory ſhall our Common-wealth receive 'thereby? Our having gon round the Sea where ever the Sun ſhines, with ſo many 'and ſo illuſtrious Navigations, and having made our name ſo famous by ſo many 'and ſo glorious Victories, will be the moſt memorable things ſpoken of by our 'poſterity in after Ages. The fear of loſing the *Indies* is that which chiefly cauſes 'the Spaniards to come to ſome accommodation with us. Who will then per-'ſwade us to let ſlip theſe ſo propitious opportunities which now offer themſelves 'unto us, and ſee them turned peradventure hereafter to their advantage? True 'Victory lies in the making good uſe thereof; Which not being done, the too 'late remedy of repentance ſerves but in little ſtead. We ought by all means 'poſſible endeavour not to fall into ſuch errors; and not ſuffer our ſelves to 'be deceived by the falſe names of repoſe and Peace, and other ſpecious alluring 'pretences. Theſe are the means wherewith thoſe lull people aſleep, whom they 'intend afterwards to oppreſs. No Lethargy is more mortal then a Peace, which 'is to prove worſe then war it ſelf. Our people this mean while will grow unſi-'newed by idleneſs. We ſhall loſe thoſe friends which our wars have purchaſt to 'our cauſe. But the worſt of all evils will lie in the ſecret venome of diſcord, 'which the enemy will in this interim endeavour to introduce amongſt us; and 'this ſort of plague will ſooner be radicated amongſt us then driven out. Thus 'by means of reſt more fatal far then arms, our Common-wealth would fall into 'the geateſt misfortunes, and the Spaniards by their machinations quietly enjoy 'what hitherto they have not been able to do with their Armies in the fields. But 'I never was an Orator; and as a Souldier methinks I have ſpoken more then

'I need upon ſuch an occaſion. Nor can I deny but that my particular paſſions 'ſway me in what concerns the common good, which is now in hand; which may 'notwithſtanding all of them be reduced to the implacable hatred I bear thoſe 'who are our implacable enemies; and hope to make their power more formida-'ble to others by the ruin of our Republick.

The Authority of ſo great a man aſſiſted by ſo many and ſo forcible reaſons, prevailed very much with the hearers. *John Barnevelt*, Advocate General of the Province of *Holland*, and one of her Deputies in this preſent Councel, was one of thoſe who did moſt favor the things which were now in Treaty. His Authority was very great not onely in *Holland*, but even throughout the whole Union; in the ſervice whereof he had ever had the chiefeſt employments, and had therein continually faithfully diſcharged his truſt. So as his credit was ſuch at this time with the Union, and his eſtimation ſo great, as he drew commonly moſt men to adhere to him in all his opinions. He deſired to ſee Count *Maurice* his power leſſened, to the end that the common liberty might be the more ſecure both at home and abroad: though this his emulation coſt him afterwards his life. For not many years after *Maurice* his faction prevailed ſo far, as for divers faults laid to his charge, (were they true or falſe) he was publickly beheaded in *Holland*. When *Maurice* had ended his diſcourſe, *Barnevelt*, ſtill reſolved to defend the contrary opinion, ſpoke thus.

Of ſo many egregious acts (moſt worthy Deputies) which the Prince of Orange, *of ever happy memory, did, and which have been ſince continued by the Illuſtrious Count* Maurice, *the worthy ſon of ſo gallant a father, in ſervice of our Common-wealth, this is one of the fruits we reap, that every one may freely ſpeak his minde in this Councel, for what concerns the common good; and if it were ever requiſite ſo to do, the nature of the buſineſs in hand doth now reqnire it. He hath certainly ſhewed great gravity and wiſdom in what he hath ſaid: But ſince the more weighty the affairs are, ſo much more neceſſary it is to have them maturely debated, I hope it will not be diſpleaſing, if I alledge all thoſe reaſons to the contrary as may be conſidered in ſo important an affair. We ſhall differ in our opinions, but not in our ends; which is the like in us all, to endeavour all the advantage and ſtability which we can to this our Common-wealth. The Illuſtrious Count did, If I be not deceived, urge two points chiefly: the one that the Spaniards do not proceed with ſincerity in theſe their negotiations; and the other, that it is meer neceſſity which makes them now ſeek to come to ſome agreement with us, that they may hereafter finde ſome more favourable opportunity to oppreſs us. As for the firſt, I hope that none will deny, but for what concerns the affairs now in hand, we have hitherto obtained all that we have demanded of the Arch-dukes. 'Tis true that afterward, the King of* Spains *firſt ratification was faulty, and as ſuch a one, was juſtly by us refuſed: but to ſpeak truly, I do not think this ſecond ſuch a one as ought to be rejected: the defects whereof being well conſidered, do more transgreſs againſt the circumſtances, then the eſſence of the ratification which we demand. The eſſence lies in this; that the King ſhould acknowledge our Provinces to be free, and that he ſhould declare he had no pretence or claim thereunto; this, this ſecond ratification doth fully contain, as doth alſo the firſt Declaration made by the Arch-dukes. And in fine, it is the very ſame which we did deſire, except it be in the diverſity of Language, and in ſome other petty things of ſmall importance, and in the laſt clauſe added by the King. Faults which in my opinion cannot be held any waies eſſential. Firſt, how can it be doubted but that the true ſenſe and meaning of the Spaniſh tongue muſt be underſtood by us? Here, where the frequent commerce of ſo many of our Cities with all the Principal Cities of Europe, makes all Languages common and known? To boot, that the Arch-dukes Deputies affirm, and give it under their hands that it is in the ſame language, with the ſame ſubſcription, and alike in all other things to the ratifications of peace between the Crown of* Spain, *and thoſe of* France, *and* England. *Ought we to pretend to more then what was then done to two ſo great Kings? The greater difficulty would lye in the additional clauſe, if it were not evidently known that it were to be underſtood, though it were not expreſt; ſince how can it be denied, but that if no agreement ſhould be made, both parties would continue in their former rights? To wit, the Spaniards in what is grounded upon violence; and we in what is grounded*

upon

upon ſo known Juſtice. But ſay the Spaniards after ſome agreement made, ſhould pretend a Title of right over us, tell me I pray you, wherein could our affairs be therein prejudiced? Should they peradventure, be Judges in ſuch a cauſe? In ſuch a caſe recourſe muſt be had to the Tribunal of the whole World; and each party to the favour of their friends; or rather to the Tribunal of arms, where Armies pronounce ſentence, and for the moſt part the juſtice of the cauſe gives the victory. It imports but little then whether their ends be ſincere or fradulent in caſe of agreement; for then they cannot oppreſs us by their forces. We muſt above all things endeavour to ſecure our ſelves from this danger, which neceſſarily conſiſts in one of two remedies; either in continuing the War out of hope that their neceſſity will daily grow greater; or elſe in ending it by ſome accommodation, after which our affairs might be better ſecured. And from hence I come to the ſecond point. I deny not but that their preſent diſorders and neceſſities are great; but I cannot think them paſt remedy ſo far, but that if the war indure the Spaniards may finde ſufficient Forces to do it. I for my own part finde the Monarchy of Spain *to be the ſame thing that it hath alwaies been, during the whole courſe of this war; nay rather increaſed in this interim by the addition of the Kingdom of* Portugal, *and of the Eaſt-*Indies, *which depend thereupon. I finde it to be very ſtrong both at land and ſea. Where hath the formidableneſs of their forces been better ſeen then here in* Flanders? *What other power hath at any time maintained ſo long, ſo far diſtant, ſo hard, and ſo expenſive a war? And ſhall we believe that the Spaniards cannot ſtill maintain it? And that they are not likely to finde a remedy for their diſorders in theſe parts; and for any hazard they may run in the Eaſt-*Indies? *The very neceſſity of making war, will doubtleſsly furniſh them with means enough to continue it. So then we are again engaged in war; in a new and more obſtinate war then the former: and what ſecurity can we have that fortune will alwaies favour us? We have likewiſe our neceſſities; and if they be at preſent great amongſt the Spaniaads, remember I pray you that they have been greater amongſt us; and that all humane things being ſubject to alteration, and the events of war uſually very uncertain: the time may prove propitious again to them, and averſe to us. Do not we know how much our war depends upon the aids from* France *and* England? *May not the King of* France *die? Is he not already very old? May not the Kingdom afterwards alter? And ſhall we not then be deprived of all ſuccour from thence? Do not we likewiſe know upon what fickle terms the affairs of* England *ſtand? The King being a Scotch-man, a ſtranger in that Kingdom, and there being many other occaſions which may cauſe ſome fear of alteration on his ſide? How much would the affairs of* Spain *be bettered by any of theſe accidents? How much worſe would ours be? We ought then to be taught by all reaſon, and by all the rules of good Government, not to let ſlip this happy conjuncture of coming to ſome good agreement with the Spaniards. Fortune is flitting, inconſtant, diſdainful and exceeding apt to be provoked: 'Tis now the time to know how to lay hold of her: So as my opinion is, that by all means we ought to accept of this ratification come from* Spain, *and proceed on to ſome Treaty of agreement: I confeſs it is not alwaies in the power of man to enjoy the happineſs of peace; but I verily believe it is now in our power to ſhun the dangers of war; which in my opinion ought by all means to be indeavoured: and certainly we may hope for great advantages from the Spaniards by this accommodation which they do ſo much deſire to make with theſe our Provinces in this their preſent neceſſity: As all Pilots prefix the haven for their end; all Travellers their Country, and all motion reſt; ſo all war hath peace for its end, wherein conſiſts mans chiefeſt happineſs; and ſhall the War of* Flanders *be the onely thing which ſhall never have an end? And ſhall all our moſt advantagious ſucceſſes, depend alwaies upon the ſo uncertain event of war? We ſhall be free from the uncertainties, and from ſo many dangers which troubles brings with them, by reducing our ſelves at laſt to a quiet condition? We ſhall then much better re-order the Government of every of our particular Provinces, and of the intire body of the union, when we ſhall be in a quiet condition: This our Common-wealth will then break forth from out the duskiſhneſs and horror of arms: which how wounderful a ſight will it be, and what unaccuſtomed praiſes will it produce in the Theatre of the Univerſe? When it ſhall be ſeen how our Provinces do unite themſelves in one body; with what ſort of Lawes and Magiſtracy they conſpire together; how unwounded the Liberties of*

each

each of them remain, and how uninjured it passeth through every one of them, as through so many veins to the intire body of their general Union. We shall have Ambassadors sent to congratulate with us from all parts; who will return rather envying then rejoycing at this our so great felicity. We shall pay the debts we have contracted abroad: we shall ease our selves of those we have here amongst our selves, and we shall enrich our treasury, by taking off so many and so grievous expences: our people shall then know that they are truly free, when they shall enjoy liberty without any contestation: and being once got into such a condition, what need we fear to be at any time reduced under the yoak of that proud, cruel, and tyrannical Spanish Government.

Barnevelt was listned unto with much attention: and the reasons alledged by him, appeared to be so weighty and wisely grounded, as after some other consultations, it was at last resolved on by the States General, that they would accept of the ratification; yet there was much ado before *Zealand* could be brought to joyn in this Vote, so absolute Authority had Count *Maurice* in that Province; whereof he was not onely Governour, but had a great estate there, and enjoyed such prerogatives, as he appeared rather to be Prince then Governor of that Country. The Arch-dukes were then acquainted with this the States Generals resolution, and 'twas almost in the same words which were used in the answer which was first given to the Commissary and *Verreychin* when they brought the ratification into *Holland*. And because the term for suspension of Arms was already expired, it was by both sides prorogued, and continued to be so from time to time in new terms, till the end of the Treaty, which was after concluded. I thought good to insert this in this place, to shun the tedious repetition of the same things sundry times. Now all the eyes of *Flanders* were fixt upon what Deputies the Arch-dukes would chose to send, according to the first agreement, into *Holland*. The greatest weight of the Spanish affairs which were agitated in *Flanders* lay upon the Marques *Spinola*, Camp-master-general of the Army, and upon *Manchichidor* the Spanish Secretary of War; and as for the Arch-dukes business, *John Richardotto*, President of the Privy Councel, and *Verreychin* so often named before, were chiefly trusted therewith. These four were chosen for Deputies, and Father *Nyen* was added for a fift, as one who had hitherto had a great hand in the business. Marques *Spinola* was already got into great Authority by reason of his so many Imployments and Trusts. He was Camp-master-general and Governor of the Army; Administrator, or Pay-master-general of the Kings monies: of the Councel of State in *Spain*; and through his hands all the Kings affairs in *Flanders*, as hath been said, did chiefly pass: and the Arch-duke likewise seemed to put much confidence in him. Indeed a States man of singular judgment and valour, of incredible vigilancy and industry in the managing of whatsoever business either Military or Civil; and indowed with so many other gallant parts, as he had reason to be esteemed one of the greatest States-men that the Crown of *Spain* hath had these many years. The Secretary *Manchichidor* was likewise highly esteemed of, for his long experience in the affairs of *Flanders*: for he had been Secretary of war, even from the time that the Arch-duke whilst he was yet Cardinal, was come to the Government of those Provinces. In the affairs which belonged properly to the Arch-dukes; the President *Ricardetto* was no less esteemed of; he had for a long time been the man chiefly imployed in affairs of greatest importance by the Duke of *Parma*, and other Governors: and the Arch-Duke being made Prince of the Low-Countries, chose him particularly to employ in making the last Peace with *France*, and the like with the King of *England*; so as almost all the important business of the Country passed through his hands. *Verreychin* was likewise present at the making of the two above named Peaces, and had long before exercised the place of first Secretary of State, and was alwaies held a man of great wisdom and integrity. Enough hath already been said of the Commissary-general and of his endowments. But when the Spaniards who were in *Flanders*, understood who the Deputies were, and that they were to go to the Enemies own homes to treat of agreement with them, it is not to be believed how much they stormed and how much they complained of the Arch-Dukes in particular.

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'Are the affairs of *Spain* (said they) come to so low an ebb, that our King 'must abase himself thus? hath so much time, bloud, and treasure been spent a-'gainst the traiterous rebels to bring things to this end? That the affairs of *Spain* 'were now in as glorious a condition as ever, but that there wanted fitting in-'struments in *Flanders* to manage them: That the Arch-duke had alwayes 'shewed himself to be better at peace then at war; and that now that he saw 'himself not likely to have any children, his only desire was to spend the re-'mainder of his days in peace and quietness; That it was impossible so great a 'Monarchy should be without a war; nay it was to be desired that it should al-'wayes have an Army in the fields for its service. And what other more fitting 'Theatre could there be found for the seat of its Arms then *Flanders*? a place 'so opulent, and of such extent, and placed in the midst of *Spains* chiefest ene-'mies and maligners? That if the war could not be alwayes so plentifully main-'tained, their Forces might be lessened, and consequently their expences: 'That thus the vigour of so great a Monarchy might be preserved even to 'eternity.

The Spaniards broke forth into these complaints, and sent them from *Flanders* into *Spain*; but to no purpose: for it was then seen, as also during the whole Treaty, that the King and the Arch-duke did always jump in their opinions: and as for the Deputies going into *Holland*; without all doubt it might seem in all appearance no wayes to agree with the Kings and Arch-dukes dignity: but the form of the Government of the United Provinces considered, no other manner of negotiation could well be had; for their Deputies were so many, that Commissions so bounded, and so many sendings to and fro, as they were inforced to make Orders: to receive new Orders, and new Consents from every Province; which if it had been to be done out of their own Country, the Treaty would never have had an end: and though afterwards, as you shall hear, it was concluded in *Antwerp*; 'twas because all things were already digested, so as they went thither as it may be said, to a business already concluded. The Deputies departed about the end of *January* 1608. and being come into the United Provinces, they were received by the Governors of their Frontier Towns with all honour, and bravely lodged in all places They came to the *Hague* the first of *February*, and were met half a league without the Town, by Count *Maurice* of *Nassaw*, accompanied by the other Counts of his House, and all the chief men of those parts.

The Second BOOK of the TREATY of the TRUCE of *FLANDERS*.

HOLLAND is the greatest, richest, and best peopled Province of all the United seaven: Nay, it so far exceeds all the rest, as it furnisheth half the monies which are issued out by the whole seaven Provinces. It is made by the Sea, and sundry Rivers a Peninsula, it is incompassed on many sides by the Sea, cut through in many parts by Rivers: many Channels cut by hand, joyn with these Rivers, and there be many lakes within it: so as it may be doubted whether it consist more of land or water. Besides, it doth so abound with shipping of all sorts, as it may likewise be questioned, whether the number of moveable habitations on water, or of houses fixt on the land be the greater. This Province is full of Cities, and of a great many lesser Towns. *Amsterdam* is its chiefest City, and here is the greatest Traffick, not only of *Holland* it self, but almost of the whole North: of all its Towns *Hague* is the principal, an open Village;

lage; but ſo large, ſo well peopled, and ſo delitious as it may compare with many Cities. Here did the Counts of *Holland* formerly build a Palace for themſelves to live in, which the Vnited Provinces do now make uſe of for the meeting of their Councels which depend upon the Vnion. Here likewiſe the Councel of the States General do meet almoſt every day; wherein things of greateſt importance are agitated and reſoved by the Deputies of the whole ſeaven Provinces. The chief affairs of the whole Vnion are then handled in the *Hague*; and here ſtaid the Catholick Deputies to give a beginning to the Treaty: Before they arrived, the Vnited Provinces had likewiſe choſen their Deputies; one was choſen for every Province, and two of the beſt of bloud amongſt them, in the common name of them all. And theſe were Count *William* of *Naſſaw*, full Couſin German to Count *Maurice*, and Min here *Bredrode*: for *Holland*, *Barnevelt* was named, and by him the buſineſs on the behalf of the Vnited Provinces was chiefly to be agitated. At their firſt meeting, nothing was done but the producing of the credential Letters on all ſides, they then began to diſcuſs affairs with an intention to come to a perpetual peace if it were poſſible. The Vnited Provinces offered one Article in the firſt place, wherein they pretended, that the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes, ſhould acknowledge them to be abſolutely Free States, and ſhould at large renounce all right or claim which might be pretended unto by them or any of their ſucceſſors, to, or over thoſe Provinces, with an obligation not to make uſe of their Arms or Titles, or whatſoever other appearance. This laſt addition appeared too arrogant to the Catholick Deputies, who complained very much thereof to the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England*, with whom from the beginning they had had communication in what concerned the Treaty: alleadging.

'That it was an uſual thing amongſt Princes, ſtill to retain the Title of States 'or Kingdoms, though they were loſt, or but pretended to, whereof there was 'examples in the greateſt Kings of Chriſtendom. That the Catholick King ſti-'led himſelf King of *Hieruſalem*, and Duke of *Burgony*; the King of *France*, 'King of *Navar*; and that the King of *England* did ſtill keep the Title of King of '*France*: That the Vnited Provinces would be they alone who would introduce 'new Laws in the world, and not content to paſs from rebellion into liberty; 'would pretend, as it were by uſurpation to ſuch and ſo raſh advantages: in fine, 'that this was a cauſe common to all Princes, and wherein they were all by this 'one act injured.

The anſwer which the Catholick Deputies gave hereunto was, that they had 'no Authority to admit of the Article in manner as was deſired: That they 'would acquaint the Arch-dukes therewith, and expect their Anſwer; but the 'Ambaſſadors thought theſe their complaints to be artificials, they imagined 'that the Catholick Deputies meant to indear the ſaid renuntiation as much as 'they might; that they might the eaſilyer induce the Vnited Provinces to give way on their parts in other things, in which opinion they were confirmed by the Anſwer which came from *Bruſſels*, which was, that the Arch-dukes would conſent to the Article in the ſame manner as it was propounded, if the Vnited Provinces by acknowledgement of ſo great a benefit, would in lieu thereof abſtain from their ſayling into the *Indies*. The Vnited Provinces ſeemed to be as much moved by this anſwer; and their Deputies made equal complaints thereof to the Ambaſſadors of their Confederate Kings and Princes.

'What do the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes grant (ſaid they) more then 'what the Vnited Provinces do already poſſeſs? that what ſhould be granted by 'the King and Arch-dukes was nothing but wind, and a bare Title; whereas if 'the Vnited Provinces ſhould give over their ſailing to the *Indies*, they ſhould 'deprive themſelves of the principal and moſt important part of their Traffick. 'That they had begun and would continue that their Navigation, which by the 'Laws of Nature, and right of Nations is allowed to all men. That ſome other 'thing might be thought upon which in this point might give reciprocal ſatiſ-'faction to both ſides: But that they ſhould exclude themſelves from ſailing in-'to the *Indies*, was neither to be thought on nor hoped for: and why ought not 'the ſpoiles of that new world be common to all? That it was of that im-

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'mence vaſtneſs, as more thereof was undiſcovered then diſcovered as yet: and 'that the right of the occupiers in thoſe parts, differed only in the better knowing 'how to manage what they poſſeſs.

Both parties argued this point touching the East-*Indies* with great ſtifneſs and pertenacity; nor would the Catholick Deputies ever diſcede from their firſt anſwer. At laſt the Deputies of the United Provinces made three Propoſitions: The firſt, that according to the nature of all peaces, Commerce might be free both by ſea and land to both parties. The ſecond, that for the ſpace of ſeaven years, the United Provinces might continue their Navigation to the *Indies*; and that one year before the expiration of thoſe ſeaven years, ſome new compoſition might be made. The third, that upon the inſuance of peace, and due obſervation of all things on this ſide the line, the Vnited Provinces might at their own peril continue their Navigation on the other ſide. The Catholick Deputies were not pleaſed either with the firſt or the third Propoſitions. Not with the firſt, becauſe it left the Vnited Provinces abſolutely free to Traffick in the *Indies*: Not with the third, becauſe they ſaw a peace mixt with hoſtility was not likely to laſt. They did not appear to be totally averſe from the ſecond, ſo as they would now agree, that when thoſe ſeaven years ſhould be ended, the United provinces ſhould for ever forbear from their Navigation to the *Indies*. To this their Deputies would by no means conſent; this point of the *Indies* was much ſtood upon, and the difficulties thereof inlarged by the particular Company of Merchants in the Vnited Provinces which traffick into thoſe parts. The Company was chiefly compoſed of the Merchants of *Amſterdam*, and of *Midleburgh*: and one was ſent in the name of that Company to the *Hague*, to ſhew how great the gain was which they made by their trafficking in the East-*Indies*, and how much the continuation thereof did import in other reſpects.

'They alleadged that they had already introduced Commerce in ſundry parts 'of thoſe Countries; that many were the frienſhips and confederations which 'they had eſtabliſhed there; and that thoſe ſeas were already frequented by a-'bove 150 of their Veſſels, and by above 8000 of their Mariners and Souldiers; 'that great was the gain of particular men, and the advantage no leſs which the 'publick received thereby: that to keep ſo many of the baſer ſort of people im-'ployed who would be alwayes troubleſome, when at quiet, what was it but to 'purge their Publick of ſo much ill bloud, ready to grow corrupt? That the 'Navigation of the United Provinces into the *Indies* had already made *Liſbon* 'groan; that the Merchant Towns of the Portugueſes in thoſe parts went to 'wrack; and that their ſhips were ſeen to go and come much poſſeſt with fear 'and apprehenſion; and were inforced to be at much greater expence then for-'merly; for they had wont not to be greatly vigilant in that their Voyage, not 'meeting with any conteſtation, ſave from the ſeas and wind.

Theſe and many other conſiderations were repreſented by the Company, to keep the Vnited Provinces from conſenting to the Spaniards demands touching the Indies: So as both parties adhering to their opinions, nothing was done therein. The Catholick Deputies reſolved therefore to ſend Father *Neyen* into *Spain* to acquaint the King with what paſt; and particularly to receive Orders for what they ſhould do concerning the Indies; having firſt declared to the other Deputies that they had no Commiſſion to conclude any thing in that buſineſs. They told them alſo, how that the Commiſſary ſhould be back within two months; whereupon he ſuddenly took his journey for *Spain*; and I to ſhun the tedious prolixity of the leſs important affairs, will here mention only things of greater moment, wherein their differences conſiſted. The King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes, to ſhew their ingennity, and the more to honeſt all concluſion of agreement, deſired that the exerciſe of Religion might be left free throughout all the United Provinces: towards which I had not been wanting; but particularly before the Deputies went for *Holland*, had preſt the Arch-dukes much therein: and certainly the United Provinces ſhould by all rules of good Government, of their own accord have endeavoured to give the Catholicks, who were in no ſmall numbers amongſt them, ſatisfaction: but the hatred to the Catholick Religion prevailing on the one ſide with the leading Hereticks, and the ſuſpition that this

was the more to oblige the Catholicks which were amongſt them, to the Spaniards on the other ſide, it was to be believed they would not conſent to any thing in favour of the Catholicks. The ſecond chief point was that which concerned Commerce; The United Provinces would have had it abſolutely free; and the King and Arch-dukes would have the Indies excepted, and deſired that many inſufferable Taxes might be taken off, to which the Merchandizes were ſubject in *Zealand*, which were neceſſarily to paſs from thence to *Antwerp*, and which every day much leſſened the Traffick of that City. The other chiefeſt affairs conſiſted in the exchange which was to be made of divers Towns and other places, which the one ſide were Maſters of, in the others Country; in the adjuſting of confines; in contributions which were paid in ſeveral parts by thoſe whoſe habitations confin'd on both ſides, to free themſelves from Military incurſions: in the reſtitution of goods confiſcated in the time of War, and in other the like things of Juſtice. They treated ſometimes of one of theſe, ſometimes of another, but very leaſurely; for great difficulties were met withall in all of them, without coming to any reſolution. The point of exchange of places was in particular much argued. The United Provinces were poſſeſſed of *Sluce* in the Province of *Flanders*, together with the Iſland *Caſſant*, which is but of ſmall circuit, but commodious for the unlading of Goods; having in it ſome Forts.

They likewiſe were Maſters of *Breda*, *Bergen-ap-zome*, and St. *Getringberg*, all of them ſtrongly ſcituated both by Nature and Art in *Brabant*; together with ſome leſſer places, fortified likewiſe.

On the contrary the Arch-dukes had *Linghen*, *Groll*, and *Oldenſel* beyond the *Rhine* toward *Frieſland*; *Linghen* is a very ſtrong Hold, and the other two, places of good conſideration. The Arch-dukes would have deſired to have changed theſe three places, with thoſe which the United Provinces had in *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

And becauſe that which was poſſeſt by the United Provinces, was much the greater and better part, it was thought that the Arch-duke to make the change more qual, would willingly have quitted unto them all the reſt which they were Maſters of in *Ghelderland*, or at leaſt the greateſt part thereof. Long diſpute was had upon this Article, but to no purpoſe; for it was not poſſible ever to agree upon it. And with the ſame difficulties and prolixity they proceeded likewiſe in the other affairs. This mean while the time was expired wherein the Commiſſary was to return from *Spain*; who did not only not appear, but not any news was heard of him; whereupon the United Provinces grew very jealous, and their Deputies began publickly to complain thereof. The King of *France* was all this while very attentive upon the proceedings in *Holland*; and to make the Spaniards the more jealous, he was eaſily perſwaded upon this occaſion to make a new League with the United Provinces. The Contents whereof was, That in caſe the peace now in Treaty ſhould ſucceed, the King of *France* ſhould be bound to aſſiſt the Vnited Provinces with ten thouſand paid Souldiers, to make the Spaniards the better keep it; and that they on the other ſide ſhould give the King of *France* five thouſand paid foot in caſe the Spaniards ſhould make war upon him. The Spaniſh and Flemiſh Ambaſſadors which were at *Paris*, quarrelled with the King hereupon; but he juſtified it with divers pretences, and ſhewed how that the King of *Spain* and Arch-dukes ſhould rather be beholding to him therein, as a buſineſs which might the eaſilyer facilitate the peace of *Flanders* which was in Treaty. Theſe artifices were not unknovvn in *Spain*, and it was every day better ſeen, that no agreement would ever be made with the Vnited Provinces, without the King of *France* his interpoſition and authority. To the end then that he might obtain his mediation upon this occaſion, the King of *Spain* reſolved though upon other pretences, to ſend *Don Piedro de Tolledo*, one of the chief Lords of *Spain*; into *France*,

And this was thought then the fitter to be done, becauſe the King of *France* at the ſame time had ſent for Preſident *Jannines* to *Paris*; with whom adviſing upon the affairs of *Holland*, and the King reſolving upon the forementioned things which might make him deſire to ſee the affairs of *Flanders* ſetled; he ſent him

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ſuddenly to the *Hague*. But *Jannines* grew quickly to diſpair of ſeeing any Peace concluded. He found the buſineſs more perplext with difficulties then before, and the mindes of both Parties more exaſperated. The United Provinces could not tollerate the Spaniards ſlowneſs; for the Commiſſary did not appear at all, nor was there any news heard of what he had done in *Spain*. Whereupon their Deputies reſolved to know directly the King of *Spains* final intention touching the *Indies*, which when they ſhould not know, preſently to break off the Treaty; and this they preſt upon the Catholick Deputies with much inconſtancy, who made them this Anſwer:

'That the King deſired a happy end of the begun Treaty, and that he would 'at laſt condiſcend to that renunciation which they deſired, and in manner as 'was by them propounded: But that on the other ſide, he expected that in re-'quital of ſo important an Affair, they ſhould forbare going to the *Indies*; and 'that moreover they ſhould permit liberty of conſcience to the Catholicks with-'in their Provinces. That the Commiſſary was already diſpatched from the 'Court with this anſwer; and that they had already received orders to acquaint 'them the United Provinces therewithal.

This Anſwer quite overthrew all hopes of Peace. The United Provinces had put on an unalterable Reſolution neither to abandon the *Indies*, nor yet to admit the Catholick Religion amongſt them. Whereupon having heard this, they in Writing did preſently declare the Treaty broken, and preſented the writing to the Catholick Deputies. The Treaty of Peace being thus faln to the ground, it remained to ſee whether they might the eaſilyer compaſs a long Truce. The King of *England* had all this while ſeemed rather averſe then otherwiſe to the Negotiation in *Holland*, and having the ſame ends which the Kings of *France* had, to raiſe jealouſie in the Spaniard, as hath been ſaid, he alſo made uſe of the ſame means. In imitation of the King of *France*, and almoſt after the ſame manner, he had at this time made alſo a new League with the united Provinces; and though his Authority was nothing near ſo great with them, yet was it ſuch, as it might much impede the proceedings of the new Treaty for a long Truce: and he had already complained to the Spaniſh and Flemiſh Ambaſſadors who were reſident in *England*, that the King of *Spain* had ſent Don *Piedro de Toledo* to *Paris*, putting thereby ſo great an eſteem upon the King of *France*, and that he had made no manner of addreſs at all to him. For theſe reſpects the King of *Spain* reſolved to ſend likewiſe Don *Fernando Girone* who was then in *Flanders*, and who was one of the chiefeſt Commanders in his Army to the King of *England*; who ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied therewith; and made large promiſes to intercede for the continuing of the negotiation in *Holland*, being thereunto perſwaded by his natural addiction to peace, as alſo for the aforeſaid Reaſons. Before the Catholick Deputies departed from *Holland*, the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England* began to ſet again on foot this new Treaty of a long Truce: inſomuch as the Ambaſſadors meeting one day, *Jannines* in the name of both the Kings made this inſuing Propoſition in the Councel of the States General:

'That both their Kings had alwaies conſidered the affairs of the United Pro-'vinces, as their own particular concernment, having maintained them all this 'while as ſuch by their Councels and defended them by their Forces; but that the 'end of War muſt be Peace; That to this purpoſe the United Provinces had been 'aſſiſted by both of them; and that both of them were therefore much troubled 'to ſee the Treaty of Peace which was begun, thus broken: and that they thinking 'it howſoever much better for the United Provinces to enjoy a commodious and 'honorable quiet, then to return to the former difficulties and dangers of war; 'were pleaſed to propound unto them by their Ambaſſadors joyntly, a long 'Truce inſtead of Peace. That notwithſtanding in this Truce, in the firſt place, 'and before all other things it ſhould be declared both by the King of *Spain* and 'by the Arch-dukes, that it was made with the united Provinces as with free Pro-'vinces and States unto which they made no pretence at all; and that they ſhould 'be left Free in point of their Navigation to the *Indies*. That both their Kings 'did believe that the United Provinces might be content with a Truce which was 'to bring with it ſuch important advantages for them; and not onely theſe but

'peradventure ſome others alſo. That greater difficulties were to be feared on the 'other part; but in caſe the war were to continue by reaſon of the Spaniards 'fault, the Forces of the United Provinces would be thereby the more juſtified, 'and both their Kings ſtill the more obliged to mantain their Cauſe.

The States General took time to advice upon the whole with their Provinces. The Ambaſſadors with like conformity applyed themſelves to the Catholick Deputies, who having loſt all hopes of Peace, did very much deſire to come to ſome other accommodation, or compoſition: ſo they willingly liſtned to this new propoſal of a long Truce; though they thought many difficulties would be met withal in *Spain* touching the form thereof: They promiſed the Ambaſſadors notwithſtanding to uſe all the diligence they could to overcome them: and having received aſſurances from the Ambaſſadors that they would do all good offices for the continuation of the Treaty, and eſpecially from *Jannines*, on whoſe means and authority they did chiefly relye, they at laſt went from the *Hague*, after having been eight months entertained there, and went to *Bruſſels*. The Negotiation of the Truce lying then chiefly on *Jannines* hand, he did all he could to perſwade the United Provinces to allow of it, in the ſame manner as had been propounded by him and the Engliſh Ambaſſadors. Thoſe Provinces ſeemed well inclined in general toward the Truce, though they wanted not ſome amongſt them who would have had the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes make the ſame renunciation in the Treaty of Truce as they pretended unto in that of Peace; but the wiſer and more moderate men amongſt them conſidered that this would be too unjuſt a pretention, due regard being had to the difference between a Truce and a Peace. This difficulty proceeded chiefly from *Zealand*, and was Fauter'd by Count *Maurice* by reaſon of his aboveſaid power in that Province, and the almoſt abſolute dependency which *Maldereo* the particular Deputy of *Zealand* had upon him. *Maldereo* had been a menual ſervant of the late Prince of *Orange*, and to ſay truth, the Intereſt of *Zealand* did accord with Count *Maurice* his particular ends; for the Traffick and wealth of that Province was greatly increaſed by the war; the choice Marriners who had ſerved and did as yet ſerve in the voyages to the *Indies*, were likewiſe Zealanders; and next unto *Holland*, certainly this was the chiefeſt and moſt conſiderable of all the United Provinces.

The ſame difficulties, out of the ſame reaſons were inſiſted upon by the City of *Amſterdam* in *Holland*; but it was thought, that at laſt the reſt of that Province would prevail over the particular oppoſition of that City, in a favourable acceptation of the Truce; which *Zealand* did ſtill pertenaciouſly reſiſt: And *Maldereo* very zealous in the cauſe, endeavoured to make thoſe words ſuſpected, wherein the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes were to denounce the United Provinces to be Free-States, in form aboveſaid. Whereupon one day that this Clauſe was treated on, he with great fervency broke forth into theſe words:

'Are we Free-men, or ſtill Subjects? If we be Free-men, why ought we not 'to be publickly acknowledged for ſuch? Shall it depend upon the Spaniards 'to allow us what ſort of liberty they pleaſe, now that they cannot impoſe that 'ſlavery upon us which they would? To wit, a liberty more ſervile then our for-'mer ſervitude; ſince it muſt depend upon the interpretation of their own 'words? Do not we know what interpretation they have already given to thoſe 'words? Do not we know that they take them in ſuch a ſenſe as doth not take 'from them any pretended right to our Provinces? At this rate we ſhall get no-'thing more by this long Truce, then what was had in the bare ſuſpenſion of 'Arms: And yet this Truce ſhall rather look like a Peace; and it may ſo fall out, 'as by often prolongation, it may at laſt be inſenſibly turned into the nature of 'a Peace. Then, as in the Treaty of Peace we did pretend in the firſt place, 'That that abſolute abnegation ſhould be made by the King of *Spain*, and the 'Arch-dukes which is now Treated of; ſo ought we ſtill to pretend unto it, and 'in that form which may clearlyeſt declare our Provinces to be Free and So-'veraign. Shall not he ackowledge them, when all the world Treats with them 'as ſuch? To what corner of the Earth, or of the Sea is it that the Fame of their

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'Liberty together with the Fame of their Forces is not flown? Let the Spaniards 'then do the like, or let all Treaties be broken. That neceſſity which enforceth 'them to come to agreement with us, will likewiſe compel them to do it in this 'manner. So ſince we would make no greater advantage of this their neceſſity, 'with our ſwords in our hands, as we ought, and peradventure might have done 'we ſhall at leaſt come by it by this conteſtation of Treaty, in ſuch manner 'as the victory of words can moſt promiſe.

Theſe reaſons againſt the above named clauſe, and many others againſt the Truce in general, were exagerated by *Maldereo*, or rather through his mouth by Count *Maurice*, who laboured by all other means, and uſed all his induſtry that this Treaty of Truce might prove vain, as the other of peace had done; the ſame things were ſcattered abroad by his followers, giving out many printed papers to this purpoſe, not owned by any: they ſeemed to diſtruſt the forraign Ambaſſadors, and it was whiſpered that though the two Kings adviſed to Truce, yet for their own ſelf-intereſt they would not totally forbare aſſiſting the United Provinces, though contrary to their Councel, they ſhould reaſſume their Arms; that howſoever it was requiſit to return to Arms, ſince it was undoubtedly to be believed, that the preſent neceſſities being over, the Spaniards would no longer obſerve the Truce. That in the mean while, the people of the United Provinces, cheated by the abuſive names of Peace and Quiet, would loſe their former vigour and conſtancy? That they would hardly be brought to contribute thoſe monies afterwards, for the war, which at firſt they did ſo willingly part withal: And that all theſe would be ſeeds to produce pernicious diſcords amongſt their Provinces. Laſtly, they concluded, That though the Spaniards ſhould obſerve the Truce, it would be requiſite howſoever to keep their Frontiers ſtill well look'd unto; The which being ſo many, and the jealouſies on all ſides being now likely to prove ſo great, the expence in time of Truce would be well nigh as much as in the time of war How much better would it then be to continue the war, and not to loſe the preſent occaſions which did all of them ſo ſmile upon them, and frown upon the Spaniards? Affairs leaning already towards diſcord, and the Zealander Deputies threatned openly a ſeparation from the reſt of the Provinces, if contrary to the form of common Government, the reſt would reſolve upon Truce without the particular conſent of *Zealand*. *Jannines* loitred now no more, but judging this a fitting occaſion to ſhew his experience, and force of his advices, one day when their conteſtations grew higheſt, 'tis ſaid he ſpoke to the Deputies of the United Provinces in this manner.

'Neither did my King ever think (worthy Deputies) that ſo long conteſta-'tions could have had place here amongſt you in ſo great an Union; nor did I 'ever beleeve that ſuch diſtruſt were to be found here, as ſome of you ſeem to 'have of my behaviour. I will ſpeak of mine own, leaving the Engliſh Ambaſſa-'dors either to juſtifie themſelvs, or make their juſt complaints. For what concerns 'my endeavours, I will onely ſay, Execution is the onely ſhare I have therein. 'So as to miſtruſt them, will be much more to offend my King then me. And 'to ſay truth, what greater injury can he receive then this? He having alwaies 'ſhewed himſelf ſo partial to your Commonwealth, as he hath almoſt never 'made any difference between the intereſts of his own Kingdom, & of your Com-'mon-wealth. When he was hardly yet come unto the Crown, and had hard-'ly, after ſo many Domeſtick and Forraign oppoſitions, ſetled his own affairs, 'the firſt thing he did was to aſſiſt your Provinces. From that time to this he 'hath not been wanting in aiding you with Monies, Men, and Counſel; and to 'make your Cauſe appear the juſter in all other reſpects, by his owning it. 'Doubtleſly he pretended to aſſiſt a juſt Cauſe: but the juſteſt actions do not al-'waies prove the moſt uſeful. Nay theſe of yours might have been thought the 'more dangerous, by how much their power is the greater, who take themſelves 'to be offended. The liberty of your Provinces may be ſaid to have ſayled into 'the Haven, chiefly by the ſayles of his favour. And becauſe we cannot now 'eſtabliſh it upon the Anchor of Peace, my King endeavours at leaſt to faſten it 'upon the Anchor of Truce, which may prove as advantagious to you. Let us 'then conſider whether ſuch an Agreement may be truly advantagious to your

'Affairs: Which when it shall be known, as I hope it will, siniſter diſcourſes 'will then ſoon ceaſe; which if they do not, it will appear at leaſt, That they 'proceede from particular paſſions, vailed over with the ſemblance of Publick 'good. The buſineſs is then touching the making of a long Truce; and whe-'ther the chiefeſt endeavour ought to be, That your Provinces ſhould be therein 'clearly acknowledged to be Free. We Ambaſſadors think the clauſe by us pro-'pounded ſufficient to that purpoſe: That the King of *Spain* and Arch-dukes 'ſhould declare that they made Truce with your Provinces as with Free Provinces 'and States, unto which they make no pretence at all. But there are ſome amongſt 'you who differ from us in opinion, thinking it to be too generical and dubious; 'and who would have the King of *Spain* and Arch-dukes make the ſame abſolute 'renunciation now, as was pretended unto when there was a Treaty of Peace. 'I cannot notwithſtanding part from my firſt opinion; for it appears to me that 'to boot, with the difference that there is between a Peace and a Truce, this 'Declaration may be thought to make more for your liberty then the other. Tell 'me I pray you! Have not you alwaies declared, That you have taken up Arms 'againſt your Prince, infored thereto by neceſſity? And that the war on your 'ſide could not be more juſt, becauſe it could not be more neceſſary? And by 'the ſame reaſon have you not ſet your Provinces at Liberty by your own Autho-'rity? Then if you pretend upon ſo good grounds to be free, what need you 'now that the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Dukes ſhould make theſe renoun-'cings? Do not you ſee, that ſuch like renouncings of right would preſuppoſe 'it to be more manifeſt on their behalf? And that in ſuch a caſe much more 'ſhould be confeſt by you, then granted by them? Do not you know that they can 'grant nothing to the prejudice of their ſucceſſors? Kingdoms cannot otherwiſe 'make any contract, nor Kings make any alienable part therein? And ſince they 'give the laws to others, they muſt likewiſe in this behalf receive it from their 'Crowns. How much better is it then that your Provinces be declared by the 'King and the Arch-dukes to be free by a general clauſe, and that the agreement 'which is now ſpoken of, may follow with this preſuppoſition of your Liberty, 'without making it doubtful by any other kinde of clauſes, inſtead of making 'it more clear? This form is not onely ſufficient, but beſt. And if it be not ſuf-'ficient with the contrary party; think you that if the Spaniards would not ob-'ſerve the Truce for ſome other end of theirs, they would ask your opinion firſt 'before they would break it? And that they would firſt argue whether they have 'any right over you, or no? This is the cuſtom of private ſuites not of pub-'lick Cauſes; The controverſies whereof are at laſt reduced to Field Forces, 'where hee that overcomes hath the right, and no account of the victory is 'given.

'So as you need not care what interpretation the contrary party will give to 'thoſe words wherewith they do acknowledge you to be free. That which im-'ports you, is, That your people hold themſelves to be confeſt to be free by 'thoſe words, & not to be made ſo. And that the Princes your friends underſtand 'them in the ſame ſenſe. So as if it be needful to fall to arms again, your peo-'ple may be more ready then ever to reaſſume them, and that your Friends may 'ſhew themſelves more diſpoſed then ever to favour your cauſe. But it is too 'well known how much more eaſie it is to uſe conſtancy in troubles, then mode-'ration in proſperity. Tell me I beſeech you, thoſe who are the moſt zealous a-'mongſt you, when did they ever think that the King of *Spain* and the Arch-'dukes were to condiſcend to Treaties ſo advantagious for your Provinces? And 'will you loſe this ſo happy occaſion? Shall vain ſhadows prevail more with you 'then eſſential reaſons? Shall ſeditious Papers which are every where ſcattered 'abroad, be of more validity amongſt you then the ſincere and wiſe Counſels of 'two Kings who are ſo affectionate unto your Cauſe. Now is the time then to re-'ſolve upon, and to embrace this agreement which is now offered. Do you ſee 'how the Swiſſers have fared? Take them for your example. And by the ſimi-'litude of their affairs and yours, hope for the like ſucceſs. The Swiſſers took 'up arms at firſt againſt their Princes, not being able longer to undergo the grie-'vances of their Government: nor were they above two or three Cantons at

the

'the beginning, and thoſe the weakeſt amongſt them; but their People gaſping
'for Liberty, and defending it with equal vigor both of body and minde, they
'made invincible oppoſitions to their Enemies Forces; till being unconquerable
'by the Forces of the other Cantons, and the ſtrength of their own *Alpeſter*
'ſituation, their Enemies deſpaired of ever ſubjugating them. At laſt they cea-
'ſed fighting, and from tottering agreements they came to a firm and continual
'peace. And who will now diſpute the Swiſſers Liberty? Why may not your
'Provinces hope for the like ſucceſs? The ſeverity of the Spaniſh Goverment
'made *Holland* and *Zealand* take up arms at firſt; their People valiantly with-
'ſtood their Enemies: The Sea, Rivers, and the ſtrength of their Natural ſitu-
'ation fought for them; your other Provinces came in afterwards unto them;
'and all made ſuch reſiſtance to the contrary Forces, as there is not any example
'to be had of ſo long a war. The ſucceſſes have been various; but at laſt they
'have proved ſo propitious to you, as a Treaty of accommodation was ſought
'for by your Enemies; and now we are upon the point of a long Truce: which
'if it ſucceed, will doubtleſly prove very advantageous for your affairs, and will
'eaſily be hereafter renewed upon the ſame advantages, or turned into a perpe-
'tual peace, which may prove yet better for you. That which I have hitherto
'ſaid, ſeems to me to be ſufficiently clear.

'In fine, there will be no doubt of your liberty by this Clauſe, which is pro-
'pounded: Nor is it leſs to be doubted that a Truce will be more advantageous
'for you, then unneceſſitated to ſubject your ſelves to the uncertain events of a
'new war. Fortune is generally ſeen to have too great a ſway in war; and that
'mocking at humane arrogancy, ſhe too often makes the more powerful give
'way unto the weaker; and loſſes inſue where victories were expected. To wit-
'neſs which, and paſs by ſo many other examples; What more memorable preſi-
'dent can you have thereof, then what ſo lately befell here before your own eyes
'in the Arch-dukes own perſon at *Newport*? Where inſtead of being Victor, as
'it was aſſuredly hoped, he was overcom, wounded, and very near being taken
'priſoner.

'By means of this Truce you will eſcape ſo many and ſo dangerous uncertain-
'ties of war; you will in the interim eſtabliſh your Government the better; you
'will eaſe your people of their diſburſements; you will continue your former
'Traffick into the *Indies*; and you ſhall finally ſee an end of thoſe hateful titles
'of Perfidiouſneſs and Rebellion, which hath hitherto been given by a great ma-
'ny in the world to your motions and proceedings in arms. And who can doubt
'but that your Provinces will hereafter willingly concur in ſuch expences as ſhall
'be needful, ſince they will be ſo eaſie in compariſon of what they have been?
'And ſo much the more willingly, by how much men do more naturally deſire
'to enjoy quiet, then to live in troubles: and by how much liberty is the ſweeter,
'after having made tryal of ſervitude.

'And ſurely it is to be believed that thoſe to whom the Government of your
'people ſhall be committed, will uſe the ſame care and vigilancy in the admini-
'ſtration of publick affairs in time of Truce, as they have prudently done hither-
'to in the time of war: their chiefeſt care will be ſtill more to eſtabliſh the pre-
'ſent concord, which is the ſoul which gives life unto the body, and the heart
'which maintains it: and hence proceeds that miraculous temper which of ma-
'ny makes but one, and of but one many; but yet ſuch as whether they be ſeve-
'red or conjoyned do alwaies conſpire to the ſame end. Thus your affairs being
'well ordered within your ſelves, you ſhall have little need to fear forraign dan-
'gers: and thus your Truce being at laſt turned into peace (as 'tis to be hoped it
'will be) my King ſhall ſee the ſame ſucceſs in your affairs as he hath ſeen in his
'own, and whereby his Kingdom is now made happy: to wit, after war peace,
'after troubles reſt, and after the ſacking and burning of Towns, and all the o-
'ther miſeries of Arms, the commodity, ſecurity, and felicity of quiet and
'peace.

The Majeſty and preſence of the King of *France* himſelf, ſeemed to break forth in the Preſident *Jannines* countenance and words. He afterwards gave what he had ſpoken more fully in writing, to the end that the People might come

to

to the better knowledge thereof, and that they might the easilyer effect the agreement which was in Treaty.

The like offices were done by the Ambassadors of *England*, and to overcome fully the pertenacy of the Zealanders, it was resolved that Deputies should be sent into *Zealand* in the name of the six other Provinces, to induce that Province to conformity with the rest: which after much difficulty was at last effected, and all of them concurring now in the same resolution; the Ambassadors began again to labour to overcome the difficulties in dispute. Continual correspondency was had by Letters between *Jannines* and *Richardotto*; so as the Negotiation of what was needful past between them; but the King of *Spain* needed no less labouring to be brought to give way to the Truce: news was sent to the King of *Spain* of the Proposition made by the Ambassadors of *France* and *England*, and of the new Negotiation introduced by their means.

The King would have been well enough pleased with the Truce, had it been according to usual form, and all things left in the same terms on both sides, as they were at present; but to declare the United Provinces to be altogether free, and to suffer them in expres words to traffick in the *Indies*, seemed to put too great a difference between the present Treaty, and ordinary Truces: yet 'twas seen that 'twas impossible ever to come to any accomodation without this Declaration of Liberty; and that if the United Provinces had stood so absolutely upon it before they would be brought to a bare suspention of Arms for a few months, they would now be much more resolute in it, in a Truce which was to endure for many years.

The Arch-dukes who saw the difficulties and dangers of the war in case it should be continued, at a nearer distance, were easilyer induced to give way to the Proposal made by the Ambassadors; and *Jannines* both by word of mouth, and by Letters, had endeavoured to perswade the Catholick Deputies, that to declare they made Truce with the United Provinces as with free Provinces and States unto which the King and the Arch-dukes made no pretence at all, did not any waies prejudice, the right which the King or Arch-dukes might pretend to have over them. 'He had shewed how that it was a general Declaration; that 'the word (as) bore with it a sense of similitude, and not of propriety: That 'in the declaring of one mans being friends with another, 'twas never said I 'hold him as a friend; that the adding in the last words, not to pretend unto a-'ny thing, had reference to the ambiguity of the former words: And finally 'that such a Declaration could not admit of any interpretation, save onely du-'ring the time of the Truce.

'That then the King and the Arch-dukes ought to be content to make it; since 'it was involved in words which might satisfie both parties.

'First, The unskilful multitude of the Vnited Provinces, for the outward ap-'pearance of their pretended Liberty; then the King and the Arch-dukes, for 'the true substance which was retained in them of leaving their former right still 'unhurt. Then opening himself more freely, *Jannines* said; My King in such a 'case, would not make any difficulty in granting this Declaration; for if the 'Vnited Provinces when they shall betake themselves to Arms shall not have bet-'ter Canons and Muskets; words and interpretations will avail them but 'little.

In this manner, and by these wary and wily waies *Jannines* as a good mediator, endeavoured to draw both sides to a Truce; to which the Arch-dukes were easily perswaded, and endeavoured to bring the King to be so likewise; shewing that by this, neither they nor the King should do any thing more, then what was yeilded unto at the first suspension of Arms; much repugnancy did notwithstanding appear in the King. 'Twas thought in *Spain* that the Clause wherewith the Vnited Provinces were to be declared Free States, though it were limited, vvould generally be interpreted in favour of their Liberty; and that vvhen they should have got their desires in that behalf, the King vvould not obtain leave for the exercise of the Catholick Religion in their Country, vvhich he vvas resolved to have by vvay of interchange; and moreover if the Article concerning the *Indies* should be condiscended unto, how much would the King be thereby damnified?

How

How much reputation would he thereby loſe? To which difficulties the Arch-dukes replyed, ſhewing that when the King reſolved to have the aboveſaid requital, 'twas onely to be underſtood, if the peace ſhould be concluded; and that the King and the Arch-dukes having abſolutely renounced all their right, the Vnited Provinces were abſolutely free; that the preſent Negotiation of the Truce did differ very much; by which the King nor the Arch-dukes could not loſe any piece of their former right; that it was not to be doubted but that a clauſe ſo general and ſo limitated, would be interpreted rather in favour of them, then of the contrary party. That the Ambaſſadors themſelves thought ſo; as alſo divers of the Inhabitants of the Vnited Provinces, who were againſt the Truce, as that which would be no whit more advantagious for them, then was the bare ſuſpenſion of Arms. And as for the point of the *Indies*, they ſeemed to have hopes to end it ſo, as it ſhould be no conſiderable prejudice to the King.

Theſe reaſons were not taken as fully ſatisfactory in *Spain*; but on the other ſide the King did very much deſire the Truce, and that the ſo great, and ſo unneceſſary expences of *Flanders* ſhould ceaſe. The Duke of *Lerma* was then in great authority with the King; and having gotten the ſole power over the King by ſuch arts as were available in peace, he was unwilling to ſhare it with them who might gain it by ſuch means as war affords: which made him from the very beginning very earneſt in endeavouring the Negotiation: and he did now no leſs labour that it might come to ſome good event of agreement; the ſame deſires were known to be in the Arch-duke; who therefore reſolved to ſend his Confeſſor to the Court of *Spain*, to anſwer all the difficulties which were inſiſted on in *Spain*, the which was thought neceſſary alſo to put an end to ſo long a Negotiation, wherein above two years had already been ſpent; which had ſo tyred the two mediating Kings, as they began already to proteſt that they would meddle no more therein, if it were not all the more ſpeedily ended.

Father *Inico di Brazuela*, of the Order of the Dominicans, was the Arch-dukes Confeſſor, a very learned and upright man, and one who had been long experienced in the affairs of *Flanders*: ſo as men hoped well of him, and of his fidelity, that he might reconcile affairs with the King and State-Officers, he being a Spaniard, a Votary, and of a very noble Family, and commendable life. He was particularly to take all ſcruples from the King in the point of pretending by way of interchange the exerciſe of the Catholick profeſſion in the time of Truce, whereof he was to preſs the neceſſity even for the cauſe of Religion it ſelf. By repreſenting, That if they ſhould return to Arms again, manifeſt hazard would yet be run of loſing more then formerly on the King and the Arch-Dukes behalf in *Flanders*, and conſequenly of quite loſing the Catholick Religion in the yet obedient Provinces, inſtead of regaining it in thoſe that were revolted. The buſineſs was all this while put on by the two Kings Ambaſſadors: but becauſe to Negotiate by way of Letters was long and tedious, the Ambaſſadors minded the Catholick Deputies who had been in *Holland*, that it would make more for the purpoſe to have the meeting in *Antwerp*, to end thoſe difficulties which yet remained concerning the Negotiation. This Propoſition was willingly liſtned unto by the Arch-dukes; whereupon the Ambaſſadors, and the Catholick Deputies, met in *Antwerp* in the beginning of *February* 1609. The greateſt difficulty was touching the point of the *Indies*. The Ambaſſadors had alwaies aſſured the Vnited Provinces, that in the Truce they ſhould be permitted to Traffick thither; and they therefore deſired that that Article might be laid down in clear and expreſs words. On the contrary the Catholick Deputies deſired that if it ſhould be impoſſible to come to a Truce without condiſcending to that point, it might at leaſt be underſtood by tacit circumlocutions, then by nominating the *Indies* expreſly.

They deſired alſo howſoever, that the Vnited Provinces ſhould forbear from coming into or from trafficking in thoſe parts of the *Indies*, which were already under the Crown of *Spain*. At laſt after much arguing, this point was agreed upon, and was couched in ſuch tearms as both the Vnited Provinces, and the Catholick Deputies were ſatisfied therewith: for the name of the *Indies* was left out, and the ſaid Provinces were forbidden entring into the Kings Countries in thoſe

thoſe parts: And *Richardotto* had wont afterwards to ſay, that this Article was ſo obſcure, as he himſelf did not underſtand it: much diſputation was likewiſe had upon the Article of Contributions: 'twas ſaid that the United Provinces received every year 300000 Crowns of Contribution money, which was a great help to their expences. The Arch-dukes did not receive near ſo much; but becauſe theſe monies were all raiſed by hoſtility, it was thought a thing too repugnant to the publick tranquility which was endeavoured, that this kinde of Hoſtile proceedings ſhould be continued in times of quiet: ſo as the United Provinces were at laſt perſwaded, that all contributions of both ſides ſhould be laid down. On the contrary 'twas neceſſary to yeild to the pretention moved by them, that the precincts which did appertain to ſuch Towns as were enjoyed both on this and on that ſide, ſhould be reſtored to the ſaid Towns. Touching which point little or nothing returned to the Arch-dukes hands, whereas large bounderurs were reſtored to the Towns of *Breda*, and *Berghenapzone*, together with ſome others in *Brabant* which were in the poſſeſſion of the United Provinces? Yet the Arch-dukes did ſo far prevail, and my endeavours were alſo ſo earneſt therein as the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion onely was left in thoſe precincts, as it was before. To the which the united Provinces obliged themſelves apart, being promiſed by *Jannines* and *Roſſi* his Collegue, who gave it them under their hands, that the King of *France* ſhould oblige himſelf to ſee it performed. Touching the point of exchange of Towns, there was no means of accommodation therein to be found; ſo as it was reſolved that each party ſhould ſtill enjoy what they did poſſeſs at the preſent: nor would the Vnited Provinces ever ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded in the point of taking away the Taxes and other impediments to which thoſe veſſels were lyable in *Zealand* which paſſed through the Scheld to come to *Antwerp*, whereby that City was much indamaged, as hath been ſaid. This buſineſs was refer'd to be propounded and examined in a friendly manner after the Truce ſhould be concluded. And the Arch-dukes hoped by the benefit of the Truce, the better to accommodate their own Ports in *Flanders*, into which much merchandize was to be brought, which in time of war went neceſſarily into *Holland* and *Zealand*; becauſe their Havens were continually block'd up by many of the Vnited Provinces men of war.

Theſe were the chief points on which the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England* treated with the Marqueſs *Spinola*, and the other Catholick Deputies in *Antwerp*: the Catholick Deputies endeavouring to proceed as ſlowly as might be, that the Arch-dukes Confeſſor might have time to Negotiate in *Spain*, and to ſend away the reſolution which was expected from thence; which not long after came, and was the ſame in ſum which the Arch-dukes had deſired, and the Confeſſor by the reaſons alledged by him, had perſwaded the King unto: great conſultations were had notwithſtanding before this determination, both in the Councel of State, and amongſt the graveſt and learneſt Eccleſiaſticks of *Spain*: for the King would be fully ſatisfied in all thoſe affairs which were to be conſidered in ſo important a buſineſs, before he would ſuffer it to be brought to a concluſion.

The Confeſſor himſelf returned ſoon after; ſo as the affairs being fitted by all parties for an agreement, the two Kings Ambaſſadors, who after the Negotiation at *Antwerp*, were gone to give an account of the whole buſineſs to the Vnited Provinces, thought it fitting to return again to that City, and to bring thither the ſame Deputies of the Vnited Provinces, who were firſt imployed in Negotiating the buſineſs in *Holland*; which was approved of by the Arch-dukes, and at the ſame time the Catholick Deputies returned thither likewiſe, amongſt which was Commiſſary *Neyen*, who was then returned from *Spain*.

The Vnited Provinces thought this to be the buſineſs of higheſt nature, and of greateſt importancy which had befaln them ſince their withdrawing themſelves from the obedience of the Crown of *Spain*, and therefore it was judged neceſſary that it ſhould be concluded by the Authority of the whole body of the great Aſſembly repreſenting the general Vnion; and that the Aſſembly ſhould conſiſt of as many Deputies, as could be gathered together upon ſo great an Occurrency. The Town of *Berghenapzone* was made choice of to this purpoſe, ſituated

ſituated not many leagues from *Antwerp*. Here the great Aſſembly met, and 'twas ſaid that the Deputies were eight hundred in number. The Deputies of both ſides, together with the two Kings Ambaſſadors, met every day in *Antwerp*, in the publick Palace of that City. From whence whatſoever paſt from time to time was ſent to *Bruſſels* to the Arch-dukes, and to the Vnited Provinces in *Berghenapzone*, and reſolutions were ſuddenly taken. When all points were then adjuſted, after ſo many and ſo long obſtructions, a Truce for twelve years was eſtabliſhed and concluded on the ninth of *April* in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſix hundred and nine, betwixt both parties: The Articles were eight and thirty. In the firſt it was declared, that the Arch-dukes made Truce with the Vnited Provinces as with Free-States and Provinces, unto which they did not make any pretence at all; and they obliged themſelves that the King of *Spain* ſhould ratifie the ſame Declaration, together with all the reſt, which was afterwards done in ſuch manner as was requiſit. The other chief Articles contained the affairs of chiefeſt importance, as hath been ſhewed above; and in the reſt divers reſolutions were contained, touching the affairs of Juſtice; and concerning rather particular then publick intereſts.

Thus did this Negotiation of Flanders end at laſt; the iſſue whereof was ſo long expected throughout all *Europe*.

And truly at this Truce, as if it had been at an univerſal Quiet, all *Europe* ſeemed to rejoyce, which had ſeen for ſo many years, and amidſt ſo many fatal and dreadful ſpectacles, the blood of all her Nations run upon the Theatre of *Flanders*.

FINIS.

A TABLE

Of the moſt remarkable things contained in this *FIRST PART.*

A

ABBOTS *monaſticall in* Flanders *complain againſt the new erection of Biſhopricks* 11

Adolphus, *Oranges brother, ſlain in Battail* 57

Alcmar *in the Rebels hands,* 109. *Beſieged by the Kings party* ibid.

Alexander Farneſe *prince of* Parma, *in* Flanders, *upon occaſion of his marriage with* Mary *princeſs of* Portugall 21

Alſt *in* Flanders *ſeized by the Mutiners* 141

Amſterdam, 96. *A City very faithfull to the Church and the King,* ibid. *Infeſted with the other Towns of* Holland ib. *Again moleſted by them* 110

Anne *daughter to* Maurice Elector *of* Saxony, 19. *Married to* Orange, ibid.

Anne *the Archdutcheſs daughter to* Maximilian *the Emperor, married to the Catholick King,* 71. *Is accompanied by the Archdukes* Albertus *and* Wenceſlaus *her brothers* ibid.

Anthony Stralen *a principall man in* Antwerp, 46. *Is executed* 58

Antonio Pittore *endeavours to ſeize upon a paſſage, and hinder victuals from being brought to the Kings Camp,* 102 *Is routed, ſlain, and his head thrown into* Harlem *by the* Spaniards, ibid.

Antwerp *is threatned to be ſacked by the Mutiners* 122. *Contributes a ſum of money to ſatisfie them,* ibid. *Taken by the Kings men,* 140. *Sackt,* 147. *The Commiſſioners from the Emperour, from* France *and* England *meet there,* 177

Archduke Albertus, *and his praiſes* 71

Archduke Matthias, 162. *paſſes ſecretly into* Flanders, ibid. *Made Governour of the Countrie by the Councel of State* 163

Archbiſhop *of* Colen *in the Kings Army* 86

B

The Baron *of* Battembourgh *ſeeks to relieve* Harlem, 105. *Is routed and ſlain* 106

The Baron *of* Erberſtein *makes a ſecret agreement with the States,* 142. *Receives their men into* Antwerp, 143 *Drown'd in the* Scheld 147

Bartholomeo Campi, *Ingineer to the Kings Camp,* 99. *He is ſlain,* 105

The Battel *of* Frieſland, 59. *Of* Geminghen, 62. *Between the Kings men, and the Hugonots of* France, *near* Mons, 83. *By Sea in the Lake of* Leyden, 104. *By ſea in the Gulf of* Zuyderzee, 110. *In the* Scheld *between the Kings Forces and the Rebels* 113

The Battel *of* Mooch, 117. *Of* Geblours 168

Berghen-ap-zome *and its ſcituation* 76

Bernardino di Mendozza *ſent into* Spain *by the Duke of* Alva, 103. *He wrote of the Wars of* Flanders, 104. *Was ſent by the Commendador to* Maſtrick, 115

Breda, *a Town belonging to* Orange, 23 *What paſſed among the Confederates there* ibid.

Brederode *makes himſelf Head of the Petitioners,* 24. *His Oration to his Companions,* ibid. *He preſents a Petition to the Lady Regent,* 26. *raiſeth ſedition,* 39 *goes into* Holland *to ſet up Tumults there,* ibid. *Seconds* Orange *in every thing,* ibid. *Dies miſerably,* ibid.

Brill *taken by the Geuſes,* 73. *Fortified by* Lumay 74

Buren, *a Town confining upon* Holland, *taken*

taken and ſackt by the Kings Party 132
The Houſe of Burgundy *ſoveraigne over all the Provinces,* p. 1

C

CAmbray *raiſed to an Arch-biſhoprick,* 9
Captain Plumart, 91. *His Propoſition to* Avila *and* Mandragone, ibid. *He finds the Food by which they were to go for the relief of* Tergoes ibid.
Capitulations *between the Duke of* Alanſon *and the States* 172
Charls *the fifth, ſon to* Philip *the firſt,* 2 *He peaceably enjoys* Flanders, ibid. *Born in* Gant, 3. *His favours to the Flemings,* ib. *How much he was loved and reverenced among them,* 4. *A compariſon between his nature and that of his ſon* Philip ib.
The Caſtle *of* Gant *beſieged by the States* 145. *It is ſurrendred* 148
The Caſtle *of* Antwerp *beſieged by the States,* 145. *It is demoliſhed,* 147
The Caſtle *of* Namours *ſeized by* Don John, 159.
The Catholicks *and* hereticks *in* Antwerpt *come to an agreement* 39
Chriſtophoro Mandragone, *Camp-Maſter; goes to the relief of* ter-Goes, 91 *Enters the Town and ſuccours it,* 93 *Is Commander at the defence of* Middleburgh, 108. *Sends very earneſtly for relief,* 112. *Yields up the place,* 114 *Seizeth upon the Iſle of* Finaert, 133 *Wades through the Channel of* Scowen *under* Ziriczee 136
Coligni *Admiral of* France, *Head of the Hugonot Faction,* 83. *His negotiations with* Orange ib.
The Commendador Maggiore *of* Caſtile *ſent to govern the Low-Countries, comes to* Bruſſels, 111. *Prepares two Fleets for the ſuccour of* Middleburgh 113. *Sees one of them routed,* ib. *Much troubled at the new expedition of Count* Lodovick, 115. *Goeth over to* Antwerp *to appeaſe the Mutiners,* 122. *His deſignes upon* Holland *and* Zealand, 132 *His perplexity about attempting the Ford from* Filiſland, 134. *He dies,* 139 *His Character* ib.
A Confederacy *in* Flanders, *which they call a Covenant,* 22. *Subſcribed by a great number of the Nobility* ib.
The Confederates *come to* Bruſſels 24 *They meet in the Count of* Colemburghs *Hourſe,* ib. *Admitted to the Lady Regents audience,* 26. *They take upon them the name of Gueſes,* 27. *many of them goe in one Livery,* ib. *their Licentious actions* 28
The Conference *in* Breda *for a Treaty of peace in* Flanders 129. *It is diſſolved without coming to any concluſion,* 131
The Councel *of State and its authority with the Lady Regent,* 9. *What their opinions were concerning her deſigne for taking up of Arms,* 34. *It enters upon the Government, after the Commendadors death,* 139. *Prepares for War againſt the Spaniards,* 141. *Much daunted at the coming of* Don John, 150. *They ſend Commiſſioners into* Holland *and* Zealand, 155. *Their jealouſies of* Don John, 157. *They ſtorm at his ſurprizing of the Caſtle of* Namours, 159. *Writes to the King a Letter againſt* Don John, 160. *Their practizes with foreign Princes,* 164. *Publiſhes an Edict againſt* Don John, 165 *Declares, it will not acknowledge him for Governour,* 170. *Diſpatcheth away a very ſolemn Ambaſſy to the Duke of* Alanſon 173
A Conſultation *held in* Bruſſels *upon matters of religion* 21. *What is reſolv'd upon it,* ib. *By* Frederick di Toledo, *whether the ſiege of* Harlem *ſhould be proſecuted or given over,* 103. *by* d' Alva, *whether the Kings Forces ſhould be imployed upon the ſiege of* Mons, *or againſt* Holland *and* Zealand, 81. *In* Spain, *whether the King ſhould go into* Flanders, 41. *In* Spain *about the innovations in the Low-Countries.* 164
Count Egmont *a* Flemming *born,* 5 *His nature and Cuſtomes,* ibid. *Governour of the particular Province of* Flanders, *and of* Artois 12 *Goes over into* Spain, 20. *Returns well ſatisfied by the King,* 21. *Is committed to priſon,* 46. *Is condemned* 58
Count Horn, *Admiral of* Flanders, 12 *Inraged againſt* Granvel, ib. *His opinion that the people ought to be ſtirred up to innovations,* 36 *Is attached,* 46. *Is ſentenced to death* 58
Count Peter Erneſtus Mansfield *raiſes men to ſecure the Lady Regent in* Bruſſels, 31. *Offers to paciſy the Spaniſh mutiners, but in vain,* 141. *His opinion concerning* Don Johns *retreat to* Namours 158
Count d'Aremberg, 34. *Sent againſt* Lodovick *of* Naſſaw, 56. *Cannot keep the*

Spaniards

Spaniards from falling on, ib. *Is slaine*, 57
Count di Bossu *enters the Lake of* Leyden *with a Fleet*, 104. *Overcomes the Harlemers there*, ib. *Assaults the enemies Fleet in the Gulfe of* Zuiderzee 110. *Is routed and taken prisoner* 111
Count *of* Swarzenburgh *Ambassador to* Flanders *from* Maximilian *the Emperour* 129. *His negotiations with* Orange, *and after with the Commissioners at the Conference in* Breda, ib. *He returns into* Germany 131
Count di Barlemont *imprisoned by order from the States*, 143. *His councel to* Don John *concerning his retreat to* Namours 157
Correspondencies *of* Orange, *and his brother* Lodowick *in* Germany, 35 *Their designes in* Holland *and* Zealand ib.

D

THe Deputies *for the States General relate to the Provinces the Duke of* Alva's *Proposition, who make great complaints against it*, 68. *What conditions the Kings Deputies offered in the Conference at* Breda, ib. *What answers they had from the Rebels* 69
A Description *of the havock made in Churches by the heriticks in* Antwerp 30. *Of* Mastrich, 55. *Of* Friesland, 56 *Of the Battel of* Friesland, 57. *Of* Raremond *and* Liege, 65. *Of the Battel of* Geminghen, 62. *Of the Duke of* Alvas *Statue*, 71. *Of* Holland *and* Zealand, 73. *Of* Mons, 83. *Of* Zuidt Beverland, 90. *Of* Ter-Goes, 91. *Of* Harlem, 98. *Of* Alcmar, 109 *Of the seafight in the Gulf of* Zuidt-Beverland, 110. *Of the Battel of* Mooch, 118. *Of* Leyden, 124. *Of the Castle of* Antwerp 145. *Of the taking and sacking of* Antwerp, 147. *Of the City of* Namours, 158. *Of the Battel of* Geblours, 168
Disorders *caused by the hereticks in* Antwerp 31
Don John *of* Austria *comes into* Flanders *unexpected*, 150. *His personal qualities*, ib. *What Orders he had from the King at his parting*, ib. *He gives the Councel of State notice of his arrival*, ib. *His Declaration that he will send the Spaniards out of* Flanders, 151. *He sends out the souldiers of Foreigne parts*, 153. *His entrance into* Brussels, ib. *he endeavours to draw the Provinces of* Holland *and* Zealand *to some accommodation*, ib. *His industry to weaken* Orange *his Faction*, 154. *The people in* Brussels *shew themselves very averse to him*, 155. *Designes upon his person* ib. *He adviseth with the Counts of* Mansfield *and* Barlemont, ib. *He removes to* Namours, 159. *He makes sure the Castle there*, ib. *His demands to the States concerning his return to* Brussels, ib. *He writes to the King in justification of his proceedings*, 160 *Designes of his on foot in divers places* 161. *He gets the day at* Geblours, 168. *Takes* Nivelle, 169. *And after that* Philippeville, 179. *Falls upon the Flemish Camp*, 174. *Quarters his Army in a place of great strength near to* Namur, ib. *He dies*, 177. *His Character*, 178
Duke *of* Alva, *design'd by the Catholick King for* Flanders, 45. *He comes into* Italy: *the number and qualities of the men he brings with him into* Flanders 46. *He is made absolute Governor thereof*, 48. *He frames a new Councel for examination of the late Tumults*, ib. *His rigorous proceedings*, ib. *He secures* Ruremond, 50. *Is much troubled at the defeat in* Friesland, 58. *His Maximes in War*, 59. *The order of his march against Count* Lodovick, 61. *He comes off Conqueror*, 62. *His preparations against* Orange, 64. *He gets the better of him*, 66. *He returns to* Brussels *in Triumph*, ib. *Laies new Impositions upon* Flanders, 67. *Erects his own Statue in the Citadel of* Antwerp, 71. *Besieges* Mons, 81. *His memorable sayings*, 86. *He hinders* Orange *from succouring* Mons, 87. *And drives him the second time out of the Country*, 88. *He resolves to relieve* Ter-Goes, 91. *His resolution for continuing the siege of* Harlem, 103. *He relieves* Middleburg 107. *Composes the Mutiny at* Harlem, 108. *Goes to* Amsterdam, 110. *Returns to* Brussels, 111. *Gets leave to quit the Government of* Flanders, ib. *And departs out of those Countries*, ib.
D. *of* Alanson *prepares to enter* Flanders 172. *He comes in with his Army*, 177.
The Dutchess *of* Parma *Lady Regent of* Flanders, 9. *Her answer to the discourse the King had with her*, 10 *Displeased at the actions done in contempt of* Granvel, 14. *Sends* Egmont *over into* Spain, 20. *Publisheth a new Edict in behalf of Religion*, 22. *Is perswaded*

swaded to take up Arms, 23. *Her answer to the licentious Petition of the Covenanters*, 27. *She is troubled at their meeting in* Geertruydenberk, 30. *Thinks her self not safe in* Brussels 31. *Declares in favour of the Petitioners, that all use of the Inquisition should be taken away*, ib. *Takes up Arms against* Valentiennes, 37. *Seeks to compose matters in* Antwerp, 39 *Defeats the seditious there, and settles the Catholick Army*, ib. *Her solemn entrance into that City*, 40. *Not privy to the imprisonment of* Egmont *and* Horne, 47. *Displeased at it, she craves leave of the King to quit the Government*, ib. *She departs with much sorrow to the Flemmings*, ib. *Her praises* ib. 171

E

The Ecclesiasticks *in* Flanders *do not well like the Kings courses* 5
Edicts *published in* Flanders *by* Charls *the fifth, Emperor*, 4. *Confirmed afterwards by* Philip *the second*, ib. *Those of the King in favour of the Councel of* Trent, *meet with great difficulties amongst the Flemings*, 18. *An Edict of Rebellion against the Spaniards*, 143
An Elect, *a head set up by the Mutiners* 120. *Wherein his Office consisted* ib. *How strictly every Decree of his was observed* ib.
Elizabeth *Queen of* England, 6. *Gives courteous entertainment to the Low-Countrey fugitives*, 50. *Is troubled at* d'Alva's *prosperity*, 66. *Causeth a great sum of the King of* Spains *money to be stopped in* England, 67: *Secretly cherishes* Lumay, *a Low-Country runagate*, 73. *Sends him souldiers to the* Brill, 89. *Will not openly discover her self an enemy to the King of* Spain 105. *Justifies her self in* Spain *for concluding a League with the States in* Flanders 165

F

The Fight *between* d' Alva *and* Orange, 88. *Between* d'Alvas *Camp and Count* Lodovicks, 62. *Between the Kings men and those that were besieged in* Mons, 84. *In the Lake of* Leyden *between the Kings men and the Rebels* 104. *Between the Spaniards and the States men near* Lovain 144
Frederick *of* Toledo, *the Duke of* Alva's *son commands the foot*, 64. *Endeavours by the Amsterdammers mediation to bring over the Harlemers to the Kings side*, 97. *Grews much inraged with those of* Harlem, *and besiegeth the Town*, 98. *He routs* Lumay, 99 *Reinforces the siege of* Harlem, 103 *Will not receive the Town upon Articles* 106
The Flemings *hold King* Philip *too much Hispanioliz'd*, 4. *They speak against the Inquisition*, 8. *They shew much contentment at the departure of* Granvelle, 17 *Their extream sorrow for* Egmonts *death*, 58. *Their bitter complaints against* d'Alva *for the new Impositions*, 68 *Routed at* Vicenac, 144. *They draw up a new form of agreement among themselves* 151
The Flemish *hereticks demand liberty of conscience* 175
Flushing, *and the Haven thereof*, 75

G

GAnt *infected with heresie*, 32. *Those of that Town take up Arms against the Walloons* 176
Ter-Goes, 89. *Besieged by the hereticks* ib. *The Kings men endeavour to relieve it* 91
Granvel, *his qualities and customs*, 11 *Exhorts the execution of Edicts against hereticks*, 14. *Fears his own person, and gets leave to depart* 16

H

HArlem, *one of the chief Cities in* Holland, *made a Bishoprick*, 97 *Treats to side with the King, but suddenly changes*, ib. *Some Companies of German hereticks enter it*, 98. *It is besieged by the Kings men*, ibid. *It receives a very considerable succour*, 100. *Their cruel actions*, 102. *Their sallying out upon the Spaniards*, ib. *The Town is assaulted on many sides at once*, ib. *It makes stout resistance*, 103. *Relief is brought in by water* 104. *It is assured not to be sackt, and yeilds*, 106. *The cruel punishments inflicted on the Citizens*, ib. & 107
The Hague, *a gallant Village* 124
Henry *the third King of* France 171
The Heresie *of the Countries neighbouring upon* Flanders, 4. *The mischiefs proceeding thence* 13
The Hereticks *in* Flanders, *how they used the Churches and Images in* Antwerp, 30. *Their rage against Church-men* 89
The Hereticks *that came to the relief of* Va-

Valentiennes, *defeated*, 38. *Thoſe of* Fluſhing *got a great Prize of* Flemiſh *ſhips* 86
Holland *oppoſeth the Duke of* Alvas *Taxations*, 79 *It rebelleth* 81
The Hugonots *relieve* Orange, 66. *Promiſe to aid the Flemiſh geuſes*, 72. *are beaten by the Spaniards* 84

I

A N Inundation *of the Sea upon the Country about* Leyden 126
Iſabella *Infanta of* Spain, *her praiſes* 71
The Iſland *of* Finaert *in* Holland 133 *Of* Duyveland, 134 *Of* ter-Tolen, ib. *Of* Scowen, ib. *Of* Walcheren, ib. *Of* Filiſland ib.

L

LAncelot *of* Brederode *in* Harlem 97. *Beheaded* 106
A League *between the Queen of* England *and the States of* Flanders 165
A Letter *of* Orange, Egmont, *and* Horn, *againſt* Granvel *to the King of* Spain, 15 *Their reply to the Kings anſwer*, ib. *of* Montigny *written to Count* Horn, 34. *Of* Franceſco Alava, *Spaniſh Ambaſſador in* France, *intercepted in* Flanders 35
Letters *publiſhed againſt* Don John, 160
Leyden, *one of the chief Cities in* Holland *that ſtood out*, 98 *Beſieged by the Spaniards*, 124. *Thoſe of the Town make gallant reſiſtance*, ib. *They aſſault the Fort of* Lammen, *and are beaten off*, 124. *They are freed from the ſiege*, 127
Lodovick *of* Naſſaw, *brother to* Orange, *ſhews himſelf very arrogant* 35. *leaves* Flanders, 46. *Enters* Frieſland *with an Army*, 55. *Fortifies* Dam, 56. *Fights* Aremberg *and overcomes him*, 57. *Pitcheth his Camp in ſtrong quarters*, 62. *Is routed by* d'Alva, ibid. *Hath much adoe to ſave himſelf by ſwimming*, ib. *Goes over into* France *to his brother*, 66. *Surpriſes the City of* Mons, 78. *Yeilds up the Town to* d'Alva, 88. *Retires into* Holland, *and thence into* Germany, ib *Prepares once more to enter* Flanders *with an Army* 114. *He lies down before* Maſtrick 115 *Attempts* Ruremond, *but in vain*, ib. *He comes to* Mooch, 117. *Is ſlain there in a pitcht battel*, 119
Lovain *compounds with* Orange 85
Loveſteine *recovered by the Spaniard*, 72
Lewis Boiſot *Admiral of* Holland, *oppoſeth the Kings Fleet*, 113. *remains Conqueror*, ib. *Goes to relieve* Zirickzees, *and dies in the enterpriſe* 129

M

MAdonna Margarita, *Aunt to* Charls *the fifth Emperour* 4
Madama di Lorena, *and* Madama di Parma, *propoſed for the Government of* Flanders, 7. *She of* Parma *preferred, and why*, ib.
Malines *taken and ſackt by the Duke of* Alvas *Army* 93
A Manifeſto *publiſhed by* Orange 75
A Manifeſto *of the Duke of* Alanſon 172
The Marquiſs *of* Berghen *deſpiſeth* Granvel, 14. *Sent into* Spain, 29. *Badly entertained at Court*, ib. *He dieth* 47
Marquiſs Chiappino Vitelli *paſſeth with the Duke of* Alva *into* Flanders, 46 *Sent into* Frieſland, 59. *His advice for turning the Kings Forces into* Holland *and* Zealand, 82. *Wounded before* Mons, 83. *Wins a victory not far off againſt the Hugonots of* France, *cauſing himſelf to be carried in a chair* 84. *Sent by the Commendador againſt* Orange, 122. *Undergoes the main charge of the Militia in* Flanders, ib. *Paſſeth over to the Iſland of* Scowen, 129. *Where he dies*, ib. *His praiſes*, ib.
Mary *Princeſs of* Portugal *marryed to the Prince of* Parma, 21. *Cometh to* Bruſſels, ib.
Mary *Queen of* Hungary, *ſiſter to* Charls *the fift governs the Low-Countries* 4
Maximilian *the Emperour interpoſeth for the quiet of* Flanders, 128. *His reaſons* ib.
Merchandize, *how it once flouriſhed in* Antwerp 147
Middleburgh, 74. *Stands for the King* 107. *Comes into the Rebels hands*, 114
Mons *ſurprized by Count* Lodovick *of* Naſſaw, 78. *Beſieged by* Frederick *of* Toledo, 83. *Yeilded to* d'Alva, 90
Mutiny *of Germans in* Alvas *Army*, 70 *Of Spaniards in* Harlem, 108. *At* Mooch, 119. *In* Zealand, 141. *Of Spaniſh horſe* 129

N.

NAerden, *and its ſcituation,* 94. *Beſieged by* Frederick *of* Toledo, ib. *ſackt,* ibid.
Nature *of the Flemiſh,* 2. *quality of their Countrey,* 3
The Nobility *of* Flanders *ſhewes it ſelf diſcontented that the King abſents himſelf from thence,* 5. *deſpiſeth* Granvell, 16. *the Catholick Nobility ſets up a Faction apart,* 161. *the number of the* Provinces *of the* Low-Countries, *when they were joyned in one body,* 2 *The form of their government,* ibid. & 3.

O

THe Oration of Granvel, *at the Kings departure for* Spain, 7. *Of the King (or rather his diſcourſ) to the Dutcheſs, at his leaving her Governeſs,* 9. *Of* Brederode *to his Companions.* 24. *Of* Orange, *at the Meeting in* Terramond, 36. *Of* Egmont *in oppoſition to him,* ibid. *Of the D. of* Feria, *to diſſwade the King from ſending an Army into* Flanders, 42. *Of the D. of* Alva *to the contrary,* 43. *Of* Orange *at the Diet of* Germany, *to move them to favor the Flemings,* 52. *of Count* Lodwick *of* Naſſau, *before the battel,* 57. *Of the D. of* Alva *to his Souldiers,* 59. *Of the Preſident* Vigilius *againſt the Impoſitions propos'd by* d'Alva, 69. *Of* Avila *at the ſuccouring of* Middleburg, 77. *Of* Vitelli *to move the Kings Forces againſt* Holland *and* Zealand, 81. *Of* Norchermes *to the contrary,* 82. *Of Captain* Plumart *to attempt the ford,* 91. *Of* Montdragone *to the Souldiers,* 92. *Of* Romero *to the Souldiers,* 100. *Of* Riperda *to the* Harlemers, 97. *Of the ſame man to the ſame,* 106, *Of* Orange, *(or his incitements) ſtill more and more to kindle the Inſurrections in* Flanders, 114. *Of* Avila *at the battel of* Mooch, 117. *Of Count* Lodwick, *and* Chriſtopher *Count Palatine in the ſame battel,* 118. *Of the Admiral of* Holland *for the relief of* Leyden, 125. *Of the Commendador to his Souldiers,* 135. *Of Preſident* Vighlius *in the Councel of State, to hinder that the Spaniards might not be declared to be Rebels,* 142 *Of* John Navarre, *ſee* Elect, *perſwading the Mutineers to relieve the caſtle of* Antwerp, 145. *Of* Don John *to the Souldiers,* 166. *The* Ordering *of the Kings Army in the battel of* Friezland, 57. *Of Count* Lodowick's *in the ſame,* ibid. *Of the* Catholick *Army in the fight at* Geminghen, 62. *Of the enemies in the ſame,* ibid. *Of the Royal party in the battel of* Mooch, 117. *Of the enemies in the ſame,* 118. *The* Order *the Spaniards obſerv'd in marching through the foord of* Zirickzee, 136. Octavio Farneſe *D. of* Parma *at* Bruſſels, 21. Octavio Gonzaga, 150. *takes in* Lovain, 168. *routs ſome Companies of French,* 170. Oudewater *in* Holland, *and its ſituation,* 132. *Beſieged by the Spaniard,* ibid. *Utterly ruined,* ibid.

P.

PEace eſtabliſht between the Provinces of Flanders, 148
Pope *Urban the eight,* 123
The Popes General Pardon proclaimed by the D. of Alva, 70
Pius Quintus *his particular demonſtration of honour to the D. of* Alva, 66
Practiſes of the Germain *Princes to foment the Flemiſh Hereticks,* 51. *Of* Orange *and the Flemiſh vagabonds, with the neighbouring Princes,* 73
The Predicants driven out of Antwerp, 40
The Prince of Orange *born in* Germany, 5. *Coming over yong into* Flanders, *he became a* Catholick, ibid, *His Nature and Cuſtom,* ibid. *Oppoſeth* Granvel, 12. *Propoſes that there may be a Convocation of the States General,* ibid. *His intelligence with the Admiral of* France 13. *He oppoſeth the bringing in of the Councel of* Trent *into* Flanders, ibid. *His propoſitions to the* Covenanters *in* Geertruydenberg, 30. *He goes into* Holland *and* Zealand *to pacifie the tumults there,* 32. *terrified at the news of* d'Alva's *coming into* Flanders, *he leavs the countrey,* 46. *His Anſwer to the D. of* Alva's *citation,* 49. *He ſeeks to intereſs* Germany *in the revolt of the low Countreys; to which end he procures a Diet there,* 52. *His diſcourſe at it,* ibid. *He raiſes an Army to enter* Flanders, 64. *He deſires to come to a battel with* d'Alva, *& his reaſons for it,* 65. *A great part of his men routed,* 66. *He retires into* Flanders, *where his Army disbands it ſelf,* ibid. *He aſſembleth new Forces to enter thoſe Provinces a ſecond time,* 85. *He maſters* Ruremond *and ſacks it,* ibid. *He takes in* Malines, ibid. *He makes a hault in* Henault, ibid. *He offers to give the D. of* Alva *battel,* 86. *He retires with his Army defeated,* 88.

He goes into Holland, ibid. *He passes to* Leyden, *to ayd the* Harlemers, 98. *He attempts the relief of the besieged there, but those whom he sends are routed by the Royalists*, 102. *He makes many inroads about* Nimegen, 122. *In the conference at* Breda, *he is absolute Umpire for the Rebels*, 131. *He doth his utmost to relieve* Zirickzee, 138. *He makes use of the Commendadors death for cherishing of the Flemish rebellion*, 140. *his opinion concerning* Don Johns *coming*, 151. *His ends in the affairs of* Flanders, ibid. *He approves not of the Agreement made at* Marck, 153. *He expresses his conceit of* Don Johns *retreat to* Namure, 160. *He is received into* Bruſſels *by the* States Generall, 162. *Created Governor of* Brabant, ibid. *His Judgement concerning the Archduke* Matthias, *his comming into* Flanders, 163. *his diligence to compose the discords between the Provinces of the* Low-Countreys, 176

The Prince of Parma *comes into* Flanders 166. *his Military employment*, ibid. *He fights with singular valor at* Geblours, 168. *storms the Town of* Sichen, 169. *substituted by* Don John *in the Government of* Flanders, 177

The Propoſitions *of the Provinces concerning the citadels designed by the D: of* Alva, 71

Philip *the second, son to* Charls *the fifth*, 4 *comes into* Flanders, ibid. *Returns into* Spain, *and upon what occasions*, 7 *Before his departure he cals together the* States Generall *in* Gaunt. ibid. *creates some* Knights *of the* Golden Fleece, 9. *his discourse with the Dutchesse of* Parma, ibid. *his secret Orders to her about the Tumults in* Flanders, 33. *his perplexity about sending an Army thither*, 45. *he prepares a fleet in* Spain *to be sent into* Flanders, 134 *with great secrecy he sends away his brother* Don John of Auſtria, *for Governor to the* Low-Countries, 150 *endevors by his means to compose matters in the* Low-Countries, ibid. *is again constrained to take up armes against the* Flemmings, 164. *makes great complaints in* France *about* Alanſons *march into* Flanders, 177. *the Provinces of the* Low-Countries *divided into many Principalities*, 1

Q.

Queen *of* England, 6. *see* Elizabeth.
The Queen *of* Navarre *passeth by the Frontiers of* Flanders, 158. *A Book of hers*, ibid.

R.

Raphael Barberino *and his qualities*, 123. *Uncle by the Fathers ſide to Pope* Urban *the* VIII. ibid. *how bravely he caryed himself at the taking of the Fort of* Bomell, 138. *he is wounded at* Viſenac, 144

Efficacious Reaſons *for the* Inquiſition, 26. *For King* Philips *going into* Flanders, 41. *Againſt it*, ibid.

Count Lodovicks Ruyters *rout the Catholicks* German-*horſe*, 119. *They are defeated by the Kings Lanciers*, ibid.

The Rebels *in* Holland *doe their utmoſt to cut off all Victuals from the Kings camp before* Harlem, 101. *they attempt* ter Tolen, 107. *they ſeize upon* Ramechins, 108. *they become Maſters of the Iſle of* Walcheren, 114. *a Treaty of accommodation with them*, 123 *but it goes not forward*, ibid. *they prepare for the defence of* Leyden, 124. *they drown the Country all about it*, 126. *they raiſe the Siege*, 127

A Relation *of the Mutinies*, 120 *The wonderfull Obedience yeelded to their Laws*, ibid. *The courſe that was taken to reduce them to an agreement*, 121

A Riſing *in* Maeſtricht *againſt the* Spaniards, 145

Rodulphus *the Emperor interpoſeth for the quiet of* Flanders, 152. *he continues the Treaty of agreement by the biſhop of* Liege, 164

Ruremond *made a Biſhoprick*, 9. *Sacked by* Orange's *army*, 85

S.

The Sacking *of* Valenciennes, 78

Sancio d'Avila *comes into* Flanders *with the Duke of* Alva, 46. *Sent againſt the* Flemiſh *Vagabonds*, 50 *Captain of* Antwerp-*caſtle*, 76. *Routs the Enemy, and ſecures* Middleburgh, ibid. *brings Relief to* ter-Goes, 91 *Overcome by the Rebels in a Sea-fight*, 107. *is commander over a Fleet for the relief of* Middleburgh, 113. *he enters* Maſtricht *with the Kings men*, 115. *he aſſaults the Enemy, and routs him*. 116. *he diſcovers* Lodowicks *deſigns, and prevents them*, ibid. *Conqueror at the battel of* Mooch, 119. *Made Admiral of the fleet in* ter-Tolen, 135. *Fordeth the channel of* Scowen, 136. *his counſel to defend the Kings Souldiers againſt the States Militia*, 141.

His *words to* Don John *at the departure of the Spaniards out of* Flanders, 154
Sconhoven, *a Town in* [illegible]land *besieged by the Royalists* 132. *It yeilds* 133
The Suspicion *of the Flemings, and the conceit of the chiefest among them concerning the Inquisition* 4
Spain *greatly infested with the Moors,* 7
The Spaniards *assault* Harlem *disorderly and are made to retire by* Romero, 100 *They mutiny after the battel of* Mooch 119. *They take the way of* Antwerp, *which they enter without any more adoe* 121. *They make the Garison there retreat,* ib. *They are satisfied and return to their obedience,* 122. *Many of them perish before* Leyden, 127. *They prepare to defend themselves against the Flemings,* 141. *Their designe to meet in* Antwerp ib. *The difficulties they met with ere they could get together,* 144. *They assault and take* Antwerp, 146
States *General of the Provinces of* Flanders, 2. *Called together by the Duke of* Alva 67
The States *of* Holland *meet to consult upon the relief of* Leyden, 126
The States of Flanders, 140. *See the Councel of State* 102
The Sufferings *of the Kings Camp before* Harlem 102

T

TOrney *and the Country thereabouts infected with heresie* 28
A Treaty *of accommodation between* Don John *and the States* 153
Tumults, *how they began in* Flanders, 2
A popular Tumult *in* Brussels 140
A Throne *set up in* Antwerp *by the D. of* Alva 71

V

VAldes, *a Spanish Campmaster hath the principal charge of the siege of* Leyden, 124. *He takes two Forts from the enemy,* ib. *He shuts up all the Avenues about the City* 125
Valentiennes *riseth,* 37. *Is surprised by the Hugonots of* France 8
Vargas, *a Spanish Captain relieveth* Mastrick 145
Vahelius, *President of the Privy Councel, follows the opinion of* Granvel, 11. *Opposeth* Orange, *and for what reasons,* 19. *shews himself contrary to the new Impositions* 69
Utricht, *an Archbishoprick* 11

W

WAlcherin, *an Island* 76
The Walloons *take up Arms against the Gantois* 176
Seditious Writings *against the Inquisition* 22

Z

ZEaland *opposeth* d'Alvas *Impositions more then all the other Provinces* 70
Zirickzee, *a principal Town,* 135. *Its scituation,* ib. *It is besieged,* 137. *Is yelded up,* 138
Zutphen *and its scituation,* 94. *Besieged by* Frederick di Toledo, ib. *stormed and sackt* ib.

A TABLE

Of the most remarkable things contained in this *SECOND PART.*

A

ADolphus, *Count* de Meurs, *Commander in chief for the Flemish, opposeth the Kings party* 237
Altapenna *surpriseth* Breda, 199
Mertally wounded before the Fort of Engelen, 247
Antwerp *in danger of being surprized,* 210. *Its description,* 217. *Besieged by the Prince of* Parma, 218. *What diligence the Townsmen use to get in relief* 222. *Their uproars for the streightness of the siege,* 223. *They contrive fireboats to annoy the Bridge made upon the* Scheld, 224. *Their great ship called the Wars end,* ib. *Their new designe against the* Bridg, 228. *They resolve to surrender* 233
Arch-duke Matthias *returns into* Germany 204
The Arch-bishop of Rossano *sent to* Collein, *for the accommodation of Affairs in* Flanders 187
Alexander Farnese. *See Prince of* Parma *Army of* Farnese, *before* Mastrick, *how quartered,* 183. *How placed about* Antwerp, 220. *Of the League, and its strength* 281

B

BErghen-ap-zone *attempted by* Farnese, *but in vain* 260,261
Bona *surprized by* Skinck, 259. *Recovered by the Prince of* Simay 260
Breda *surprized by* Altapenna, 199. *and with a stratagem recovered by Count* Maurice 265
Bruges *taken by the Kings party* 213
Brussels *comes in to* Farnese
The Bridg *before* Antwerp, *and the description thereof,* 220. *What mischief the fire-barks did to it* 227

C

CAmbray *straitned by* Farnese, 198 *Relieved by the Duke of* Alanson 200
Cardinal Allen 251
The Cardinal *Infante takes* Skincks *Sconce* 259
Christophoro Mandragone *Campmaster, where quartered before* Mastrick, 183. *How gallantly he plaid his part in defending the Counterdike* 231
The Conference *held at* Colein *for accommodating the affairs of* Flanders 187
A Consultation *held by the Prince of* Parma, *Whether* Antwerp *or* Mastrick *should be first besieged,* 181. *by the same, about building a bridge upon the* Scheld 219 *by the Queen of* England, *upon the proffer of the soveraignty over the United Provinces,* 237, 238 *by the King of* Navar, *whether the siege of* Roan *should be suspended or continued,* 282. *in* Spain *concerning the manner of expressing their grudge they bare to the Queen of* England 248
The Count *of* Aremberg *forceth* Hollach *to retreat from the siege of* Zutphen 214
The Count della Laigne, *Governour of* Henault 186
The Count di Berg *turns to the Kings side* 198
Count Herman di Berg *besieged in* Deventer, 278. *is wounded,* ib. *yeilds up the Town* ib.
Count Charls Mansfield *taketh in* Fyndoven, 213. *Assaults and routs Marshal* Biron, ib. *Besiegeth the Grave,* 240 *Relieveth* Nimegen 265
Count di Fuentes *sent into* Flanders 292

Count Holack *at the ſiege of* Groninghen, 198. *Made Count* Maurice *his Lieutenant*, 217. *A[illegible]lteth the Counterdike* 229
Count Maurice *put into the place of the Prince of* Orange (*his father*) 217 *Commands the Militia of the United Provinces*, 245. *Surpriſes* Breda, 265 *Raiſes a Fort againſt* Niminghen, 266. *Makes himſelf Maſter of* Zutphen, 278. *And then of* Deventer, ib. *Takes in* Niminghen, 280. *Takes* Steenwick, 292. *and the Fort of* Coverden ib.
Colonel Norrice *ſurprizeth* Brankemberg *Fort* 277
Colonel Vere *relieves* Reinberg 264
Count Peter Erneſtus *of* Mansfield *left by* Farneſe *to govern* Flanders, 267
The Count *of* Reinberg *turns to the Kings ſide*, 198. *He beſiegeth* Steenwick, *but is forced to retreat*, 199. *His death*, ib.
The Counter-dike *of* Coveſtein, 221 *Defended with four Forts by the* Royaliſts, 229. *Aſſaulted by the Rebels, but in vain*, ib. *Aſſaulted again by the ſame* 231
Complaints *of the Flemiſh Rebels againſt the Duke of* Alanſon, 207. *Of the ſame againſt the Engliſh*, 244. *Of the Commanders of the League againſt the D. of* Parma, 273. *Of the Army of the League for want of victuals*, 290
The Catholick *Commiſſioners of the Flemiſh Union, what opinion they were of in point of changing their Prince*, 193
The Character *of* Alanſon, 214. *Of the Prince of* Orange, 215. *Of the Duke of* Parma, 292.
Compariſon *between the King of* Navar *and Duke of* Parma 267

D

A Deſcription *of* Maſtrick, 183. *of* Antwerp, 217. *of the Bridg built upon the* Scheld *at the ſiege of* Antwerp, 225.
Deventer *won by* Farneſe 244 *It falls back into the hands of the United Provinces* 278
The D. *of* Alanſon *returns into* France, 181. *Comes into the Low-countries as their Prince Elect*, 193. *Upon what condition he accepts of the Government* 195. *He relieves the City of* Cambray, 200. *He goes over into* England, *and thence to* Zealand, 204. *His ſolemn entrance into* Antwerp, 205. *He receives his expected forces*, 208. *He is perſwaded to eſtabliſh his new Principality by force*, ib. *and he attempts the ſurpriſal of* Antwerp, 210. *but with bad ſucceſs*, ib. & 211. *He goes away into* France, 213. *where he dies*, 214 *His character*, ib.
The Duke *of* Medina Sidonia, *made Commander of the Spaniſh Armado in the place of the Marquiſs of* Santa Croce, 254. *His unfortunate expedition* 256
The Dutcheſs *of* Parma *comes over into* Flanders, 194. *Her Letter to the Catholick King*, ib. *She returns into* Italy, 195
The Duke *of* Parma, 242. *See Prince of* Parma
The Duke du Main *gives the Duke of* Parma *a meeting*, 267. *His opinion that the victory of* Aumale *ſhould be followed*, 285. *He exhorts* Farneſe *to keep aloof from* Roan, 287. *He continues General in the Camp of the League*, 288 *He carries a ſupply of men into* Roan 291

E

THe Engliſh *rout the Spaniards before the Grave* 241
The Engliſh *Fleet*, 255. *The advantages it had of the Spaniſh* ib.

F

THe Faction *of the Malcontents, what it pretended to*, 181. *It ſeizeth upon* Alſt 188
Monſieur di Feruaches, *and his ſpeech to the Duke of* Alanſon 209
Franceſco Verdugo, *Govtrnor of* Frieſland, 199. *Takes in* Embden, ib. *Surprizes* Zutphen 213
The French, *in danger for* Oranges *wound*, 205. *They run up and down* Antwerp *in hoſtle manner*, 210. *But are repulſed by the Inhabitants*, 211 *They ſecure the Towns of* Dunkerk, Dixmund, *and* Terramund, ib.
The Fort *of* Blankemberg *taken by the Duke of* Parma, 245. *Recovered by Colonel* Norrice, *and by him demoliſht*, 277. *of* Engelen, *taken by the Rebels, who change the name, calling it* Crevecœure 247
Francis Drake 254
Fire-barks *in* Antwerp *for deſtruction of the Bridge*, 224. *How they were made*, 226. *what was the effect* 227, 228
A gallant Fight *between the Duke of* Parma's

ma's *men, and the Rebels* 279
Fire-ſhips *ſent out by the Engliſh againſt the Spaniſh Armada*, 256. *what was the effect* ib.

G

THe Gantois *oppoſe the Catholick Religion, and the Soveraignty of* Spain, 181. *They ſeize upon the Town of* Menin 188
Gaunt, *taken in by* Farneſe 236
George Baſti *fals upon the King of* Navar, *and puts him to a retreat* 285
Groninghen *beſieged by Count* Hollack, 198. *tis freed,* ib.

H

HEnry *the third, King of* France, *how he excuſed himſelf for the D. of* Alanſons *accepting the Government of the Low-Countries,* 196.
Signior d'Hierges, *General of the Artillery in* Flanders, 183. *Slain at the ſiege of* Maſtrick 185

I

IPre *taken by the D. of* Parma 213
The Iſland *of* Caſſante 245
Signior d' Inſy *Governor of* Cambray, 193

K

THe King *of* Navar *beſieges Paris,* 266. *His exhortation to the Commanders of his Army,* 268. *Raiſes his Camp from before* Paris, 269. *Challenges the enemy to a ſet battel,* 276. *Attempts the ſurprizal of* Paris, 272. *Annoys the Enemies Camp,* 274. *Beſieges* Roan, 281. *Removes to* Aumale, *whence he goes in perſon to view the Camp of the League,* 284. *Is ſhot with a fire-lock,* 285. *Returns to ſtreighten* Roan; *he riſeth from that ſiege,* 287 *He cuts off all Convoys from the Leaguers Camp,* 289. *His hope to conquer the enemy by way of Famin* 290

L

LAgny *ſtormed by the Duke of* Parma, 271
Lyra *in* Brabant, *taken by the Royaliſts,* 207
The Earl of Leiceſter *ſent into* Holland *by the Queen of* England, 239. *He beſiegeth* Zutphen, 243. *But is forced to retreat by the Duke of* Parma, 244. *He returns thither afreſh, and takes in ſome of the Forts,* ibid. *The jealouſies which the United Provinces entertain of his actions,* ib. *he brings over new aid from* England, 246. *He is appointed by the Queen to defend the banks of the* Thames 253

M

MAlines *taken by* Farneſe, 188. *recovered by the Rebels,* 193. *reduced the ſecond time by* Farneſe 232
Maria della Laygne *defends the City of* Tornay *in the abſence of her husband the Prince of* Eſpinoy, 203. *her words to encourage the ſouldiers,* ib. *She is wounded,* ib. *She yeilds up the Town,* 204. *The honours done her by the enemies Camp at her going forth of it,* ib.
The Marquiſs *of* Rubays, *Governor of* Artois, 186. *He fals upon Monſieur* Della Noue, *and takes him priſoner,* 194. *He prevails with the Walloon Provinces, for the returning of foreign ſouldiers,* 201. *He takes the Fort of* Lifetenſuch, 218. *Overſees the building of the Bridge upon the* Scheld, 223. *Takes Monſieur* de Teligni *priſoner,* 225. *his death* 228
The Marquiſs *of* Vaſto, *General of the horſe in* Flanders, 233. *Made Knight of the Golden Fleece by the Duke of* Parma, 242. *Returns out of* Italy *into* Flanders, *to wait upon the Duke of* Parma *in his ſecond expedition into* France 284
Marſhal Biron *comes into* Flanders, 208. *Takes the Caſtle of* Vouda, 213 *Is routed by* Mansfield, ib. *Returns into* France, 214. *His Oration for not breaking up the ſiege of* Roan, 282. *he is left there by the King of* Navarr *to continue it* 284
Martin Skinck, *and his conditions,* 198. *He relieves* Groninghen, ib. *His victory over the Rebels at* ter-Goes, 199 *He is taken priſoner,* 206. *He comes over to the States ſervice,* 237. *His ſpeech to Count* Maurice *for the raiſing of* Skincks *Sconce,* 259. *He ſurpriſes the Town of* Bona, ib. *He routs ſome Companies of the Kings party,* 263. *he attempts the ſurpriſal of* Niminghen, ib. *where he loſeth his life* ib.
Maſtrick *beſieged by the Prince of* Parma, 182. *Aſſaulted by the Royaliſts,* 183. *It is ſtoutly defended,* ib. *is ſtormed and ſackt* 186
The Meeting *of the States General in* Antwerp *for chuſing of a new Prince,* 189. *They ſhew themſelves inclined towards the Duke of* Alanſon, 193

To whom by a ſolemn Ambaſſy they proffer the Government of the United Provinces 195
A Mutiny *of the Germans in the Kings Camp* 206

N

NImegen *comes in to the King*, 236 *Is in great danger of being ſurprized* 263
Monſieur de la Noue *Lieutenant to the Prince of* Orange, *and Governor of* Maſtrick, 182. *Will not be ſhut up in it*, ib. *His diligence to relieve it*, 185. *He is taken priſoner* 194
Nuys *ſtormed and ſackt by the Spaniards*, 242

O

OUdenarde *in the Province of* Flanders *beſieged by* Farneſe, 206. *the aſſault made upon it*, ibid. *it is yeelded*, 207
The Oration *of* James Tayard, *in behalf of the Queen of* England, 189. *Of the Seignor* de St Aldegonde *in behalf of the Duke of* Alanſon, 191. *Of the ſame to the* Antwerpians, 223. *Of the Pr: of* Parma, *that foraign Souldiery might be ſuffer'd to return*, 200. *Of the ſame to the Commanders of the Army at their entrance into* France, 267. *Of Seigneur* di Feruaches *to the Duke of* Alanſon, 209. *Of the Deputies of the United Provinces to the Queen of* England, 237. *of the King of* Navarre *to the Commanders of his Army*, 268 *Of Marſhall* Biron, *that the Siege before* Roan *might not break up*, 282. *Of the Duke of* Boloigne, *to the contrary*, 283

P.

PAris *beſieged by the King of* Navarre, 266. *Relieved by the Duke of* Parma, 269
The Princeſs *of* Eſpinoy, *ſee* Maria de la Laigne.
The Prince of Orange *takes great care for the Relief of* Maſtrich, 185. *He uſeth all poſſible diligence to diſturb the Treaty of accommodation in* Colen, 186. *He follows cloſe the Election of a* New Prince, 189. *his particular ends herein*, ibid. *He holds with thoſe that ſtand for* Alanſon, 193. *he divulgeth a Writing in juſtification of himſelf, and in Anſwer to the Kings Proclamation iſſued out againſt him*, 205. *He is wounded with an Harquebuſe ſhot*, ib. *he endeavours to re-unite the* Flemiſh *Rebels and* Alanſon, *after the miſchance at* Antwerp, 212. *He is ſlain*, 214. *His character*, 215
The Prince of Parma *receives a Confirmation from the King for the Government of* Flanders, 180. *He beſiegeth* Maſtrich, 182. *And at laſt ſtormeth it*, 185. *he brings the* Walloon *Provinces to an Agreement*, 187. *He takes in* Malines, 188. *Beſiegeth* Cambray, *but is forced to Retreat by the D. of* Alanſon, 200. *his Speech that the Foraign Souldiers might be ſuffer'd to return*, ibid. *he beſiegeth* Tournay, 202. *and takes it*, 204. *recovers the caſtle of* Cambreſis, 208. *makes himſelf Maſter of* Dunkerk *and* Newport, 211 *Reſolves to beſiege* Antwerp, 217. *Fals to making a Bridge upon the* Schelde, 220. *cauſeth a Ditch to be cut of* 15. *Miles in length*, 221. *Ran a great hazard at the playing of the fire-Barques*, 227. *beats off the Enemy from aſſaulting the Counterdike*, 232. *Receives the Order of the Golden-fleece*, 234 *his ſolemn entrance into* Antwerp, ib. *he beſieges the* Grave, *and carries it*, 241. *he incamps before* Venlo, ibid. *which at length is yeelded to him*, 242 *thence he goes againſt* Nuys, ibid. *which is ſtorm'd and ſack'd*, ibid. *He takes on him the title of Duke upon the death of his Father*, ibid. *the Honour conferred upon him by Pope* Sixtus *the fifth*, ibid. *he goes to the Relief of* Zutfen, *he takes in* Deventer, 243. *and after that the caſtle of* VVowe, 244. *he layes Siege to* Sluce, 245. *which at laſt is yeelded to him*, 247. *his Opinion concerning* Spains *making war upon* England, 250 *he goes over to* Newport *to further that enterprize*, 255. *a Deſigne of his upon* Berghen-ap-Zome, 260. *but it hits not*, 261. *he falls ſick of the Dropſie, and paſſeth into* France, ibid. *he joines with* Du Main *at* Meaux, 270. *He beſiegeth and ſtormeth* Laigny, 271. *ſtorms and ſacks* Corbeil, 274. *Returns into* Flanders, 275. *Encamps before the fort of* Nimeghen, 278. *but can do no good upon it*, 279. *He receives order from the King to paſs again into* France, ib. *In the fight of* Aumale *againſt the K. of* Navar, *he carries the day*, 285. *He ſends a ſupply of men into* Roan, *and thence marcheth into* Picardy, *where he beſiegeth the Town of* Rue, 287. *He returns ſpeedily towards* Roan, *and raiſeth the King of* Navars *ſiege*, 288

Is wounded in one of his arms before Caudebec, ib. *reſolves to paſs the* Seine, *& performs it fortunately*, 290. *marcheth towards* Flanders, 291. *Petitions the King for leave to quit the Government*, 292. *He prepares for the third expedition into* France, ib. *He dies in* Arras, ib. *His Character*, ib.

Prince Ranuccio, *the Duke of* Parmas *eldeſt ſon, brings off ſafe the Kings army in their retreat from the Fort of* Nimeghen, 279. *He marcheth in the van with the horſe of the Leaguers Camp*, 284. *In the retreat from* Caudebeck *he makes good the rear with ſingular valour* 291

Philip *the ſecond confirms* Parma *in the Government of* Flanders, 180. *Reſolves to ſend back the Dutcheſs of* Parma *into* Flanders, 194. *yet afterwards gives her leave to return into* Italy, 195. *Declares that he will aid the Catholick League in* France 266

Q.

THe Queen *of* England, *how ſhe liked of the new Principality of* Alanſon, 202. *She examins in her councel the offer of the Severaignty of the United Provinces, that had been made to her.* 239. *Endeavours to compoſe the differences between the United Provinces and* Leiceſter, 244. *She procures a Treaty of agreement in the affairs of* Flanders *to be moved for, by the King of* Denmark, 248. *But all Treaties come to nothing*, 252. *She reſolves to oppoſe the Spaniſh Fleet, and prepares for it with great Forces, both by Sea and Land*, ib. *Her Oration to the Parliament* ib.

R.

REmberg, *beſieged by the Marquiſs of* Barambone; 262. *Relieved by* Skinck, ib. *and after by Colonel* Vere, 264. *At laſt it is yeilded up to the Royaliſts*, ib.

The Flemiſh Rebels *at great difference among themſelves*, 180. *For want of moneys they cannot maintain the ſouldiers that flock to them from other parts* 181, *They feed with fair hopes of relief, thoſe that are beſieged in* Maſtrick, 184. *They reſolve upon chuſing a new Prince*, 189. *and publickly declare the election they have made*, 201. *Their complaints againſt* Alanſon, 207. *How much they were inraged at the ſurpriſal of* Antwerp *by him attempted*, 211 *They are reconciled to the French by the workings of* Orange, 212. *They rout the Kings party near* Nimegen, 279

Roan *beſieged by the King of* Navar. 281 *Receives a ſupply of men*, 363. *Is in very great danger* ib.

S

SEbaſtian Tappin, *a French-man, and* Swarzemburg *at the defence of* Maſtrick, 182. *Their vigilance*, 184 *They very ſtoutly beat back the Royaliſts* 185

The Signior *of St.* Aldegond *in great eſteem with the Flemiſh Union*, 191. *He is Governor of* Antwerp, 223. *His ſpeech to encourage the Antwerpians to hold out the ſiege* ib.

Sixtus Quintus *Pope ſends a Preſent to the Duke of* Parma, 242. *Exhorteth* Philip *the ſecond to the enterpriſe againſt* England 250

Skinck, *See* Martin Skinck.

T

TOrnay *beſieged*, 202. *The batteries that are raiſed againſt it*, 203. *It ſtands out the firſt aſſault*, ib. *Takes in a ſmall ſupply*, 204. *At length is yeilded up to the Duke of* Parma ib.

V

VErdugo. *See* Francis Verdugo.

Venlo *beſieged by* Farneſe, 241. *It yeildeth before it comes to an aſſault*, 242

Sign. di Villars *at the defence of* Roan, 281. *Falls very valiantly upon the Camp without, and ſorely annoys it*, 286. *Adviſeth that the Forces of the League ſhould turn ſome other way*, 286 *Makes great ſuit for relief* 287

W

WAchtendonck *yeilded to* Manſfield, 261

The Wallon *Provinces conteſt with the* Gantois, 181. *they come to an Agreement with the Prince of* Parma, 186. *And upon what conditions*, 187. *They conſent to the return of the Foraign ſoldiers*, 201

Z.

ZUtfen *beſieged by* Leiceſter, 243 *Relieved by* Farneſe, 244. *Taken in by* Count Maurice.

A Table of the moſt remarkable things contained in this *THIRD PART.*

A

AUguſtin Meſſia, *a Spaniſh Campmaſter*, 309. *Enters* Cambray *with Forces* 329 *Is declared Governour of that City* 332

The Admiral *of* Arragon *ſeizes upon the Town of* Montulin, 363. *Made Governour of the Militia in* Flanders, 369. *The Orders left him by the Archduke* 372. *He takes in* Remberg, 373 *He diſtributes his Army in divers neutral places*, 374. *His opinion for beſieging* Skincks *Sconce*, 377. *He makes the enemy retreat from the fort of* Durang, 382. *Is taken priſoner*, 397 *Being after releaſed, he attempts to relieve the* Grave, *but in vain* 409

Amiens *the Metropolis of* Piccardy, 350 *Surpriſed by the Spaniard*, 352. *and after ſackt*, 353. *The deſcription ther-of* ib. *beſieged by the K. of* France, 355 *The rendring of it up* 362

Admiral Villars *Governor of* Normandy 320. *Routed and ſlain at* Dorlan, 322

Archduke Albertus *by Way of Proxie eſpouſeth (in the Kings name) the new Queen, in the City of* Ferrara, 372 *Departs from* Madrid *with the Infanta his wife*, 386. *They both come into* Flanders, ib. *He cals a conſultation of the Officers of the Army*, 393. *Reſolves to aſſault the enemies Camp at* Newport, 394. *His words to the ſouldiers* 396. *He is wounded in the battel of* Newport, ib. *He beſieges* Oſtend, 399. *His conſtancy in purſuing that Enterpriſe*, 406. *His ſpeech to the magiſtrates of* Balduke, 412. *He commits the care of the ſiege of* Oſtend *to Marquiſs* Spinola, 413. *He goes thither in perſon*, 418. *He ſends his Confeſſor into* Spain, *to facilitate the concluſion of the truce* 457

Archduke Erneſtus *Governor of* Flanders, 302. *Sends with freſh men Count* Mansfield *into* France, ib. *Endeavours to bring in ſome treaty of peace with the United Provinces*, 303. *He ſends Campmaſter* Velaſco *againſt the mutiners of* Sichen, 311. *He dies*, 313

The Archdutcheſs Margaret *of* Auſtria *intended for Wife to the Prince of* Spain, 369

Ardres, *beſieged by the Spaniards*, 339 *It is yeilded up* 341

Arras *ſuddenly aſſaulted by the* French, 454

Articles *of Marriage between Archduke* Albertus, *and the Infanta* Iſabella 368

The Articles *of the Truce* 458

The Aſſembly *general of the United Provinces in* Bergen-ap-zoom 459

The Army *of the German Confederates*, 383. *How ſtrong it was*, 384. *Diſſolves of it ſelf* 386

B

The Battel *of* Dorlan, 322 *The* Battel *of* Newport 396

Balduke *beſieged by Count* Maurice, 402 *Is relieved*, ib.

Bommel, *how ſcituated*, 377. *The Kings Army encamps before it*, 379. *Relieved by Count* Maurice 380

C

CAmbray *govern'd by Signior* Balagni, 317. *Beſieged by Count* Fuentes, 324. *The deſcription thereof*, 324. *relieved by Signior* de Vich 326 *The valiant reſiſtance made by the beſieged*, ib. *The Townſmen riſe againſt* Balagni, 328. *The Town is yeilded*, 329

Cardinal Archduke Albertus *declared Governor of* Flanders, 332. *His entry into* Bruſſels, ib. *He beſiegeth* Callice, 336. *and carries it*, 339. *He encamps before* Ardres, ib. *and makes himſelf maſter of it*, 341. *He takes the Town of* Hulſt, 342. *He goes to relieve Amiens*, 360. *He is councelled to aſſault the enemy in their Trenches*, 361. *He cannot relieve the Town, wherefore he returns to* Flanders, 362. *He puts off his Cardinals habit, and goes into* Spain *to conſummate his marriage with the* Infanta Iſabella 369

Cardinal Andrea d'Auſtria *Governor of* Flanders, 369. *Entertains the Deputies of the Elector of* Colen, *and of the Duke of* Cleves, 376. *Beſiegeth* Bommel, 379. *retires from that enterpriſe*, 380. *Cauſeth a great Fort to be begun in the Iſland of* Bomel, 381 *and names it St.* Andrews, 383. *Returns into* Germany, 386.

Cardinal

Cardinal Mapheo Barberino, *what Offices he did in the court of* France, *with relation to the affairs of* Flanders, 434
Christoval di Moura *count of* Castel-Rodrigo, 365. *His Oration, wherein he perswades the K. to give up the Low-Countries in Dowry to the* Infanta Isabella *his eldest Daughter,* ib.
Claudio la Barlotta *a Walloon Camp-Master,* 296. *assaults the* French *before* Laon, 309. *Gains a Fort near* Hulst, 344. *Is slain,* 398
Colonell Christopher Mandragone *with good Forces in the countrey of* Lucemburg, 317. *Forces Count* Maurice *to retreat from the Siege of* Grol, 329. *his good successe against the same man,* 330 *He dies,* ibid
Colonell Vere *sent to surprize the Fort of* Durang, 382. *Wounded in the battell of* Newport, 396. *At the defence of* Ostend, 401
Colonell Verdugo *commands the Kings Forces in* Friesland, 302. *Makes the* French *retreat out of the country of* Lucemburg, 316. *he dies,* 317
Considerations *on the* Spains *part, to see some accommodation with the United Provinces brought to passe,* 457
Consultations *held in the* Spanish *camp, concerning the laying siege to* Cambray. 318. *about the besieging of* la Fera, 334 *concerning the getting of Relief into* Amiens, 360. *and in the French camp for opposing of the Enemy,* 361. *in the councell of State in* Spain, *about surrendring the Provinces of* Flanders *to the* Infanta Isabella *for her Dowry,* 365 *In the Spanish camp in* Flanders, *about besieging either* Schincks-sconce, *or some other place,* 376. *in the same Spanish camp, whether it were convenient to fall upon the Enemy at* Newport, 393 *Whether it were better to prosecute or give over the Siege of* Ostend, 413 *Whether the relief of* Groll *were by all means to be attempted, or whether it were to be let alone,* 430
Count Charles Mansfield *passeth into* France *in aid of the League,* 296. *He goes with the D.* du Main *before* Noyon ibid. *Takes in many places in* Picardy, 297. *He conducts a new Army into* Flanders, 303. *He makes himself master of* la Capelle, ibid.
Count Frederick di Borgh *camp-Master-Generall,* 390. *A Fort raised by him at* Ostend, 402. *Governour of* Longhen, 363. *Presents himself with part of the Army before* Schincks-sconce, 378. *Relieves* Balduc, 402. *goes against the Mutineers of* Hostrat, 411
Count di Fuentes *of great authority in* Flanders, 296. *his Opinion that the united Provinces ought not to be sought unto for Peace by* Spain, 304. *he succeeds Archduke* Ernestus *in the Government,* 314. *he sends* la Motte *to recover the Town of* Huy, *and* Verdugo *against the French in the countrey of* Lucemburg, 316. *he resolves to fall into* Picardie, 317. *Gains* Han *by Intelligence,* 319. *and a while after loses it,* ibid. *Besieges* Chatelet, 320. *And carries it,* ibid. *routs the* French, 322 *Takes* Dorlan *by assault,* 323. *Lages Siege to* Cambray, 324. *his Opinion concerning the continuation of that Siege,* 327. *gains the place,* 329. *Departs from* Flanders, 332. *his Oration, wherein he exhorts the K. not to sever the* Low-countries *from the Crown of* Spain, 365
Count Henrick of Nassau *Generall of the Horse to the United Provinces,* 424 *Fals upon the quarters of the Spanish horse,* ib. *Relieves* Reinberg, 428
Count Hollach *sent by the United Provinces to the* German *confederates,* 384
Count di Lippa *Generall of the Army, to the* German *confederates,* 376
Count Maurice *besiegeth* Gertrudenberg, 299. *he carries it,* 301. *comes before* Groninghen *with his Army,* 305. *and gains that,* 307. *Incamps before* Groll 329. *but afterwards draws off,* ibid. *Overcomes the Royalists at* Tornaut, 348. *Seizes upon* Reinberg *with other places,* 363. *succours* Schincks-sconce, 378. *relieves* Bomell, 380. *Surprises* Wachtendonch, 389. *Takes in the fort of* Crevecœur, ibid. *and then St* Andrews, 390. *Enters the Province of* Flanders *with an Army,* 391. *Resolves to besiege* Newport, 392. *prepares to give batail to the Archduke,* 395. *comes off conqueror at* Newport, 397. *Besiegeth* Reinberg, *and takes it,* 399. *Incamps before* Balduc, 402. *whence he is forced to retreat,* ibid. *Besieges the* Grave, 408, *and carries it,* 409. *Goes to the Relief of the Mutineers at* Hostrat, 411. *Besieges* Balduc *again,* ibid. *and shortly after gives over the Enterprise,* 412. *Encamps before* Sluce, 416. *Routs* Velasco, ibid. *his Designe upon* Antwerp, 420. *he fortifies near* Sas, ibid. *He cannot relieve* Reinberg,

berg, 429. *Encamps before* Groll, *and is forced thence to retreat*, 431. *His Opinion of the Negotiations then on foot for a Peace and a Truce*, 442. *His Oration against them*, ibid.
Count Peter Erneſtus *of* Mansfield, *ſucceeds the D. of* Parma *in the Government of* Flanders, 296. *Sends away his ſon Count* Charles *to the aſſiſtance of the* League *in* France, ibid. *His diligence to relieve* Gertrudenberg, 301 *to which effect he faces the Enemy with his Army*, ibid. *Goes againſt the Fort of* Crevecœure, ibid. *is in the Army appointed for the relief of* Amiens, 360 *his diſcourſe againſt falling upon the Enemies Trenches*, 362
The Conde di Varras *one of the chiefe Commanders in the Catholick Army*, 345. *hinders the Enemies incurſions in* Brabant, 347. *is routed and ſlaine by Count* Maurice, 348
Complaints *of the Loyall Provinces*, 364 *made by ſome Provinces and Hans-Towns of* Germany *againſt the* Spaniſh *Armies invaſion*, 375. *Of the* Spaniards, *about the going of the* Spaniſh *Commiſſioners into* Holland, 447
The Commiſſioners *of the Princes and Hans-Towns in* Germany *reſolve on a War with the* Spaniard, 375. *Of the Provinces obedient and United, met to Treat of ſome Agreement*, 398. *Thoſe of the Catholicks that are to goe into* Holland *to Treat of a Peace or Truce*, 447. *They come to the* Hague, ibid. *their Negotiations*, 448. *They meet in* Antwerp, 457. *thoſe of the United Province to intervene at the Treaty aforeſaid*, 447. *their Negotiations*, ib.
Characters *of* Philip 2. 347. *Of Archduke* Erneſtus, 414. *Of* Verdugo, 317 *Of* Mandragone, 331. *Of Campmaſter* Roſne, 345

D

A Deſcription *of* Geertruydenberg, 299. *of* Groninghen, 305. *of* Cambray, 324. *of* Calice, 336. *of* Ardres, 339. *of* Hulſt, 342. *of* Amiens, 353. *of* Oſtend, 400. *of* Sluce, 416 *of* Linghen, 422. *of* Groll, 427. *of* Reinberg, 428. *of a fierce Aſſault made upon* Dorlan, 323. *of another made upon* Oſtend, 403. *of* St Andrews *fort*, 383. *of* Schincks-ſconce, *and the Countrey about it*, 377. *of the battail of* Dorlan, 322. *of the battail of* Newport, 396. *of the United Provinces, and their form of Government*, 438
A Declaration *of liberty pretended to by the United Provinces*, 437. *how interpreted by the Archduke and Spaniſh Miniſters of State*, ibid. *Ratified in* Spain, 438. *the firſt Ratification therof not admitted in* Holland, 439. *How the ſecond was afterward accepted of*, 446
Dorlan *beſieged by Count* di Fuentes, 323 *taken by aſſault*, ib.
The Duke *of* Seſſa *by way of Proxie acts the part of the* Infanta Iſabella, *for effectuating her marriage with the Archduke* Albertus, 372
The Duke du Main *recruited from* Flanders, 296. *he takes in* Noyon, 297. *he concludes a Truce with the K. of* Navar *for three months*, 298. *he endevors to relieve* Laon, 308. *his memorable Retreat*, 310. *he comes to an Agreement with the K. of* France, 334. *His Opinion that they were not to tarry in their Trenches for the Spaniſh Army*, 361

E.

E Lector Erneſtus *of* Bavaria *makes ſuit at* Bruſſels *for the recovery of* Huy, 316. *the dammage done to his Eſtate by the quartering of the K. of* Spains *Army upon it*, 375
The Elector Palatine *of the* Rhine, 375

F.

A Fight *of great conſequence before* Laon, *between the K. of* France *his Forces, and the army of the League* 310. *between Count* Maurice *and* Mandragone, 330. *between Marſhall* Biron, *and the Marſhal of* Barambone 347. *between the K. of* Spains *men, and thoſe of the United Provinces*, 348 *betwixt Marquis* Spinola, *and Count* Maurice *before* Sluce, 418. *and afterwards at* Bruch, 424
Frederico Spinola, 407. *Commander of ſome Gallies in* Flanders, *wherewith he indammages the Enemy*, ibid. *he goes again into* Spain *for a greater number*, ibid. *he loſes five*, 408. *is ſlain*, 410
La Fera *beſieged by the K. of* France, 334 *Relieved*, 335. *yielded*, 340
Forts *erected by* Spinola *upon the* Rhine, 421
Forts *raiſed by the United Provinces upon the banks of the* Wael, *and the* Yſel, 426

G.

S Paniſh Galleys *in* Flanders, 407
S Gaſpero Mandragone *relieves* Lyra, 331

The

The Grave *besieged by Count* Maurice, 408. *It is yeilded up to him* 409
Groll *besieged by* Spinola, 428. *it is yeilded*, ib. *Count* Maurice *streightneth it*, 430. *It is relieved by* Spinola, 431
Croninghen *besieged by Count* Maurice, 305. *Its description*, ib. *tis yeilded*, 307
Geertrudenbergh *besieged by Count* Maurice, 299. *The description of it*, ib. *It is yeilded up* 301

H

HAn, *a Town in* Picardy *yeilded up to Count* Fuentes, 319. *Recovered by the Marshal of* Bulloigne ib.
Hernando Teglio Portocarrero, *Governour of* Dorlan, 350. *He projects the surprisal of* Amiens, ib. *The order in which he disposed of the enterprise*, ib. *His oration to the souldiers*, 351. *He seizeth on the City*, 352. *He craves a supply of men*, 354. *His diligence in defending the Town*, 355. *He sallies out upon the French Camp*, 357. *He is slain*, 359
The Hollanders *and* Zealanders *put for a shorter navigation into the East-Indies*, 312. *How they got into the West* ib *Their ends for the aforesaid navigation*, 313. *The difficulties they met with therein*, ib.
Hulst *and its situation described*, 342 *Besieged by the Catholicks*, 343. *It yeilds*, 346
Huy, *a Town in the Country of* Liege *seized on by the United Provinces*, 316. *Recovered by Count* Fuentes, ib.

I

IAmes Maldereo, *Commissioner for* Zealand 452. *His oration*, ib.
James *King of* Scotland *succeeds in the Kingdom of* England, 406. *Stiles himself King of Great Britain*, ib. *comes to an accommodation with the King of* Spain, *and the Archdukes*, ib. *His ends in the war of* Flanders 441
John *of* Balen *in* Groninghen, 305. *his oration to the Townsmen* 306
John Guzman *brings relief into* Amiens 355. *his death* 357
John Barnevelt, *Advocate of* Holland, *and his oration in behalf of the negotiations for peace*, 444. *His opinion prevails beyond that of Count* Maurice, 446
Infanta Isabella. Philip *the second his eldest daughter*, 364. *her singular qualities*, 365. *She parts from* Madrid, 386. *comes to* Brussels, ib. *presents her self to the Army on horseback, and makes a speech to the souldiers*, 392 *Her constancy in entertaining the Archduke wounded in the battel of* Newport, 398. *She comes with the Archduke to see* Ostend, 418
Frier Inico di Brizuela *the Archdukes Confessor sent into* Spain, 457. *He returns to* Brussels 458
The Intelligence *that Count* Fuentes *held in* Cambray, 328. *that the King of* France *held in* Amiens 355
Italian *mutiners in* Aichen, 311. *They seek to hold intelligence with Count* Maurice, ib. *Besieged by Campmaster* Velasco, ib. *withdraw into the enemies country*, 312. *come to an agreement with the Archduke*, ib
The Journey *of* Albertus *upon occasion of going to fetch his Wife into* Flanders, 399. *Of the new Princes in coming thither* 386

K

KIng *of* England, *see* James *King of* Scotland
The King *of* France *declared a Catholick* 302. *He besieges* Laon, 308. *and carries it*, 310. *comes to an open War with the King of* Spain 316. *Is fully reconciled to the Apostolick See*, 326, *Besieges* La Fera, 334 *and takes it*, 340. *How much he was vexed at the loss of* Amiens, 353. *He concludes a League with the Queen of* England, 354 *Goes over to the siege of* Amiens, 355 *What Intelligence he held there*, ib. *His affability to the souldier*, 357. *He routs some troops of the enemies horse*, 360 *Enters* Amiens *in triumph*, 362. *makes a peace with the Catholick King*, 364 *His Intereſts in the affairs of* Flanders, 440. *His authority with the United Provinces*, ib. *He sends an Ambassador extraordinary into* Holland *to assist the negotiations of peace, or a Truce* 441
The King *of* Spain, Philip *the second, and his ends in the affairs of* France, 296 *He sends the Duke of* Feria *to* Paris, ib. *He makes peace with the K. of* France, 364. *His intention to marry the Infanta* Isabella *to the Cardinal Archduke*, 365. *which he puts in execution*, 368 *His death*, 369. *his character* ib.
The King *of* Spain, Philip *the third, resolves to make up an Army apart, to be commanded by the two* Spinolas, 410 *He approves of the Archdukes designes*

againſt the enemie, 425. *he reſolves to give way to an Overture that ſhall be made, for an accommodation with the* United Provinces, 437

L.

A League *between the K. of* France, *and the Q. of* England, 354. *Between the K. of* France *and the* United Provinces, 451

A Letter *from Archduke* Erneſtus, *to the* United Provinces, 303. *Their anſwer*, 304

Linghen *taken in by Count* Maurice, 363. *Beſieged by* Spinola, 422. *Yeilded to him*, 42

Lewis di Velaſco, *a Spaniſh Camp-maſter goes againſt the Mutineers of* Sichen, 311 *he is made General of the Artillery*, 372 *Afterwards of the Horſe*, ibid. *Routed by* Count Maurice, 416. *he ſuccours* Trivultio, 424

Lewis Verreychen *chief Secretary to the Archdukes, carries into* Holland *the ratification come from* Spain, 438

M.

MArquis Ambroſio Spinola *raiſes Souldiers for* Flanders, 407. *Joyns his forces with the Admirals*, 408. *Goes over into* Italy, *and returns again into* Flanders, 416. *he commands in chief before* Oſtend, 414. *his proceedings againſt that Town*, 415. *he goes to the relief of* Sluce, 417. *he returns to beſiege* Oſtend, 418. *which at laſt is ſurrendred to him*, 419. *he goes to the Court of* Spain, 420. *where he is declared Camp-Maſter General, and Governor of all the Kings Forces in* Flanders, ibi. *Forts raiſed by him upon the* Rhine, 421. *his ſpeech to the Councel of War*, ibid. *he takes* Linghen, 423. *his ſtratagem to relieve* Trivultio, 424. *he returns to the Court of* Spain, 425. *he takes the field, and with what forces*, ibid. *he takes* Groll, 428. *And after that* Remberg, 430. *his Oration to the Army*, 432. *he relieves* Grol, ibid.

The Marquis *of* Barambone *infeſts* Piccardie *in hoſtile manner*, 317. *is routed and taken Priſoner*, 347

The Marquis *of* Montenegro *commands the mavalry in* Amiens, 351. *Falls upon the* French *Camp*. 355. *ſucceeds* Portocarrero *in the command of* Amiens, 359. *Yeilds up the place*, 362

Marſhal Biron *routs the Leaguers*, 309. *Left to defend* Piccardie, 341. *he routs* Barambone, 347. *his diligence for the recovery of* Amiens, 353. *his attempts againſt* Arras *and* Dorlan, 354. *his undauntedneſs in defending the trenches* 357. *his opinion that the Spaniſh Army was to be encountred with all their ſtrength*, 361

The Marſhal *of* Balagny, *Governor, and after Prince of* Cambray, 317. *The people riſe up againſt him*, 328. *he loſes the City*, 329. *his wives war-like ſpirit*, ibid. *her death*, ibid.

A Marriage *propoſed between the Cardinal Archduke, and the Infanta* Iſabella, 364. *'Tis concluded on, and upon what Articles*, 368. *Solemnized in* Ferrara *by Pope* Clement *the VIII.* 372

A Marriage *between the Prince of* Spain, *and the Archdutcheſs* Magaret *of* Auſtria, 369. *Celebrated in* Ferrara *by the Pope himſelf*, 372

Mutual Marriages *between the two Crowns of* France *and* Spain, 434

The Meeting *of the Catholick Commiſſioners, and thoſe of the* United Provinces *in the Hague, to treat of an accommodation*, 447. *Matters there propounded*, ibid. *All negotiation for peace is quite daſht*, 451. *A propoſition made by the Engliſh and French Ambaſſadors for a long Truce*, ibid. *The meeting is transfer'd to* Antwerp, 458

The Mutiny *of the Spaniards*, 297. *Of Italians and Wallons*, 302. *Of Italians*, 311. *in divers Spaniſh garriſons*, 369. *amongſt the Germans and Wallons*, 389

N.

THe memorable Navigation *of the Hollanders and Zealanders*, 313

A Negotiation *for Peace, ſet on foot in* Holland *by the Emperors Ambaſſadors*, 390. *It comes to nothing*, 391

Neutrality *violated by the Spaniſh Army*, 375

Noyon *beſieged by thoſe of the league*, 296 *It is yeilded.* 297

O

OLdenziel *taken by* Count Maurice, 363. *ſeiz'd on by the Royaliſts*, 422

Divers Opinions *of the Kings Captains concerning the ſiege of* Oſtend, 413. *Of the ſame men, about the relieving of* Grol. 430

Orations *of* John di Balen *to the citizens of* Groninghen, 306. *Of* Monſieur de la Motta *againſt the beſieging of* Cambray, 318. *Of* Monſieur di Roſne *for it*, ibid. *Of* Fuentes *party in* Cambray *to the Townſmen*. 328. *Of* Monſieur di Roſne *for the beſieging*

sieging of Calice, 335. *Of* Portocarrero, *to encourage his men at the surprisal of* Amiens, 351. *of Count* Fuentes, *that the Low-Countries should not be severed from the crown of* Spain, 365 *of* Christoval di Moura, *Count of* Castel Rodrigo, *that they may be made over for the Infanta* Isabella *her dowry*, 366. *of the Infanta* Isabella *to the souldiers*, 393. *of Campmaster* Zapena *against assaulting the enemy in his trenches*, 394. *of Campmaster* Barlotta *for it*, ib. *of Count* Maurice *to his Army at the battel of* Newport, 39 *of the same against the negotiations of peace then on foot*, 442. *of Archduke* Albertus *upon occasion of the battel of* Newport, 396. *of the same to the Magistrates of* Balduke, 412. *of* Spinola *to the councel of war*, 421. *of the same to his souldiers at the relief of* Grol, 432. *of* Barnevelt *for the negotiations of peace*, 444. *of* James Maldereo *against all accommodation*, 452. *of President* Jannin *for the Truce*. 453

The Ordering *of the French Forces before* Dorlan, 321. *of the Spanish Camp there*, ib *of the same camp, in attempting to relieve* Amiens, 360. *of the Catholick Army at* Newport, 395. *of the enemies camp there*, ib. *of the Catholick camp before* Grol 431

Ostend, 399. *the description of it*, 400. *endammaged by the sea*, 402. *assaulted by the Royalists, but in vain*, 403. *closely streightned by* Spinola, 414. *is rendered up* 419. *great store of Artillery and Ammunition found there*, ib.

P

A Peace *concluded at* Vervin, *between the two Crowns of* France *and* Spain 346

Pope Clement *viii. establishes the reconciliatiation of the King of* France *to the Apostolick see*, 321. *he interposes to reconcile the two Kings* 364. *and brings it to pass* ib.

Paris *peaceably receives the King after he is declared a* Catholick 302

President Jannin, *Ambassador extraordinary for the King of* France *in* Holland, 441. *his proposition for a long truce*, 451. *his oration to perswade them unto it*, 453. *Reasons brought in by him to satisfie all sides* 455

Q

THe *singular* Qualities *of the Infanta* Isabella, *and the Cardinal Archduke* 365

The Quarters *of the Catholick Camp how distributed at the siege of* Hulst, 344

R

REasons *that moved the two Kings to come to a peace* 364

The Ratification *sent from* Spain *the first time, in favour of the pretended liberty of the United Provinces*, 438. *It is not accepted of* 439. *The second, how it is explained*, 440. *How received* 446

Rembergh *taken in by Count* Maurice, 363. *Recovered by the Admiral of* Arragon, 373. *Besieged by the German confederates*, 384 *Besieged again by Count* Maurice, 399. *Is surrendred*, ib. *Besieged by Marquis* Spinola, 428. *tis yeilded up to him* 430

Res *a good Town upon the* Rhine, *inforced to take in the Kings souldiers*, 374 *Besieged by the Army of the German confederates*, 384. *Restored by the Spaniards to the Duke of* Cleves 486

The Rising *of those of* Cambray *against* Balagni 328

S

SLuce *besieged by Count* Maurice, 416 *Weakly relieved*, ib. *yeilded up* 417

The Spaniards *rout Count* Ernestus *of* Nassaw, 393 *How they like of the Catholick Commissioners going into* Holland 447

The Catholick States *General meet in* Paris 297

The States *General of the United Provinces reject the negotiation of peace which Archduke* Ernestus *offers to set on foot*, 303. *They aid the K. of* France *with men*, 316. *They seize upon the Town of* Huy, ib. *They give to Count* Maurice *the Town of* Linghen, 363. *Their opinions of the marriage concluded between the Archduke* Albertus, *and the Infanta* Isabella, 368. *They joyn their Army with that of the German confederates*, 384 *Their vigilancy in guarding* Ostend, 400. *They raise a great number of Forts upon the banks of the* Wahal *&* Ysel, 426. *The Declaration of their pretended Liberty before they will enter into any negotiation of agreement*, 436. *They admit of the Archdukes proposal, and establish a suspension of arms*, 438. *They reject the first ratification brought from* Spain, 439. *The answer they give to the second* 440.

which yet is afterwards accepted of 446

The Catholick States *General of the Provinces of* Flanders, *allow of the articles of marriage between the Archduke and the Infanta*, 368 *they assemble together in* Brussels *upon occasion of the arrival of the new Princes* 390

The Stratagem *of* Portocarrero, *for the surprisal of* Amiens 350

Spanish *ships beaten by the* Hollanders, 421

T

TElimone *assigned for quarter to the Mutiners* 312

A long Truce *proposed by President* Jannin, 451. *Difficulties expresst on the Spanish side, in accepting of it* 456. *It is concluded upon* 459

W

WAchtendonch *taken by Count* Bucquoy 423

Wesel *compounds with the Catholick army* 374

Z

ZApena, *a Spanish Campmaster*, 378 *His oration to dissuade the Archduke from assaulting the enemies quarter*, 394. *Wounded and taken prisoner in the battel of* Newport; *he dies soon after it* 397

FINIS.